

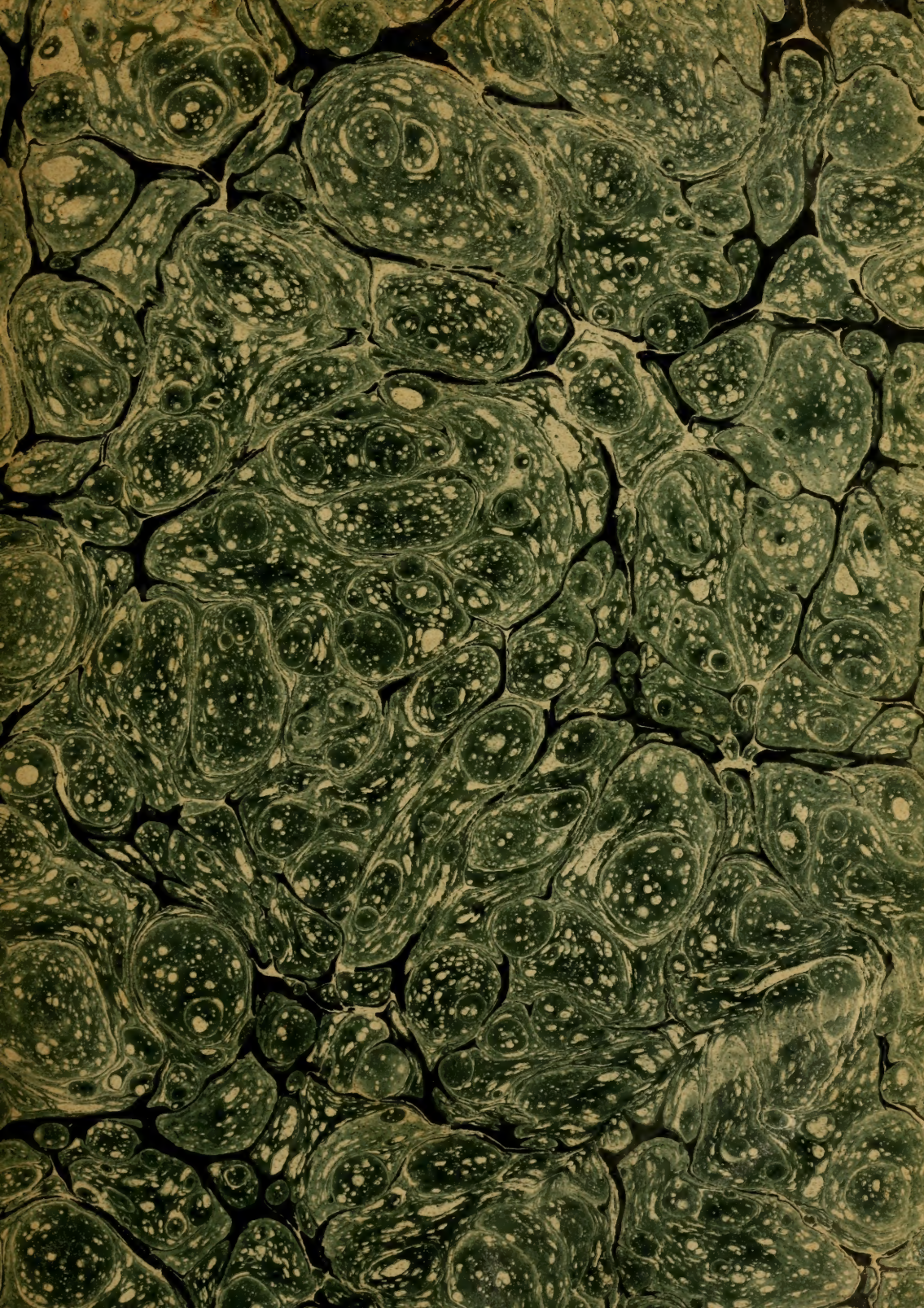
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Infant-Baptism.

In TWO PARTS.

THE FIRST PART  
Containing the History of the Infant Baptism in the  
West, from the First and Second to the  
End of the Sixteenth Century.

THE SECOND PART  
Containing the History of the Infant Baptism in the  
East, from the First to the End of the Sixteenth Century.

By H. W. L. L. Viner, of St. John's College,  
Oxford.

LONDON.

Printed by J. W. L. L. Viner, at the Press of the  
University of Oxford.







THE  
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The FIRST, being  
An Impartial Collection of all such Passages in the  
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FOR, or AGAINST it.

The SECOND,  
Containing several Things that do help to illustrate  
the said HISTORY.

By W. WALL, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent.

The Second Edition with large Additions.

L O N D O N,

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

**F***Orasmuch as the Commission given by our Savior to his Disciples, in the Time of his mortal Life, to baptize in the Country of Judea, is not at all set down in Scripture; only it is said, that they baptized (1) a great many: And the Enlargement of that Commission given 'em afterwards, Mat. 28. 19. to perform the same Office among all the Heathen Nations, is set down in such brief Words, that there is no particular Direction given what they were to do in reference to the Children of those that received the Faith: And among all the Persons that are recorded as baptized by the Apostles, there is no express Mention of any Infant; nor is there on the other side any Account of any Christian's Child, whose Baptism was put off till he was grown up, or who was baptiz'd at Man's Age: (for all the Persons that are mention'd in Scripture to have been baptized, were the Children of Heathens, or else of Jews, who did not believe in Christ at that Time when those their Children were born). And since the Proofs drawn by Consequences from some Places of Scripture, for any one Side of this Question, are not so plain as to hinder the Arguments drawn from other Places for the other Side, from seeming still considerable to those that have no Help from the History of the Scripture-Times for the better understanding of the Rules of Scripture: It is no wonder that the Readers of Scripture, at this Distance from the Apostles Times, have fallen into contrary Sentiments about the Meaning of our Savior's Command, and the Practice of the Apostles in reference to the Baptizing of Infants.*

Bac

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(1) John 4. 1, 2. II. 3. 22, 26.



But since the Practice of the ancient Christians that liv'd nigh the Times of the Apostles, being more largely deliver'd, is more easily known: that such as have gone about to give an Account thereof out of the ancient Records, should give so contrary Accounts as they do, is a great Wonder and a great Shame.

For they do not only differ in the Understanding of the Meaning of several of the Places produced; but also as to Matter of Fact (whether they be rightly cited or not) do charge one another (2) with Forgery: and are come, as Mr. Baxter complains, to [Thou liest] and [I thou liest]. And indeed among all the Books of Controversie between Papists and Protestants, or others, that are scandalous for false Quotations, there is none comparable to one that is written on this Occasion, which I shall at present forbear to name.

Such a Thing done by Mistake, or for Want of Skill, is bad enough: but if it be done wilfully; it is hard to think of any thing that is a greater Wickedness: for it goes the way to destroy the common Faith of Mankind, by which we are apt to rely upon a Writer, that how zealous soever he may be for his Opinion, he will not forge Matters of Fact, nor speak wickedly: (tho' it be) for God, as Job says (3).

Some other Accounts also are very partial, mentioning only that which makes for their Side, and leaving out Parts of the Clauses which they cite.

The Inconvenience of this is the worse, because it is in a Matter which would have a great Influence to settle and determin this unlucky Controversie; provided that the Accounts of the eldest Times were given fairly and impartially, and so that the Reader might be satisfied of the Truth and Impartiality of them.

For when there is in Scripture a plain Command to proselyte or make Disciples all Nations, baptizing 'em; but the Method of doing it is not in all Particulars expressly directed; it not being particularly mentioned whether they were to admit into this Discipleship and Baptism, the Infants of those that were converted; as the Jewish Church had always done to the Infants of Proselytes, (giving them Circumcision, as we know by Scripture, and Baptism as we are (4) assur'd by their Records) or whether they were to proceed in a new Way, and baptize only the adult Persons themselves: there is no Body that will doubt but that the Apostles knew what was to be done in this Case: and

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(1) More Proof for Infants Ch. Membership and Baptism, p. 346. (2) Job 12. 7.  
(3) See the Introduction.



and consequently, that the Christian Churches in their Time did as they should do in this Matter.

And since the Apostles liv'd, some of 'em, to near the End of the first Century, and St. John something beyond it; and had in their own Time propagated the Christian Faith and Practice into so many Countries; it can never sink into the Head of any considering Man, but that such Christians as were ancient Men about 100 or 150 Years after that Time of the Apostles Death, which is the Year of Christ 200 or 250, must easily know whether Infant Baptism were in use at the Time of the Apostles Death or not: because the Fathers of some of 'em, and Grandfathers of most of 'em, were born before that Time, and were themselves Infants in the Apostles Days; and so were baptiz'd then in their Infancy, if then that were the Order: or their Baptism deferred to adult Age, if that were the Use then. For such a Thing as the general Baptizing of Infants, being a Rite public and notorious, and in which the whole Body of the People, Poor and Rich, Pastors and Laymen, Men and Women are concerned, cannot be forgotten in a short Time, nor altered without a great deal of Noise. In a Point of Doctrine deliver'd by Tradition, a Mistake may happen: or in the Account of some Matter of Fact done by some particular Man: But for a Rite of universal Concern, a whole Church cannot forget it, much less all the Churches in several Parts of the World in so short a Time. We Englishmen cannot be ignorant whether Infants were usually baptized in England or not, in Queen Elizabeth's Days, which is the same Distance. The Man that thinks this possible, is one that is not us'd to consider.

It is to be remembred likewise, that the Apostles before they died, chose Men of whom they had good Proof, to teach the Churches the same Things that they had done; many of whom liv'd till a great while after the Apostles were dead: which makes the Time that needs to be kept in Memory so much the shorter.

Some pretend to slight this Argument, as not being a Scripture one: but it is that too by a direct Consequence. For since the Scripture promises that the Church shall be led into all Truth, i. e. all Truth that is necessary or fundamental; to follow the Example of the Primitive Church must be, by the Rule of Scripture, a sure way not to err in Fundamentals.

*It were (as Ep. Stillingfleet observes (5) in another Case) a great Blot and Dishonor to Christian Religion, if the Primitive Churches could not hold to their first Institution, not for one Age after the Apostles : no not the purest and best Churches.*

*But the Truth is, there is no Man that does really slight this Argument ; tho' those that have no Skill in it, or do suspect that it will go against their Side, will make as if they did. And therefore you shall see, both on the one Side and on the other, those Men who, for a Flourish, do pretend that they lay small Stress on it, as having Proof enough from Scripture, yet take all the Pains possible, to bring this Argument to bear on their Side ; and that so zealously, that they often do it unfairly. There is no Christian that loves to hear or to admit, that all the ancient Church practis'd otherwise than he does in a controverted Matter.*

*Seeing therefore that all the Arguments from Scripture for each Side, have been so searched and so often bandyed too and fro, that not much more can be said to illustrate 'em : and that where a Command in Scripture is given in brief and general Words, the Practice of the Primitive Church thereupon gives us the best Direction for the Sense in which it is to be applied to particular Cases : And that a great many have desired to see the History of this Practice fully and fairly represented : I have thought it worth my Pains to draw up and publish such a Collection as is express'd in the Title.*

*And if any one ask, what there is done in this more than in others that have been already. I answer,*

1. *That the best Collections of this Nature have not been published in the English Language : and it is for the Use of Englishmen that this is intended.*

2. *That this is more compleat than any I have seen : because among those I have seen, each one omitted some Testimonies which the other had : and it is easie for one that collects out of all of 'em, to have more than any one : beside that, no inconsiderable Number of these have been gather'd from my own Reading.*

*The first and best Collection that I have seen, is Cassander's ; then Vossius, and of late Dr. Hammond's, and out of him Mr. Walker's. The rest are mostly intermixt, by those that produce 'em, with their Proofs and Arguments from Scripture, and must be picked out : So  
there*



there are many in the Books of Calvin, Bullinger, Featly, Tombs, Marshall, Cobbet, Baxter, Danvers, Wills, &c.

3. *I pretend it to be more impartial than the rest: for most of them are Collections of such Quotations only as make for that Side of the Question for which they are disputing. And here my Reader will say; If those produc'd by you do make some for one Side and some for the other, they will leave us in the same Ambiguity that they find us. To which I must answer; that if he will come to the Reading of 'em with the same resolved Impartiality, that I set my self to the Writing of 'em, I believe he will find it otherwise. However, the only Way to pass a true Judgment, is to see both together.*

4. *I have recited the Places more at large than others have done. One single Sentence, or (as they frequently cite) a Bit or Scrap of a Sentence, gives but a very imperfect, and oftentimes a mistaken Account of the Author's Meaning: but the Context added shews the Tenor and Scope of his Discourse.*

*After all, I acknowledge that there are in the Books I mention'd, and others, several Quotations which I have not here: and the Reason is partly because I confine my self to Authors that liv'd and wrote within the first four hundred Years, (tho' some of them out-living that Term, wrote some of their Works after it): and that I do, because all Men of Reading know, that from that Time to the Time of the Waldenses, about the Year 1150, the Practice is unquestionable: and partly because many of the Quotations were false, and so alter'd, that when I came to search the Original, they were there nothing to the Purpose: or they were out of spurious Books, &c. I have been forc'd to write one Chapter (6) of this Work to give an Account what sort of Quotations I have left out, and for what Reasons: And if any one will inform me of any Passage in any Author within the Term limited, which he, after the reading of the said Chapter, shall yet judge to be to the Purpose; I will, if I live to see any more Editions of this mean Work, put it in (if it seem to me to be to the Purpose): and that indifferently, whether it make for, or against Pædobaptism. For I desire that this Collection should be as compleat and impartial as may be. And it is for this Reason only, that I have put my Name to it, (that any one may have the Opportunity of advertising me of any Passage that I have omitted) intending otherwise, that the impartial Management should*

have left the Reader uncertain which Practice of the two I my self had own'd.

When I say in the Title [Of all the Passages] I do not pretend but that in St. Austin there are a great many more: but all to the same purpose. For he in his Disputes with the Pelagians has whole Books wherein he proves Original Sin from the Practice of Pedobaptism. In these I have only taken here and there a Piece: since every Body knows his Doctrine.

I have recited the Originals of all the principal Quotations: because in this Matter Writers have so accus'd one another of Forgery, or perverting of Testimonies by false Translations, &c. that People are grown distrustful. Now they will be satisfy'd that if I have mistranslated any thing, I did not do it willingly: for then I should never have added the Author's own Words for the Discovery of it.

I have made two Parts of this Work. The first contains the principal Quotations with some Notes drawn from them. I have rejected all the spurious ones: only I have put a few of the most ancient of 'em together in the last Chapter. The two first Chapters have no Quotations that speak expressly of Infant-Baptism: but of Infants being discipled to Christ (which must, I think, import their Baptism) and of Original Sin as it affects Infants: Of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation: Of Baptism succeeding Circumcision, &c. But all the rest are concerning Infant-Baptism expressly, either for, or against it.

The other Part contains an Account of some Matters proper for the fuller Explication of the primitive Practice. Of which the chief is, the Enquiry concerning the Baptism and Parentage of those who are brought as Instances of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy, tho' born of Christian Parents: for which Work I wish I had been a little better furnished. Yet I think I have rectified some Mistakes concerning some of 'em that had past currently.

I have noted in the Margin over-against every Author, the Age wherein he flourished (or began to be a Man of Note, by writing Books, &c.) viz. how many Years it was after the Apostles Time: (which I make to end with the Year of Christ 100, tho' St. John liv'd a Year or two beyond it :) and this I do, because during all the Apostles Time, every Body is satisfied that the Church had an infallible Direction.

I think



*I think it needful to give the Reader notice before-hand, that in the Sayings of the Fathers here recited, he will find, that as we, beside the Word [to baptize] do use the Word [to christen] in the same Sense; so they us'd several Words to signifie Baptism. The most usual was ἀναγεννᾶν, to regenerate; which is also a Scripture Word for it: Sometimes they express it καὶνοποιεῖν, or ἀνανεώσκειν, to renew: and frequently ἁγιάζειν, to sanctifie. They frequently by this Word [the Grace] do mean Baptism. Sometimes they call it the Seal, and frequently φωτισμός, Illumination; as 'tis also called, Heb. 6. 4. and sometimes τελεωσις, Initiation. The Sense of the Places will shew that where the Words are of an Infant, or other Person, regenerated, renewed, sealed, inlightned, initiated, sanctified, &c. we must understand baptized.*

*I have added a Disswative from Schism, or Mens renouncing Christian Communion with one another, on account of this Difference in Opinion: for which I wish I had a Vein of Speaking more powerfully. For I am fully perswaded and clearly of Opinion, that neither this nor mist of our other Differences, are any sufficient or reasonable Ground of flying to that dreadful Extremity of Separation.*

*One Thing I was resolv'd on: That if I wrote any Thing, it should be something which should give no Body any Occasion to force me to write again. If any one will write against this; they shall either write against the Men that have been dead these 1300 Years: or if they find fault with the Notes that I have here and there made on their Words, as not naturally drawn from them; my Answer is beforehand, that I will refer it to the Readers, whether they be or no.*

*I find, since the first Edition, that I must partake of the Fate of Writers: Only mine has been in the main a much more favorable one than came to my Share. It becomes me humbly and thankfully to acknowledge on one side, that the Honor publicly done to my Book, and the kind Reception it has had from many worthy Men, has been far greater than I can ever think it does deserve. But on the other side, a certain anonymous Author of a Pamphlet, called, An Account of the Proceedings in the Convocation 1705. has given me a Rebuke for reflecting therein on my Superiors. But I have Reason to hope that he has done this without ever having seen the Book: for he mistakes my Name; tho' it was plainly set in the Title-page: Mine was not, as his is, without any Name of Author or Printer. He says, p. 58. One can hardly forbear thinking that the Reason why it was commended,*

was, because it contains several Reflections on some of the Bishops who are not Favorites of the Lower-House.

*If he mean, Personal Reflections on any one Bishop; I hope I may fairly deny it. The mere reciting of a Tenet or Position held and published by any one, and endeavouring to disprove it, is not properly called a Reflection on the Author. Else it is impossible to write any Thing without reflecting on somebody or other.*

*I did indeed, when I was vindicating the Fathers and ancient Christians from an Imputation of horrid Consequence (viz. of no less than Tritheism, and believing only a specifical Unity of Essence in the Divine Persons) laid on 'em by Mr. le Clerc and the Socinians, observe with Grief and some Regret, that a right reverend Prelate had so spoken as if he thought or feared that the Fathers could not be justified against this Accusation, but must be given up as guilty. And I recited on this Occasion some of his Words: but I was not the first that did so. The Accusation, if true, brings such Discredit on Christ's Church and our holy Religion, and does so weaken some of the Fundamentals of our Faith, that I have that Opinion of his Lordship, that he does, at least, wish that it might be prov'd a Mistake (which is more than I can think of the main Framer of the Imputation, Mr. le Clerc; because he has for these 20 Years used virulent Endeavors to blacken 'em in this and other Respects). And after what Bp. Stillingfleet has since written in their Vindication, I know nothing to the contrary but that he may now think it prov'd so. But if his Lordship be still of another Opinion; I hope a Dissent from him in that Particular will not be judg'd a Reflection.*

*If the Imputation be no more, than that some particular Passages in the Fathers are so inartificially worded, that taken by themselves they might give Occasion to a Doubt, whether they conceiv'd as we do of the numerical Unity of the divine Essence; 'tis no more than what I have own'd. But to yield, that upon the whole their settled Opinion was to deny it, would make it to be in vain for me or any other to go about to justify Infant Baptism or any Thing else by the Practice of those whom we call the ancient Christians, if those Ancients be allowed to have been no Christians, but Tritheists.*

*But it will be objected, and it has been told me even by my Friends, that in speaking of these Matters I might have used Expressions that had carried in 'em more acknowledgment of, and Deference to, the high*  
*Character*



*Character and great Accomplishments of the Person from whom I dissented.*

*This, I doubt, is true: and is a Fault, or at least a Deficiency which I would amend if I could, and have in this Edition endeavor'd: tho' I fear it will appear that at best I have but a mean Faculty at courtly or handsom Expressions. This may be called Bluntness and Rusticity in a Writer: but 'tis hard upon us Countrymen, if this must be styl'd a Reflection. In some Cases the very Weight of the Matter does give a Dispensation for Salutations. In a Word, As to the Matter it self, and the Positions themselves, I am of the same Mind I was when I wrote; and have endeavor'd to confirm 'em against some new Cavils of Mr. le Clerc brought, since my first Edition, against St. Hilary. As for the Expressions; I wish 'em better than they were, or yet are. And having said so much here, I shall have need to say the less on that Matter at the place it self.*

*But putting the Case I had used Reflections on this one Reverend Bishop; Why does my Accuser put a plural Number instead of a Singular? Why does he go about to make mine a Party-Book as his is? I could almost be content to refer it to him himself to determin what a Man must do in such a Case as mine was. I was vindicating the Fathers against Mr. le Clerc. If I found that a great Man had expressed an Opinion to the Disadvantage of my Defence, Must I therefore of necessity give it over? There is now another great and learned Man, who lately maintaining one of Origen's Tenets (viz. about the Prae-existence of Christ's human Soul: of which I have Occasion (a) to say something) and finding that the Generality of the ancient Church-men condemn'd Origen for this; endeavor'd to be even with 'em all by one Stroke. He says; Who that considers what an Account is given (particularly by Eusebius and St. Cyprian) of the early sad Degeneracy of the Church, can at all matter the Judgment of those Church-men, as such?*

*Now they do indeed make pious Complaints and humble Confessions to God of their Unworthiness and of the Corruptions of the Times: one of which is here recited out of Platina. But 'tis very hard to take such Advantage of this, as from thence to conclude that their Judgments are not at all in any thing to be matter'd. 'Tis in vain then to study and learn to know their Judgments and Practices in any Point of Religion.*

*By*

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(a) Pt. 2. CH. VIII. §. 6. p. 5.

*By such a Course we shall never fail to represent the best Men that ever were (such as Job, David, Daniel, St. Paul) the worst that ever were, and their Times the most corrupt: for they are most free in condemning themselves and complaining of the Times. To carry up such a Degree of the Degeneracy of the Church (as to render their Judgments not worthy any Regard) to the Times so early as Constantine's and even St. Cyprian's Time, does leave us but a woful Spectacle of a Catholic Church: and it is but a Step farther to carry it to St. Paul's Time, who utters a worse Complaint of his Time (if we were to take such pious Bemoanings in a rigorous Sense) than Eusebius or St. Cyprian do of theirs. All seek their own, and not the Things that are Jesus Christ's, Phil. 2. 21. He means, A great many even of the Preachers and Ministers imployed by him, had too much of this worldly Affection and Infirmary: yet we hope there was a Catholic Church then, and their Judgment something to be regarded.*

*Now so it is, that this Writer also is a right reverend Bishop (whether a Favorit of the Lower-House, I know not: I leave that to our Author, who has great Skill in such things). What must we do in such a Case? We must either dissent from this Censure on the Fathers (and that, I fear, will be call'd a Reflection) or else we must assent: and then I am sure we shall make a very hard Reflection on thousands of Bishops at once, whose Judgment and Authority for above 1000 Years has been highly regarded in the Church of Christ, and will be, so long till it is farther degenerated than it is yet.*

*And when my Accuser speaks of Reflections; I should be sorry if ever in all my Life I had made so unworthy and vile a Reflection on any one Person, as he does, within two Lines after the Words fore-cited, on a great Body of reverend Persons, the Majority of the Lower-House of Convocation. As he makes the Reason of their Commending my Book to be the foresaid one; so he makes the Reason of their Censuring Mr. H's Sermon to be, because it expresses a great Zeal for the Honor of the Revolution, and no less Concern for the present Government, and the Succession in the Protestant Line. Now is not this broadly to insinuate that the Lower-House of Convocation have an Aversion to the present Government, and to the Succession in the Protestant Line? An Accusation which, if true, would justly bring their Lives in Danger, and which seems to be design'd to render 'em suspected to the Government, odious to all good Subjects, and obnoxious to the Law. Does he think 'em all perjur'd Persons, and such as re-*  
gard



gard not an Oath ? Since they have all sworn an Acknowledgment of, and Adherence to, both her present Majesty (whom God long preserve) and the Protestant Succession : and do in their public Prayers and other solemn Declarations, every Day almost, declare their Continuance in the same loyal Sentiments. Are not these, most odious and intolerable Reflections ? There are indeed two or three Boutefeus who do in weekly Papers suggest to all the Coffee-Houses such an Opinion as this is, of the Clergy. But they constantly writing so, and the contrary constantly appearing, has at last render'd those Writers incapable of doing any more Mischief in this Way. But will this Author act the Part of one of them ? As to the Falshood of the Accusation (taken as spoken of the Body or general Part of 'em) I may be sure of it by this ; That I do not know (as I solemnly declare I do not know) any one Clergy-man in England, either in City or Country, either in the Convocation or out of it, concerning whom I have any Reason to doubt either of his loyal and dutiful Allegiance to her Majesty, or his true Concern for the Succession establish'd by her Majesty in Parliament. And shall this Man suggest the contrary concerning the Body of those whom we choose to represent us in Convocation ? Are they therefore to be accounted ill affected to her Majesty, because they are griev'd that any one should preach the Lawfulness of resisting Her, or any lawful Sovereign, on any Pretence whatever ? The furious Heats in Church and State, which set Men on insinuating such Reproaches, one against another, are become so exorbitant, that he can hardly be a good Member of either, that does not do his Endeavor to allay 'em. But is this the Way ?

I am sensible, this must be as tiresome to the Reader as grievous to me. Therefore to return to my Subject of Infant-Baptism : I conclude with a Story told by Cassander (7) which he makes long, but the Substance is this ; “ A Man of Note among the Antipædobaptists, being told that there was a full Agreement of all the Ancients, who do with one Mouth affirm, that this Custom of Baptizing Infants has been in use ever since the Apostles Times, confessed ingenuously, that he did put a great Value upon such a Consent of the Church ; and should be much moved with such an Agreement of the ancient Christian Writers : and that if this could be proved by competent Testimonies, he was not so obstinate  
“ as

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(7) Præfat. in Testimonia de Pædobaptismo.

“ as to flight so forcible a Reason : especially if such Authors were  
“ produc’d to prove this, as lived very nigh the Apostles Times.  
“ And therefore he earnestly desir’d that the Testimonies of this  
“ Matter should be shewn to him. And having read them, and (as  
“ he was a Man of good Sense) diligently consider’d ’em ; he alter’d  
“ that Opinion which he had taken up from a mistaken Under-  
“ standing of the Scripture. Which happened in him because he  
“ was endued with these three good Qualities.

“ 1. The Fear of God and Reverence for his Word : So that  
“ it was by Occasion of that Zeal for Truth that he fell into this  
“ Way.

“ 2. Judgment and good Sense : so that he quickly perceived the  
“ Force of an Argument.

“ 3. Modesty and a Meek Temper, which caused that when he  
“ had heard and comprehended the Truth, he did not obstinately  
“ withstand it. *To which I shall here add an Advice of Bp. Stilling-*  
*fleet to his Clergy, (8) whose Sayings and Advices all People love to*  
*hear.* Where the Sense [of Scripture] appears doubtful ; and Dis-  
putes have been rais’d about it ; Inquire into the Sense of the Chri-  
stian Church in the first Ages, as the best Interpreter of Scripture :  
As whether, &c. And, whether Baptism were not administred to  
Infants, &c.

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(8) Duties and Rights of the Parochial Clergy, p. 118.



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In the  
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# T H E I N T R O D U C T I O N.

§. I. **T**H E Meaning and full Import of a Rule given in any old Book for the doing of any Thing is not so well apprehended by us, unless we understand the History of that Nation and of that Time in which the said Rule was given. And this holds especially for such Rules as are express'd in very short and general Words.

For 'tis common for a Rule or Law to be so worded, as that one may perceive that the Lawgiver has supposed or taken for granted, that the People to whom it was given did already know and understand some Things which were previous to the apprehending of his Meaning: so that 'twas needless to express 'em. But tho' these Things were ordinarily known to the People of that Time and Place; yet we that live at so great a Distance of Time do not know 'em without an Inquiry made into the History of the State of that Time, as to those Things which the Law speaks of: and consequently without such Inquiry the Law or Rule that was plain to them, will in many Particulars be obscure to us. So, for Example, many of the *Grecian* and *Roman* Laws, whereof we have Copies yet extant, would not be well understood by us, unless they were explain'd to us by such as have Skill in the History of the State of Affairs in those Empires. And so many Passages in the Books of the New Testament of our Savior Christ are not rightly apprehended without having Recourse to the Books of the Old Testament, and other Books wherein the Customs of the *Jewish* Nation are set forth, for understanding the State of Religion among that People at that Time when our Savior gave his Rules.

And another Thing that does much help us in understanding the Meaning of any such old Law, that is given in such short Words, is, to observe and learn how the Men that liv'd in, or so near, that Time, that the Meaning of the Law giver must easily be known by 'em, did practise it. For in what Particulars soever we may doubt how or in what Manner it is to be executed, their Actions and Declarations do serve as Precedents to us upon the said Law. And this

holds especially in such Laws as have been in continual use from the Time of their enacting to this Time.

Now our Savior's Law concerning *Baptizing all the Nations*, is, as I shewed in the Preface, set down in Scripture in very short and general Words: And many People of later Times have doubted whether it is to be understood to reach to the Baptizing of Infants, or only of adult Persons. All that have any such Doubt, ought to have Recourse to the two several Helps for understanding the said Law, which I have here propos'd.

I mean, they ought to learn as well as they can; what was the State of the *Jewish* Religion as to Baptism, at and before that Time when our Savior gave his Order for baptizing all the Nations; and what we must suppose the Apostles did of themselves already know concerning its being proper or improper for Infants; which it might not be so needful for our Savior to express in his new Direction to 'em.

And also they ought to learn as well as they can, how the first Christians did practise in this Matter: whether they baptiz'd their Infants or not.

'Tis the later of these two Things, that I have taken upon me as my Task to shew; *viz.* how the Primitive Christians did practise: and this I do by giving you their own Words, without omitting any that I know of for the first 400 Years after Christ.

But yet some Knowledge of the other Point also (*viz.* how the Jews in and before our Savior's Time did use to act in reference to the Baptizing of Infants) is so very necessary to a right Understanding of the Words both of our Savior and his Apostles, and also of the Primitive Christians; and he that knows nothing of it, is so incompetent a Judge of the Force of their Sayings; that I think it needful for the Use of ordinary Readers to premise, by way of Introduction, some Account of that Matter also.

But I do not pretend in this Introduction in which I treat of the Custom of the Jews in baptizing Infants before our Savior's Time, to do as I do in the Book it self, wherein I treat of the Custom of the Christians in baptizing them after it: That is, to recite all the Authorities that are about that Matter. Partly because the Quotations for that Purpose are to be search'd for in Books with which I am not so well acquainted: And partly because those few which I shall produce, will make it clear enough that there was such a Custom. I shall therefore content my self with reciting such of 'em as have been already made use of by learned Men: Such as *Ainsworth* on *Gen.* 17. *Dr. Hammond's* Annotations on *Mat.* 3. *Mat.* 19. *Mat.* 23. *John* 3. *it. Six Queries.* *it. Defence of Infant Baptism.* *Selden de jure Nat. & Gent. juxta Hebraeos.* *it. de Synedriis.* *it. de successioneibus,* &c. *Dr. Lightfoot.* *Hor. Hebr.* on *Mat.* 3. and *John* 3. *it. Harmony on the New Testament.*

Luke



Luke 3. *Jacob. Alting. prælectio 7. de profelytis, &c.* and the learned Author of the *Discourse concerning Lent*, Pt. 2. Ch. 2.

First then, it is evident that the Custom of the Jews before our Savior's Time (and, as they themselves affirm, from the Beginning of their Law) was to baptize as well as circumcise any Profelyte that came over to them from the Nations. This does fully appear both from the Books of the Jews themselves, and also of others that understood the Jewish Customs and have written of 'em. They reckon'd all Mankind beside themselves to be in an unclean State, and not capable of being enter'd into the Covenant of *Israelites* without a *Washing* or *Baptism*, to denote their Purification from their Uncleanneſs: And this was called the Baptizing of 'em unto *Moses*.

This Custom of theirs is fully and largely ſet forth by

*Maimonides. Ifuri Bia, c. 13, & 14.*

He had been ſaying there that the *Israelites* themſelves were enter'd into Covenant by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and Sacrifice. And then he adds;

*And ſo in all Ages when an Ethnic is willing to enter into the Covenant and gather himſelf under the Wings of the Maſteſty of God, and take upon him the Yoke of the Law; he muſt be circumciſ'd, and baptiz'd, and bring a Sacrifice; or if it be a Woman, be baptiz'd, and bring a Sacrifice. As it is written (a); As you are, ſo ſhall the Stranger be. How are you? By Circumciſion, and Baptiſm, and bringing of a Sacrifice. So likewiſe the Stranger [or Profelyte] thro' all Generations; by Circumciſion and Baptiſm and bringing of a Sacrifice. And what is the Stranger's Sacrifice? A Burnt-offering of a Beaſt, or two Turtle Doves, or two young Pigeons, both of 'em for a Burnt-offering.*

*And at this Time, when there is no Sacrificing; they muſt be circumciſ'd and baptiz'd: and when the Temple ſhall be built, they are to bring the Sacrifice.*

*A Stranger that is circumciſ'd and not baptiz'd; or baptiz'd and not circumciſ'd; he is not a Profelyte till he be both circumciſ'd and baptiz'd. And he muſt be baptiz'd in the Preſence of three, &c.*

*Even as they circumciſe and baptize Strangers; ſo do they circumciſe and baptize Servants that are received from Heathens, into the Name of Servitude, &c.*

*When a Man or a Woman comes to join as a Profelyte; they make diligent Inquiry concerning ſuch, leſt they come to get themſelves under the Law for ſome Riches that they ſhould receive, or for Dignity that they ſhould obtain; or for Fear. If it be a Man: they inquire whether he have not ſet his Affection on ſome Jewish Woman: or a Woman, her Affection on ſome young Man of *Israel*. If no ſuch like Occaſion be found in them; they make*

known unto 'em the Weightiness of the Yoke of the Law, and the Toil that is in the doing thereof, above that which People of other Lands have: To see if they will go back. If they take it upon them, and withdraw not, and they see that they come of Love; then they receive 'em, &c.

Therefore the Judges received no Profelyte all the Days of David and Solomon. Not in David's Days, lest they should have come of Fear: Nor in Solomon's, lest they should have come because of the Kingdom and great Prosperity which Israel then had. For whoso comes from the Heathens for any Thing of the Vanities of this World, he is no righteous Profelyte. Notwithstanding there were many Profelytes that in David's and Solomon's Time joined themselves in the Presence of private Persons: and the Judges of the great Synedrion had a Care of 'em. They drove 'em not away, after they were baptiz'd, out of any Place: Neither took they 'em near to them, until their After-fruits appeared.

Maimonides gives at the same Place an Account of several Circumstances of Time, Place, &c. observed in this Action of baptizing a Profelyte. As that, They baptized not a Profelyte on the Sabbath, nor on a Holy-Day, nor by Night, &c. They do it in a Confluence of Waters, &c. As soon as he grows whole of the Wound of Circumcision, they bring him to Baptism: And being placed in the Water, they again instruct him, &c. And such a Confluence of Waters, Jonathan's Chaldee Paraphrase determines ought not to be less than 40 of the Measures called Sata, where he paraphrases on Exod. 29. Lev. 11. and other Places.

The Talmud says the same thing of receiving Profelytes by Baptism: only whereas Maimonides speaks of the Number of Three, as necessary to be present at the baptizing; the Talmud Babylonie does not insist on any more than two grave Men.

Talmud. Babylon. Mass. Jevamoth, fol. 47.

When a Profelyte is received, he must be circumcised: And then when he is cured [of the Wound of Circumcision] they baptize him in the Presence of two wise Men, saying; Behold he is an Israelite in all Things. Or if it be a Woman; the Women lead her to the Waters, &c.

But the Talmud Hierosol. Jevamoth says as Maimonides does, that a Profelyte has need of Three (b). And directs the other Circumstances as he does, viz. They do not baptize a Profelyte by Night (c). And, They were not baptized till the Pain of Circumcision were healed (d).

And the same continues to this Day to be the Practice of the present Jews. For so Leo Modena in his History of them, Pt. 5. CH. 2. speaking of a Profelyte's Admission; They take and circumcise him: and as soon as he is well of his Sore, he is to wash himself all over in Water: and this is to be done in the Presence of three Rabbins, &c. And so from thenceforth he becomes as a natural Jew.

The

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(b) Fol. 46. 2. (c) Fol. 46. 2. (d) Fol. 41. 2.



The Books do speak of this Washing, or Baptism, as absolutely necessary; and an Ordinance without which none was to be counted a Profelyte. So

*Gemara Babylon. ad tit. Cherithoth, c. 2.*

*The Profelytes enter'd not into Covenant, but by Circumcision, Baptism, and sprinkling of Blood.*

*And Tit. Jabimoth, c. 4.*

*He is no Profelyte unless he be circumcised and baptized. And, If he be not baptized; he remains a Gentile [or Pagan].* And there is in that Chapter a Proof given of that Opinion of the Necessity, which I shall have Occasion by and by to mention.

*Maimonides* says the same Thing, as we saw in the Chapter I quoted before (e).

Also the *Talmud. Tract. Repudii*, speaking of *Jethro, Moses's Father-in-law*.

*He was made a Profelyte by Circumcision and Immersion in Waters.*

This Custom of the Jews continued after Christ's Time, and after their Expulsion from the Holy Land; and continues (as I shew'd from *Leo Modena*) to this Day, if there be any that now a-days do turn Profelytes to their Religion. Wherever they sojourned; if they found any of that Country that chose to be of their Religion, they would not admit him, unless he would first be washed or baptized by them. And some heathen Writers do express a great deal of Scorn and Disdain at this their valuing themselves upon their own Purity in comparison with other Nations. So *Arrianus*, a Philosopher at *Rome*, (about the Year of Christ 147) jeers (f) those that turn'd Profelytes to the Jews, calling them βαμμύνους, dipt: and describes their Custom to be, that when a Man is so dipt by them, then he is accounted πῶς ἔστι Ἰουδαῖος, a right Jew: and calls one that is a Counterfeit Profelyte to them, πεισβαπτιστὴν, one that puts an Abuse upon their Ceremony of Baptism.

This solemn Baptizing of Profelytes differ'd from the rest of their divers Baptisms (which *St. Paul, Heb. 9. 10.* says were customary among the Jews) in this; that those others were upon new Occasions of Uncleanness, &c. many Times repeated: but this was never given but once to one Person. It was called (as *Dr. Lightfoot* shews (g), *Baptism for Profelytism*, distinct from *Baptism for Uncleanness*.

§. 2. It is not very material to our Purpose to inquire upon what Reasons or Authorities this Custom of the Jews of baptizing all Profelytes was grounded. All that is material, is to know that they had Time out of Mind such a Custom. And for that, the Sayings of their own Writers here produc'd are a sufficient Evidence. Yet I shall spend a few Words in shewing how they prove the Necessity of this Washing, or Baptizing, from *Moses's Law*. They

(e) *Isuri Bia*, c. 13: (f) *Dissert. in Epictet. l. 2. c. 9.* (g) *Hor. Heb. on Mat. 3. 6.*

They take notice that *Moses Numb. 15. 15.* orders thus, *One Ordinance shall be both for you of the Congregation, and also for the Stranger [or Profelyte] that sojourns with you. An Ordinance for ever in your Generations: As you are, so shall the Stranger be before the Lord. One Law and one Manner shall be for you and for the Stranger, &c.* Now they reckon that the *Israelites* themselves were at their entring into Covenant with God at the Time of their receiving the Law in Mount *Sinai*, all of 'em washed or baptized. So they understand those Words, *Exod. 19. 10.* *And the Lord said unto Moses; Go unto all the People and sanctifie them to Day and to Morrow, and let 'em wash their Clothes, and be ready against the third Day: and the third Day the Lord will come down, &c.* They understand the Meaning of that Command by which *Moses* was to sanctifie the People on those two Days, to be the Washing of 'em: and so that Word, *to sanctifie*, does commonly signifie in the Jewish Law (as several Writers have shewn by many Instances, and I also do in this Book (h) give some) especially when 'tis spoken of a Man sanctifying other Men. And *Maimonides, Mickvaoth. it. More Nebochim. Pt. 3. c. 33.* says; This is a Rule; that *wheresoever in the Law the Washing of the Body or Garments is mention'd, it means still the Washing of the whole Body.* And the same is affirmed; *Gemara Babyl. Tit. Jabimoth, c. 4. Fol. 46.* And so *Aben Ezra*, on that Place of Scripture (i) where *Jacob* being to meet with God at *Bethel*, said to his Household; *Be clean, and change your Garments*; understands the washing of their Bodies. And *Selden* (k) shews by the Expositions which the Jewish Commentators give on *Levit. 11. 25, 28, 40. Levit. 14. 8, 47. Numb. 19. 10, 21. Numb. 31. 24.* and several other Texts where washing of Garments is mention'd, that they always understand washing of the whole Body. And for the like understanding of the foresaid Place in *Exod. 19. 10.* quotes *Mechilta. Nachmanid. R. Bechai. Moses Mikotfi, &c.*

That they gave this (Baptism of the Jews, and the Command for Profelytes to be as the Jews were) as a Proof that Profelytes must be baptiz'd, appears by the Words of *Maimonides* in the place before quoted. For he first says thus; *By three Things did Israel enter into Covenant, by Circumcision, and Baptism, and Sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt, as it is written; no uncircumcised (l) Person shall eat thereof, &c. Baptism was in the Wilderness just before the giving of the Law: as it is written (m); sanctifie them to Day and to Morrow, and let them wash their Clothes. And sacrifice: as it is said (n), And he sent young Men of the Sons of Israel which offer'd Burnt-offerings, &c.*

And

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(h) Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 11. (i) Gen. 35. 2. (k) De Synedr. l. 1. c. 3. (l) Exod. 12. 43. (m) Exod. 19. 10. (n) Exod. 24. 5.



And then he adds that which I recited before concerning Profelytes; *And so in all Ages when an Ethnic is willing, &c. he must be circumcised, and baptiz'd, and bring a Sacrifice: As it is written; As you are, so shall the Stranger be, &c.*

And so says the *Talmud. Tract. Repud.*

*Israel does not enter into Covenant but by these three Things, by Circumcision, Baptism, and Peace Offering: And the Profelytes in like manner.*

And again, *ad Tit. Cherithoth, c. 2.*

*As you are so shall the Stranger be. As you are, that is; as was done to your Fathers. And what was done to them? Your Fathers did not enter into Covenant but by Circumcision, and Baptism, and Sprinkling of Blood. So neither do Profelytes enter into Covenant, but by Circumcision, and Baptism, and Sprinkling of Blood.*

And Rabbi Solomon. *in loc.*

*Our Rabbies teach that our Fathers enter'd into Covenant by Circumcision, and Baptism, and Sprinkling of Blood, &c.*

The ancient Christians, especially such of 'em as liv'd in Places where they could have Converse with the learned Jews, and might learn from them the Meaning of the *Hebrew* Phrases used in the Old Testament, do also speak of this Baptism of the Jews.

So Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. 39.* shewing the Preference of the Christian Baptism before the Jewish, says, *Εβάπτισε Μωϋσής, ἀλλ' ἐν ὕδατι καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἐν νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. πῶπως ὃ τότε ἦν, ὥς καὶ Πάυλος δοκεῖ, &c.* Moses gave a Baptism, but that was with Water only. And before that, they were baptiz'd in the Cloud and in the Sea. But these were but a Type [or Figure] of ours; as Paul also understands it.

And St. Cyprian. *Epist. 73. ad Jubaianum.*

*Alia enim fuit Judeorum sub Apostolis ratio: alia est Gentilium conditio. Illi quia jam legis & Moyſi antiquissimum baptisma fuerant adepti, in nomine quoque Jesu Christi erant baptizandi.*

The Case of the Jews who were to be baptiz'd by the Apostles was different from the Case of the Gentiles; for the Jews had already, and a long time ago, the Baptism of the Law and of Moses; and were now to be baptiz'd in the Name of Jesus Christ.

Also St. Basil in his Oration of Baptism, compares together the Baptisms of Moses, of John, and of Christ. Whose Words I shall quote *Pt. 1. CH. XII. §. 7.* of this Collection.

And before them all, *Tertullian*, having in his Book of Baptism, *c. 5.* shewn by several Particulars, that the Heathens had used of old a certain Rite of Baptizing, which they said was for their Regeneration and for the Forgiveness of their Sins, applies to it this Observation; *Hic quoque Studium Diaboli cognoscimus res Dei amulantis, cum & ipse baptismum in suis exercet.* Here we see the Aim of the Devil to ape [or imitate] the Things of God. Since he also sets up a Baptism for his Disciples.

Now

Now the Divine Baptism which, he says, the Devil imitated, must be the Jewish Baptism. For the Rites of *Apollo* and *Ceres* (in which he there instances, as those in which the said Baptism was used) were long before the Times of the Christian Baptism. The Place I recite among some other Passages of *Tertullian*, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 11.

And Mr. *Selden*, de *Synedr.* l. 1. c. 3. observes that that Saying of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 10. 1, 2. *All our Fathers were baptiz'd unto Moses in the Cloud and in the Sea*, would have been difficult for those to whom St. *Paul* wrote, to make any Sense of; had it not been a Thing well known at that Time when the Apostle wrote, that the Jews look'd upon themselves as having been enter'd into Covenant by Baptism: and that St. *Paul* spoke as alluding to that. And Dr. *Hammond* concludes the same (o).

§. 3. Secondly, It is to be observ'd, that if any such Profelyte who came over to the Jewish Religion and was baptiz'd into it, had any Infant Children then born to him; they also were at the Father's Desire circumcis'd and baptiz'd, and admitted as Profelytes. The Child's Inability to declare or promise for himself was not look'd on as a Bar against his Reception into the Covenant: but the Desire of his Father to dedicate him to the true God, was counted available and sufficient to justify his Admission. So that it was with such a Profelyte as it was with *Abraham* at his first Admission to the Covenant of Circumcision: As *Abraham* of 99 Years old, and *Ishmael* his Son of 13 Years old, and all the Males in his House that were 8 Days old or upward, were circumcis'd at the same Time; so such a Profelyte with all his, were both baptiz'd (and circumcis'd if they were male Children) and had each of 'em a Sacrifice (such as was by Law (p) requir'd for a Jew's Child) made for 'em: but if Females; they were baptiz'd, and a Sacrifice was offer'd for 'em.

And the Reason which the Jewish Writers give, why it was not necessary to stay to see whether the Child, when come to Age, would be willing to engage himself in the Covenant of the true God, or not, is this; That it is out of the Reach of any Doubt or Controversie, that *this is for his Good*. Where there may be any Question made whether a Thing be beneficial, or not; the Concerns of a Child are not to be disposed of by another: but here the Benefit of being dedicated to *Jehovah* (of which Dedication these Rites were the Sacrament and Seal) is evident and unquestionable. One may (as they give the Reason) *privilege a Person, tho' he be incapable of knowing it; but one ought not to disprivilege a Person without his Knowledge*.

They judge therefore that a Profelyte had no more need to expect his Child's Consent to be cleansed by this Baptism or Washing from the unclean and accursed Estate in which he was born, than a natural



ral Jew had to make any such Delay in giving his Child Circumcision, the Seal of the Covenant. Which Delay, instead of being cautious, would have been impious. This Reason of theirs will appear in their Sayings, which I am now going to produce.

*Gemara Babylon. Chetuboth, c. 1. fol. 11.*

*If with a Profelyte his Sons and his Daughters be made Profelytes; that which is done by their Father redounds to their Good.*

And 'tis not only the *Gemara* (which perhaps some will object against, as not being ancient enough) but the Text of the *Misna* it self, both in the *Babylonian* and in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which speaks at that Place of a Child becoming, or being made, a Profelyte. For the *Jerusalem Misna* says, that if a Girl born of heathen Parents be made a Profelyte after she be three Years and a Day old; then she is not to have such and such Privileges there mention'd. And that of the *Babylon Edition* says, that if she be made a Profelyte before that Age, she shall have the said Privileges. Both agreeing (as *Selden* reciting (q) those Places observes) that a Child of never so little Age might by their Custom be made a Profelyte. And then the *Gemara* there gives the Reason, or rather takes off the Objection which might be made because of their Nonage, saying;

*They are wont to baptize such a Profelyte in Infancy upon the Profession of the House of Judgment [the Court]. For this is for his Good.*

And the *Gloss* there (having first put in an Exception, that if the Father of the Child be alive and present, the Child is baptiz'd at his Request: but if not, on the Profession of the Court) comments thus on those Words.

*They are wont to baptize. Because, says the Gloss, none is made a Profelyte without Circumcision and Baptism. Upon the Profession of the House of Judgment. That is, the three Men have the Care of his Baptism, according to the Law of the Baptism of Profelytes, which requires three Men: who do so become to him a Father. And he is by them made a Profelyte, &c.*

So that, as *Selden* there expresses it, *A Profelyte, if of Age, made Profession to the Court, that he would keep Moses's Law. But in the Case of Minors, the Court it self did profess in their Name the same thing. Just as in the Christian Church the Godfathers do: at least, if their Parents were not there to do it for 'em.*

And *Maimonides* in the Chapter I quoted before, *Issuri Bia, c. 13. §. 7.* after he has discours'd what I there recited of the Baptism of grown Persons made Profelytes, adds the same that the *Gemara* had said.

*A Profelyte that is under Age they are wont to baptize upon the Knowledge [or Profession] of the House of Judgment [or Court] Because this is for his Good.*

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*The Jews Baptized the Infants of Profelytes, but not their own.*

If a Child were fatherless, and his Mother brought him ; they baptiz'd him at her Desire : but the Court professed for him. As the *Gemara* says at the place forecited.

Concerning the Age of the Child to be baptiz'd, they had this Rule : *Any male Child of such a Profelyte, that was under the Age of 13 Years and a Day ; and Females that were under 12 Years and a Day, they baptized as Infants at the Request and by the Assent of the Father, or the Authority of the Court : because such an one was not yet the Son of Assent ; as they phrase it, i. e. not capable to give Assent for himself : but the Thing is for his Good.* If they were above that Age, they consented for themselves. This *Selden* shews, both in his Book *de jure Nat. & Gent. juxta Hebraeos*, l. 2. c. 2. and also *de Synedr.* l. 1. c. 3. by Particulars too large to be inserted here.

*Rabbi Joseph* indeed gives this Sentence, that when they grow to Years, they may retract. Where the *Gloss* writes thus ; *this is to be understood of little Children, who are made Profelytes together with their Fathers.* And the same is the Opinion of some People concerning Christians Children baptized in Infancy. But the Council of *Trent* anathematizes (r) this Opinion.

What has been said of the Baptism of Children of Profelytes, is to be understood of such Children as were born before the Parents themselves were baptized : for all the Children that were born to them afterward, they reckon'd were clean by their Birth ; as being born of Parents that were cleansed from the polluted State of Heathenism, and that were in the Covenant of *Abraham*, and were become as natural Jews. They therefore did by them only the same Thing that the natural Jews did by their Children : that is, for the male Children they used Circumcision, and Sacrifice or Offering : and for the Females only a Sacrifice.

*Dr. Hammond* did indeed once maintain the contrary in a Dispute (s) with *Mr. Selden* and *Mr. Tombs* : and thought that both the Children of natural Jews were wont to be baptized ; and also the Children of Profelytes born after their Parents Baptism. But the learned Men that have since made a more exact Enquiry in the Books of the learned Jews, have found and given their Verdict, that *Selden* was in the right, and the Dr. in a Mistake in that Matter. And *Bp. Taylor*, *Mr. Walker*, &c. have followed him in that Mistake.

The natural Jews reckon'd that neither they themselves nor their Children did stand in any Need of this Baptism, never since the time (which I mention'd before) when their whole Nation, Men, Women, and Infants, were baptiz'd before the giving of the Law on Mount *Sinai*. 'Twas our Savior who first order'd by himself and by his Fore-runner, that every particular Person, Jew or Gentile, or of what Parents

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(r) *Seff. 7. Can. de Baptismo* 14. (s) *Defence of Inf. Bapt.*



rents forever born, must be *born* (t) *again of Water*. As for the Profelytes Baptism, it was a Rule among 'em, as Mr. Selden shews (u) that it *was never reiterated on him or his Posterity*. And as other learned Men do shew, that *Filius baptizati habetur pro baptizato*. "He that is born of a baptized Parent is accounted as baptized. And Dr. Lightfoot gives this as their Rule, *The Sons of Profelytes, in following Generations were circumcised indeed; but not baptized*—as being already Israelites.

And tho' the Child were begotten and conceived in the Womb before the Parents were baptiz'd; yet if they (and particularly if the Mother) were baptized before it was born into the World, the Jews had a Saying (which is quoted by (x) Dr. Hammond himself) recorded by *Maimonides, Iss. Bia. c. 13.* and also in the *Talmud*.

*A heathen Woman, if she is made a Profelyte when big with Child; that Child needs not Baptism: for the Baptism of the Mother serves him for Baptism.*

§. 4. Thirdly, This is also plainly prov'd and agreed by all the learned Men aforesaid and by all others, to have been the Custom of the Jews; that if they found any Child that had been expos'd in the Fields, Woods, or High-Ways by the Heathens; or if they took in War any Infant Children, whom they brought home as Booty, and intended to bring 'em up in their Religion; they baptiz'd 'em in Infancy, and accounted 'em as Profelytes. So says,

*Maimonides. Halach Aibdim. c. 8.*

*An Israelite that takes a little heathen Child, or that finds an heathen Infant, and baptizes him for a Profelyte: Behold he is a Profelyte.*

At this Baptism of such a Child the Owner of him was wont to determin whether he should be a Slave or a Freeman: and he was baptiz'd in the Name of the one or of the other accordingly. To which purpose is that Rule of *Rabbi Hezekiah*, set down in the

*Hierosol. Jevamoth. fol. 8. 4.*

*Behold, one finds an Infant cast out, and baptizes him in the Name of a Servant: Do thou also circumcise him in the Name of a Servant. But if he baptize him in the Name of a Freeman: Do thou also circumcise him in the Name of a Freeman.*

These Cases were very frequent. For besides that many Profelytes of the *Gentiles* came over with their Children; the Jews Custom in War was to bring away the Children of the People whom they conquer'd, that they might either make Servants of 'em, or if they took a liking to 'em, adopt them for their own. And 'twas a common Thing with the Heathens to expose their Infants, whom they would not be at the Charge to bring up, in the High-Ways, &c. So that

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(t) John 3. 3, 5. (u) De jure Nat. & Gent. l. 2. c. 2. (x) Six Quær. Inf. Bay  
§. 109.

Dr. Lightfoot says (y) *The baptizing of Infants was a Thing as well known in the Church of the Jews, as ever it has been in the Christian Church.*

§. 5. Now this gives great Light for the better understanding the Meaning of our Savior, when he bids his Apostles (z) *Go and disciple all the Nations, and baptize 'em.* For when a Commission is given in such short Words, and there is no express Direction what they shall do with the Infants of those who become Profelytes; the natural and obvious Interpretation is, that they must do in that Matter as they and the Church in which they liv'd always used to do.

As now at this Time, if an Island or Country of Heathens be discover'd, and a Minister be sent out to them by the Bishops of the Church of England, who should say, *Go and convert such a Nation and baptize 'em*; He would know without asking any Question, that he must baptize the Infants of those who, being converted, offer'd them to Baptism; because he knows that to be the Meaning and the Custom of that Church or Bishop by which he is sent. And on the contrary, if any one were sent from a Church or Congregation of Antipædobaptists with a Commission of the same Words, *Go and convert such a Nation and baptize 'em*; he would take it for granted that he must baptize none of their Infants, because he knows that to be contrary to the Meaning and Custom of the Church that sends him.

So when the Apostles were sent out to the Heathen Nations with a Commission of no other Words than these, *Go and disciple [or profelyte] all the Nations, baptizing 'em in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*: when the Case came in hand of the Infant Children of those that were *discipled*, what could they think other, but that they must do with 'em as had been usually done in that Church in which they and their Master had always liv'd? Since the Nations were to be profelyted, How could they, without particular Order, alter any thing in the customary Way of receiving Profelytes of the Nations? For to *disciple* the Nations to Christ, is the same thing as to *profelyte* 'em to him: and probably in the *Hebrew* Text of St. *Matthew* was the same Word: And we see that the customary Phrase and Language of the Jews was to call the Infants, *young Profelytes*, or *Disciples*: as I shall shew (a) that *Justin Martyr*, one of the eldest Christian Writers, calls the Christian Infants likewise.

If our Savior meant that the Apostles should make any Alteration in that Matter, and not baptize the Infants as had been usually done; it is a Wonder He did not say so.

The Antipædobaptists depend upon this as an unerring Rule; that since our Savior did not say (or at least St. *Matthew* does not recite that he said) *Baptize the Infants also*; his Meaning must have been that they should not baptize 'em.

But

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(y) Hor. Hebr. on Mat. 3. 6. (z) Mat. 28. 19. (a) Pt. 1. CH. II. §. 6.



But if they would put this Case; Suppose our Savior had bid the Apostles, *Go and disciple all the Nations, and* (instead of baptizing had said) *circumcise 'em*: An Antipædobaptist will grant that in that Case, without any more Words, the Apostles must have circumcised the Infants of the Nations as well as the grown Men, tho' there had been no express Mention of Infants in the Commission: So that that is not always an unerring Rule.

And what is the Reason that in case Circumcision had been appointed for the Nations, it must have been of Course given to Infants tho' they had not been expressly named? The Reason is this; because the Apostles knew of themselves that Circumcision was usually given to Infants. If it do appear then, that Baptism was also usually given to Infants, and the Apostles must know it; the same Reason would direct 'em to the same Interpretation.

If it had been Circumcision that had been order'd, the Apostles going out into the Nations must have circumcised the grown Men at the Age that they found them of: but they would have circumcised the Infants also; because one that is to be circumcised at all should be circumcised in Infancy, if one has then the Power or Direction of him. So they must baptize the grown Men among the Nations at the Age that they found them of: and we have Reason to conclude that they must think themselves oblig'd to give Baptism (or order it to be given) to the Infants also; because by the Rules of Baptism received in their Nation, all that were to be baptiz'd at all, were baptiz'd in Infancy; if they had then the Power and Direction of 'em.

And tho' the Proof that Circumcision was usually given to Infants, is taken from the Writings of the Old Testament; but the Proof that Baptism was usually given to the Infants of Profelytes is taken only from the Testimonies of the Jews themselves: yet the Jews themselves (how fallible soever they are in judging of the Meaning of the Law, what ought to be done, or how necessary it was, yet) cannot fail of being sufficient Witnesses of the Matter of Fact, and able to tell what was actually done among themselves.

The Difference which the Jews made between themselves and other Nations in giving Baptism to *Gentile* Profelytes and their Children, but not to themselves nor their own Children, does not at all affect the Question that is disputed between the Christian Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists: because in respect of the Christian Religion the Jews themselves have the same Need of becoming Profelytes and of being baptized, that other Nations have. The Gospel has concluded all under Sin: and St. Paul speaking of this very matter of Baptism. (b) says, that in respect of it *there is neither Jew nor Greek, i. e.* there is no Difference between 'em. The Jews themselves do seem to have understood that when the *Christ* came, their Nation must be baptiz'd as well as others: and therefore they ask'd John (who baptized Jews)

Why?

*Why (c) baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias? &c. signifying that if he had been the Christ or Elias, they should not have wonder'd at his baptizing of Jews.*

The same Thing is to be said of that Tenet of the Jews, that the Infant Children of a Profelyte, born to him before his Baptism, are to be baptized; but not the Children born to him after his Baptism, nor any of their Posterity in any succeeding Generations, they being now look'd on as natural Jews.

This, I say, does not affect the Question of Christian Pædobaptism. Because that Privilege which the Jew had, or supposed himself to have, above other People, is as to the Christian Dispensation abolish'd: and because both the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists are agreed that all Persons do now need Baptism; as well those that are born of baptized, as those that are born of unbaptized Parents: our Savior having satisfied *Nicodemus (d)* that *that which is born of the Flesh* (whether of a Jewish or Gentile, baptized or unbaptized Parent) *is Flesh*; and *must be born again.*

The Antipædobaptists are satisfied of this. The only Question is, at what Age they must be baptized. Now the Practice of the Jews before and in our Savior's Time was; that all Persons whom they baptiz'd at all, they baptiz'd in Infancy, if they had, as I said, the Power or Possession of 'em in Infancy. And in this Matter our Savior gave no Direction for any Alteration. *He took (as Dr. Lightfoot (e) says) into his Hands Baptism such as he found it: adding only this, that he exalted it to a nobler Purpose and to a larger Use.*

Some Socinians indeed would have the Use of Baptism to be abolish'd in all Christian Nations, where the Body of the People has once been generally baptiz'd: and do say of Christian Baptism, as the Jews did of theirs; that the Baptism of the Forefathers is sufficient for them and all their Posterity. This Reason against the Continuance of Baptism, which was never thought a Reason by any Christians before, *Socinus* gave about 150 Years ago; *Water Baptism (f) seems unnecessary for those that are born of Christians, and do imitate their Parents in the Profession of Christianity. It matters not whether such be baptiz'd or not. And if they be, 'tis all one whether it be at their adult Age or in Infancy.* Which Opinion, or one more against Baptism, the *Quakers* have since taken up. But the Antipædobaptists do hold it necessary, as I said, for every particular Person, and not only for a Nation at the first planting of Christianity.

And 'tis easie to guess what it was that sway'd *Socinus* into the other Opinion: viz. his Desire of abolishing the Doctrin of the Trinity: which it was hard to accomplish so long as Persons were continually baptiz'd into that Faith.

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(c) John 1. 25. (d) John 3. 6, 7. (e) Hor. Hebr. in Mat. 3. 6. (f) Epist. de baptismo, apud Vossium de Baptismo Disp. 13.



There never was any Age (at least since *Abraham*) in which the Children, whether of Jews or Profelytes, that were admitted into Covenant, had not some Badge or Sign of such their Admission. The male Children of *Abraham's* Race were enter'd by Circumcision. The whole Body of the Jews, Men, Women, and Children, were in *Moses's* Time baptiz'd. After which the male Children of Profelytes, that were enter'd with their Parents, were (as well as their Parents) admitted by Circumcision, Baptism, and a Sacrifice: the female Children by Baptism and a Sacrifice. The male Children of the natural Jews, and such male Children of Profelytes as were born after their Parents Baptism, by Circumcision and a Sacrifice: and the female Children by a Sacrifice offer'd for them by the Head of the Family. Now after that Circumcision and Sacrifice were to be abolish'd, there was nothing left but Baptism, or Washing, for a Sign of the Covenant and of professing Religion. This our Savior took (probably as being the easiest and the least Operose of all the rest; and as being common to both Sexes, making no Difference of Male or Female) and injoin'd it (g) to all that should enter into the Kingdom of God. And *St. Paul* does plainly intimate to the *Colossians*, *ch. 2. v. 11, 12.* that it served them instead of Circumcision: calling it, *the Circumcision of Christ; or Christian Circumcision.*

The Baptism indeed of the Nations by the Apostles ought to be regulated by the Practice of *John* and of *Christ* himself (who by the Hands of his Disciples baptized many Jews) rather than by any preceding Custom of the Jewish Nation; if we had any good Ground to believe that they did in the Case of Infants differ, or alter any thing from the usual Way. But we have no kind of Proof that they made any such Alteration. The Commission which our Savior gave to his Disciples to baptize in the Country of *Judea* during his Abode with them, is not at all set down, as I said. And what *John* did in this Particular, we have no Means left to know, but by observing what was done before and after.

There is no express Mention indeed of any Children baptized by him. But to those that consider the Commonness of the Thing (which I have here shewn) for People that came to be baptiz'd to bring their Children along with 'em, that is no more a Cause to think that he baptiz'd no Children, than one's minding that in the History of the Old Testament there is sometimes 500 Years together without the Mention of any Child circumcis'd, is a Cause to think that none were circumcis'd all that while. And whereas 'tis said of the Multitudes that came to *John*, that they were baptiz'd by him, *confessing their Sins* (which Confession can be understood only of the grown Persons) That is no more than would be said in the Case of a Minister of the Church

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(g) John 3. 5.

Church of England (which I put before) going and converting a heathen Nation. For in a short Account which should be sent of his Success, it would be said that Multitudes came, and were baptiz'd *confessing their Sins*: and there would need no Mention of their bringing their Children with 'em: because the converting of the grown Persons was the principal and most difficult Thing, and it would be suppos'd that they brought their Children of Course.

I shall at *CH. XIII.* of this my Collection, shew that *St. Ambrose* does take it for granted that *John* must have baptiz'd Infants as well as others: for he does by way of Allusion make a Comparison between *Elias* and him; and speaks of *Elias's* turning the Waters of *Jordan* back toward the Spring-head, as a Type of that Baptism of Infants by *St. John*, by which they were reformed from their natural corrupt State, back again to the primitive Innocence of Nature. And *St. Ambrose* does not there stand to prove that any Infants were baptiz'd by him: but speaks of it as of a Thing commonly so understood by all Christians. And so *Dr. Lightfoot* says on this Account (*b*): *I don't believe, the People that flocked to John's Baptism were so forgetful of the Manner and Custom of the Nation, as not to bring their little Children along with them to be baptiz'd.*

And the same Man, who was most excellently skill'd in the Books and Customs of the Jews, says at another Place; (*i*) *If Baptism and baptizing Infants had been a new Thing, and unheard of till John Baptist came, as Circumcision was till God appointed it to Abraham; there would have been, no doubt, as express Command for baptizing Infants, as there was for circumcising 'em. But when the baptizing of Infants was a Thing commonly known and used, as appears by uncontestable Evidence from their Writers; there need not be express Assertions that such and such Persons were to be the Object of Baptism: when it was as well known, before the Gospel began, that Men, Women, and Children were baptiz'd, as it is to be known that the Sun is up, when, &c.*

And he deduces the Argument with great Evidence in this Fashion(*k*);  
 ' The whole Nation knew well enough that Infants were wont to  
 ' be baptiz'd. There was no need of a Precept for that which was al-  
 ' ways settled by common use. Suppose there should at this Time come  
 ' out a Proclamation in these Words; *Every one on the Lord's-Day shall*  
 ' *repair to the public Assembly in the Church.* That Man would dote,  
 ' who should in Times to come conclude that there were no Prayers,  
 ' Sermons, Psalms, &c. in the public Assemblies on the Lord's-day,  
 ' for this Reason, because there was no Mention of 'em in this Pro-  
 ' clamation. For the Proclamation order'd the keeping of the Lord's-  
 ' Day in the public Assemblies in general: and there was no need  
 ' that Mention should be made of the particular kinds of Divine Wor-  
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(*b*) Hor. Hebr. on Mat. 3. (*i*) Harmony on *John* 1. 25. (*k*) Hor. Heb. on Mat. 3.



ship there to be used; since they were both before and at the Time of the said Proclamation known to every Body, and in common Use.

Just so the Case stood as to Baptism. Christ order'd it to be for a Sacrament of the New Testament, by which all should be admitted to the Profession of the Gospel, as they were formerly to Profelytism in the Jews Religion. The particular Circumstances of it, as, the Manner of Baptizing, the Age of receiving it, which Sex was capable of it, &c. had no need of being regulated or set down, because they were known to every Body by common Usage.

It was therefore necessary on the other side, that there should have been an express and plain Order that Infants and little Children should not be baptiz'd, if our Savior had meant that they should not. For since it was ordinary in all Ages before, to have Infants baptized; if Christ would have had that Usage to be abolish'd, he would have expressly forbidden it. So that his and the Scriptures Silence in this Matter does confirm and establish Infant Baptism for ever.

§. 6. Fourthly, Another Thing observable about the Jewish Baptism of Profelytes, is this; that they called such an one's Baptism his *New-birth, Regeneration, or, being born again.*

This was a very usual Phrase of the Jews.

*Gemara. tit. jevamoth. c. 4. fol. 62. 1.*

*If any one become a Profelyte; He is like a Child new born.*

*Maimonides. Iff. Bia. c. 14. §. 11.*

*The Gentile that is made a Profelyte; and the Slave that is made free: Behold, he is like a Child new born.*

The Rabbies do much enlarge on this Privilege of a Profelyte's being put into a new State, and putting off all his former Relations: Those that were a kin to him before, are now no longer so; but he is just as if he were born of a new Mother, as the *Talmud* often expresses it. And 'twas probably from the much Talk that they made on this Subject, that *Tacitus* the Roman Historian (who liv'd in the Apostles Time) drew the Notion he had of the Jews Practice in initiating Profelytes.

*The first Thing,* [says he, (1)] *that they teach 'em, is, to despise the Gods, [which they worshipp'd before] to renounce their Country: Parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere, to make no Account of their Parents, Children, or Kindred.*

And some do think that *St. Paul* alludes to this Notion, when he says, 1 Cor. 5. 16, 17. *Henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh, &c. If any one be in Christ, he is a new Creature. Old Things are passed away, &c.* And *St. Peter*, when he calls the Christians, *new born Babes.*

The *Talmudical* Doctors do indeed carry on this Metaphor of the new Birth too far in all Reason: they determin that it is no Incest for such an one to marry any of his nearest Kindred; because upon his

his being new born all former Relations do cease; so that if he marry his own Mother, he does not sin.

But letting pass the vain and absurd Consequences which they drew from this figurative Speech, 'tis abundantly evident that the common Phrase of the Jews was to call the Baptism of a Profelyte, *his Regeneration*, or new Birth.

And the Christians did in all ancient Times continue the Use of this Name for Baptism: so as that they never use the Word [regenerate] or [born again] but that they mean or denote by it Baptism. Of which I shall produce no Proof here, because almost all the Quotations which I shall bring in this Book, will be Instances of it.

Now the Knowledge of this makes those Words of our Savior to *Nicodemus* in the 3d Chapter of *St. John* to be much more intelligible to us; where he tells him, that *Except any one be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*. He used that which was then the ordinary Phrase. All that was new in that Saying of our Savior, was this; the Jews knew, that any *Gentile* that would enter the Kingdom of God, must be born again: but our Savior assures *Nicodemus*, that *every one*, Jew or Gentile, must be so born. And when *Nicodemus* did not apprehend his Meaning, but took the Words in a proper Sense; our Savior speaks plainer, and says, that *every one must be born of Water, &c.* wondring at the same time that he, being a Master in *Israel*, had not understood him.

This puts it beyond all doubt that our Savior is to be understood there of Baptism (of which some People, since the Disuse of the Word [regenerated, or born again] for [baptized] have made a Doubt) and also guides us into a ready Conception of the Sense of those Sayings of the ancient Christian Writers where they use the Word; and of *St. Paul* for one, when he mentions *the Washing of Regeneration (m)*.

There are some other more plain and gross Mistakes made by some Men in the Understanding of those Words of our Savior to *Nicodemus*: As, that of those who being able to read none but the *English* Translation, where 'tis worded; *Except a Man be born again, &c.* do conceive that they concern only grown Men. And that of those who tell us, that by the *Kingdom of God* in that Text is meant, not the Kingdom of Glory, but something else. The Absurdity of which Mistakes will be occasionally shewn in the following Collection of the Sayings of the eldest Christians,, who do very frequently quote this Text.

§. 7. It may be useful to illustrate the Point in hand, if we do here institute a Parallel between the Jewish and the Christian Baptism, and the Modes and Circumstances used in each: by which it will more plainly appear that *St. John*, and our Savior, and the Apostles and primitive Christians had an Eye to the Jewish Baptism in many of the Rites and Circumstances which they used at the Administration of the



the Christian Baptism. As all agree they had to the Jewish Passover in the ordering of the other Sacrament.

1. As there was a Stipulation made by the whole People of the Jews just before their Baptism. *Exod. 19. 5. If you will keep my Covenant, &c.* The People answering, *ver. 8. All that the Lord has spoken we will do, &c.* And Moses returned the Words of the People to the Lord, &c. And the Lord said, *ver. 10. Go and sanctifie 'em, and let 'em wash their Clothes [i. e. their whole Bodies].*

And as the *Jews* did accordingly afterwards require of any that were to be profelyted or enter'd as Disciples to their Religion, a Stipulation to renounce Idolatry, &c. *Maimonid. Iss. Bia. c. 13. §. 14, 15.* And to believe in *Jehovah*.

So the *Christians* requir'd a like Sort of Stipulation of all whom they baptized: And being taught, that all Idolatry is offering to Devils; they express'd it, *Renouncing the Devil and all his Works, &c.* And to believe in the Trinity. From whence it is probably, that St. Peter, 1 Ep. 3. 21. calls Baptism *ἐπερώμια* the Interrogation or Stipulation of a good Conscience.

2. As the *Jews*, tho' the Person to be baptiz'd had before made this Profession, yet interrogated him again as he stood in the Water: as appears by the Words of *Maimonides*, quoted §. 1.

So the *Christians* requir'd of all adult Persons that were to be baptiz'd, that beside the Profession made before in the Congregation, they should answer to each Interrogatory of it over again, when they were going into the Water: as I shew Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 13.

3. As the *Jews* baptized the Infant Children of such Profelytes as desir'd that their Children should be enter'd into Covenant with the true God. So I have, thro' all the first Part of this Work, given the History of what the *Christians* did in respect of the Infant Children of Christian Profelytes. And I believe all impartial Readers of it will conclude that they did the same.

4. As the *Jews* requir'd that for an Infant Profelyte either his Father or else the Consistory [or Church] of the Place, or at least three grave Persons, should answer, or undertake at his Baptism (And they requir'd the like at Circumcision, as *Buxtorf* in his *Synag. Jud.* has fully shewn; and is not by any denied).

So the *Christians* (as I shall shew at Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 13.) did the same: putting the several Interrogatories of the Creed, and of the Renunciations, and requiring the Child's Answer by his Parents, or other Sponsors.

5. As such a Profelyte of the *Jews*, when baptiz'd, was said to be *born again*. So our Savior, and the Apostles, and primitive *Christians* gave the same Term to *Christian* Baptism. As appears *John 3. 3, 5. Tit. 3. 5.* and in almost all the Passages of this my Collection.

6. The *Jews* told such a Profelyte, that he was now taken out of his *unclean* State, and put into a State of *Sanctity* or *Holiness*, *Iss. Bia. c. 14. §. 14.*

So the Scriptures of the New Testament do call the baptized *Christians*, the *Saints*, the *Holy*, the *Sanctified* in Christ *Jesus*; and say, that the Church of them is *sanctified with the Washing of Water*, &c. *Rom. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 2. it. 7. 14. Eph. 5. 26.* And it will appear by many Quotations which I shall produce from the ancient *Christians*, that there is nothing more common with them than to call Baptism by the Name of *Sanctification*, and to say [sanctified] or [holy] instead of [baptized], and to give to Persons, while they continued unbaptized, the Name of [unclean].

7. The *Jews* declared the baptized Profelyte to be now under the Wings of the Divine Majesty, or *Shechinah*, *Iff. Bia. c. 13. §. 4.*

This was more visibly made good to the new baptized *Christians*, by palpable Signs and Effects of the Holy Spirit coming on 'em. And as the Laying on of the Hands of an Apostle was in the primitive Church employed to procure this (or of a Bishop as the Supream Pastor when the Apostles were dead, for obtaining the more ordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit) So there is good Reason to believe that the *Jews* had before used this Ceremony of Laying on of Hands on this Occasion: for it was a thing used by them on almost all Occasions that were solemn.

8. The *Paschal* Season is known to have been the most solemn Time both with the *Jews* and *Christians* for admitting Profelytes or Disciples by Baptism. The *Jews* did then baptize all the Profelytes that were ready, for this Reason; that they might be admitted to partake of the Passover and Sacrifices. The *Christians* observ'd the same Time for a like Reason.

9. In the *Jews* Time, some *Gentiles* were absolute Idolaters; some came nearer to the *Jews* Religion, believing their God to be the true God, and were called *Profelytes of the Gate*. And of these last some, who declar'd their Desire to be circumcis'd and baptiz'd and submit to the whole Law, were (for some time before their Circumcision and Baptism) distinguish'd from the rest.

So in the first Preachings of Christianity in heathen Places some slighted it. Some gave so much Regard to it, as to hear at least what the *Christians* preach'd; and were called *Audientes*. Some beginning to approve it, submitted to a Course of Catechising, and were called *Catechumens*. And of these, such as desir'd Baptism and were now fit for it, were called *Competents*.

Now both under the *Jewish* and *Christian* Dispensation, these Men as they stood in the said different Degrees of Preparation to Baptism, had different Places, and Liberties of Access; both among the *Jews* to their Temple and Synagogs, and among the *Christians* to their Churches and public Offices: as is largely shewn from *Jewish* and *Christian Antiquities* by the Author (whom I mentioned before) of the *Discourse concerning Lent*.

And those Degrees of preparatory Admission did so resemble one another, that 'tis plain that the first *Christians* imitated the *Jews* in the Steps that they made towards admitting a Profelyte to Baptism. 'Tis



'Tis true, that sometimes a Person was convinc'd, converted, and believed, and was baptized, all in a short Time. As the Eunuch, the Jaylor, &c. But this was extraordinary: and the ordinary Course was as I have said.

10. There were some other Customs constantly us'd by the most ancient Christians at and after the Baptizing of any Person, which (since they are not mention'd in any Command of our Savior or the Apostles recorded in the New Testament) one might wonder from whence they had 'em. As namely,

1. When they baptiz'd any one, whether Infant or Adult, they thought it not enough to put him once into the Water: but as his Body was in the Water, they put his Head also three Times into the Water; so that his whole Body was *three several Times* under Water. This was the ordinary Way (but with an Exception of sick, weakly Persons, &c.) as I shew *Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 2, & 4.*

2. And after he came out of the Water, they gave him to tast, a Portion of *Milk and Honey* mix'd together.

3. And also they then anointed him with a Sort of precious Ointment: The first Christians were too plain Men to invent these Things of themselves. And yet they were universally used. The Books of the second Century do speak of 'em as Customs us'd Time out of Mind, and of which they knew no Beginning.

The Heretics also of the same Time us'd 'em: as I shew in *Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 6. it. 8.* So that the Beginning of 'em must have been from a Principle universally received.

And this could not probably come but from such like Customs used by the Jews at their baptizing of a Profelyte. The Author whom I last mention'd, shews the Probability of this for the two last: *viz. the Anointing, and the Milk and Honey*: One a Ceremony much used by the *Jews* (and probably the Jewish Profelyte was anointed with the Blood of his own Sacrifice that he offer'd). The other, the Emblem of the Holy Land, to the Enjoyment whereof he was now entitled. And for the first of the three, *viz. the trine Immersion*; another Person very learned in Jewish Customs assures me that their Way of Washing any Person or any Thing, that was by their Law to have a *Tevillah*, or solemn Washing, was to do it three Times over: So that a Vessel that was to be wash'd, was drawn three Times thro' Water. And Mr. *Selden* says (*n*), It must be the same *Quantity of Water as that wherein a Profelyte was baptiz'd*. Whence 'tis probable that they gave the Profelyte a trine Immersion; and that the Christians by their Example did the like.

§. 8. I shall conclude this Introductory Discourse with observing what a weak Attempt that is, which Sir *Norton Knatchbul* has made to disprove this Custom of the *Jews* to baptize Profelytes; and how unlike to the rest of his Annotations on the New Testament, which are deservedly

servedly valued. That learned Gentleman seems to have had some Disgust against Dr. *Hammond*, and to have endeavor'd to oppose him in several of his Criticisms and Observations. Such a prejudic'd Endeavor does often lead Men from a true Judgment of Things into a Vein of Cavilling. The Dr. (but not he alone, but with him all that ever had any Skill in the Jewish Learning) had spoke of this Custom of giving Baptism to Profelytes: and he had produc'd, among other Proofs of it, a Quotation out of the *Gemara* (which I purposely omitted before, because it must be set down here). Sr. *Norton* picks out (o) one Clause of that Quotation, which taken by it self might seem to make for his purpose: which is, that *Rabbi Eliezer* had said, of one that was circumcis'd, and not baptiz'd, that he was a Profelyte. Now see the Quotation at large.

*Gemara. tit. jevamoth. c. 4.*

Of him that was circumcis'd, and not baptiz'd, *Rabbi Eliezer* said, that he was a Profelyte. Because, said he, we find of our Fathers [*Abraham, Isaac, &c.*] that they were circumcis'd, but not baptiz'd.

And of him that was baptiz'd and not circumcis'd, *Rabbi Joshua* said that he was a Profelyte. Because, said he, we find of our Mothers, that they were baptiz'd, and not circumcis'd.

But the wise Men pronounced, that till he were both baptiz'd and circumcis'd he was not a Profelyte.

The Question here was not whether Profelytes ought, or were wont, to be baptized: but whether one that had neglected it, or by some Chance had miss'd of it, could be counted for a Profelyte. And the like Question was made of one that had miss'd of Circumcision. And *Eliezer's* maintaining that one might possibly without Baptism go for a Profelyte, is no more an Argument that Profelytes were not usually baptiz'd, than *Joshua's* maintaining that one might without Circumcision go for a Profelyte, is an Argument that Profelytes were not usually circumcis'd. So far is that from being a good Conclusion which Sr. *Norton* there draws from *Eliezer's* Words, viz. that he did expressly deny this Baptism. On the contrary, the Tenor of the Discourse shews that it had been taken for granted and agreed, that a Profelyte ought of right to have both Circumcision and Baptism: only *Joshua* had a favorable Opinion against the absolute Necessity of the first, as *Eliezer* had of the later (and both of 'em were also declared singular in such their Opinions) so that upon the whole this Quotation does prove that which Sr. *Norton Knatchbul* brought it to disprove.

I give an Account in the 20th Chapter of this Book, how one *Vincentius Victor* maintained a Dispute against St. *Austin*, that a Child dying unbaptized might yet possibly be Partaker of all that Measure of Glory which is promis'd to Christians. From whence a certain late Antipædobaptist rais'd an Argument that *Vincentius* held that Children



Children were not to be baptiz'd. Whereas *Vincentius's* Words do, as I there shew, sufficiently prove, that he knew that Children ought of right to have Baptism: only he puts the Case of a Child that had mis'd of it. This Argument drawn from *Eliezer's* Words to prove that Profelytes were not wont to be baptiz'd, runs on the same Foot, and is as weak as that. 'Tis certainly one thing to say, A Person tho' not baptiz'd might be accounted a Profelyte: Or, A Child dying unbaptized may be saved: and another very different thing to say, that either one or the other were not wont, or ought not, to be baptized. So that 'tis hard to guess what Mr. *Stennet* thinks he has gain'd to his Cause by quoting so largely this Discourse of Sr. *Norton Knatchbul* in his late Book (p).

Some Objections Mr. *Stennet* adds there of his own, to overthrow this Argument taken from the Jewish Baptism: As that, *If the Jews practis'd Baptism to initiate Profelytes; it must have been an Invention of their own: for no such Initiation is commanded in the Law of God.*

But 1. He may see that they quoted Texts in the Law of God for what they did in this Matter.

And 2. Putting the Case that they mistook the Sense of those Texts: yet when they had upon that Authority establish'd a Practice of baptizing Profelytes and their Children; and that Practice had now continued for many Ages: if our Savior had meant that his Apostles in baptizing Profelytes of the Nations should have alter'd that Practice; we have all the Reason in the World to think that he would have forewarn'd 'em of it. And since he did not; we have Reason to think that the Jews were not mistaken in what they did.

Suppose our Savior had order'd his Apostles to require the Nations to keep the Feasts. If he had meant that they should not keep the *Feast of the Dedication* (which had no Divine Institution, but yet being become Customary was observ'd by all the Jews and even by Christ himself) as well as the Passover and the rest (which had been commanded in the Law) he would doubtless in that Case have excepted that. And there is the same Reason in the Case before us.

But that which Mr. *Stennet* there says in a challenging Manner to Mr. *Russen* (who had mentioned this Practice of the Jews) *Where does he find that the Jews always did and do still baptize Infants; and that, to initiate 'em into the Mysteries of Religion?* is too securely spoken. He may see here, as in a Specimen, but much more largely in the Books of *Selden*, *Lightfoot*, &c. to which I have here referred, that they bring full Proofs of the ancient Practice of the Jews in this Matter. And that the Jews do still continue so to do, there is no other Question; than as it is a Question whether any Profelytes do now a-days either come over themselves, or bring their Children to be at all initiated in their Religion: For the Books that order the initiating of Infants by Baptism, are such as the present Jews do own for Orthodox and Authentic.

Sir

Sir *Norton Knatchbul* has one Argument, which I wonder much at him for using, and at the other for borrowing it of him : because it had been very commonly answer'd long before he used it. Which is, that if baptizing of Profelytes had been in ordinary and familiar Use with the Jews ; the *Pharisees* would not have said to *John* ; *Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias ? &c.*

If *John* had been then baptizing of Gentile Profelytes, and had not baptiz'd the natural Jews ; the *Pharisees* would not at all have wonder'd to see converted Gentiles baptized. Tho' the Office of doing even that, was probably not accounted lawful for any but such as had a Commission from the *Sanedrim* ; which *John*, we suppose, had not : And therefore they might even in that Case have examin'd by what Authority he did it.

But the Case here was quite otherwise. The Multitudes whom *John* baptiz'd, were mostly (if not all) natural Jews. And the *Pharisees* and other *Jews* (knowing that their own Nation was not to have any other Baptism than what they had already, till the *Christ* should come, or *Elias* his Forerunner) look'd upon this Practice to be in effect the setting himself up for the *Christ*, or at least for *Elias* (as he was indeed that (q) *Elias* [or Forerunner] which was for to come) and therefore it was that they sent *Priests* and *Levites* from *Jerusalem* to ask him ; *Who art thou ?* And that all Men mus'd in their Hearts concerning him, whether he were the *Christ* or not, *Luke* 3. 15.

*Ainsworth*, *Lightfoot*, *Hammond*, and every one that has Occasion, do shew the Easiness of solving this Doubt. The first of these, having largely shewn how common and known a Custom this Baptism of Profelytes was, adds at the End of it (r), *Hereupon Baptism was nothing strange to the Jews when John the Baptist began his Ministry*, *Mat.* 3. 5. 6. *They made Question of his Person that did it : but not of the Thing it self*, *John* 1. 25.

And 'tis plain that their Questions put to *John* do naturally import no other. They do not ask him ; *What meanest thou ?* or, *What wouldst thou signifie to us by this new Ceremony of Baptizing ?* Nor any Question like that. But, *Who art thou ?* And when he confessed, *John* 1. 20. *I am not the Christ*. They say, *What then ? Art thou Elias ? &c.* and when he said, *I am not* : (meaning that he was not *Elias* in that proper Sense that they dreamt of : For they expected that very same Person that had been carried to Heaven) they ask'd farther ; *Who art thou ? What say'st thou of thy self ? Why baptizest thou then* (meaning the Nation of the Jews) *if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias ? &c.*

All this has nothing in it to evince the contrary but that the Jews themselves did use before to baptize such Heathens as came over to them. And indeed such a pompous Recital of Arguments that have been long ago commonly answer'd, may serve to amuse such as have not read the Answers : but it is not fair nor ingenuous Dealing for any learned Men to use 'em for that purpose. It brings on the World that great Inconvenience of being forc'd in Books to say *Pro* and *Contra* the same Things over and over again.

THE



# THE HISTORY OF INFANT BAPTISM.

## PART I.

### CHAP. I.

*Quotations out of Clemens Romanus and Hermas.*

In the  
Apostles  
Time.

*Clemens Romanus Epist. 1. ad Corinthios, cap. 17.*

§. I. **E**ΤΙ δὲ καὶ ὡς Ἰωβ ἔπο γέγεννηται, Ἰωβ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἀμωμῆτος, ἀληθινός, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακῆς. Ἀλλ' ὡς τὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγοροῦν λέγει· Οὐδεὶς καθαρός ἐστὶν ῥύπον, ἐδὲ εἰ μὴς ἡμεῖς ἢ ζῶντες αὐτοῖς.

‘Again of Job it is thus written, That he was just and blameless, true, one that feared God, and eschewed Evil. Yet he condemns himself, and says, There is none free from Pollution: no, not tho’ his Life be but of the Length of one Day

These Words of Job are quoted from *ch. 14. ver. 4.* where the *English Translation* is; *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one.* But in the *Greek Translation* made by the *Septuagint*, which was in use in the Times of our Savior and the Apostles, they are as *Clement* here renders ‘em: and they are accordingly so read by all the primitive Christians. And you will see in the following Quotations, that they often from thence conclude the Necessity of Baptism for the Forgiveness of Sins, even of a Child that is but a Day old. And in the next Chapter he brings in, to the same Purpose, the Saying of *David*, *Psal. 51. 5.*

B

*Ibid*

*See*

In the  
Apostles  
Time.

*Ibid. Cap. 38.*

Ἀναλογισάμεθα ἔν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἐν πίας ὕλης ἐξανθήθημεν, ποῖοι καὶ πῶς εἰσέλθομεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὡς ἐν τῷ τάφῳ καὶ σκότεις. Ὁ ποιήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας εἰσέγαγεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐτῷ, παρετοιμάσας πᾶς ἐνεργεσίας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἡμᾶς γεννηθῆναι.

‘Let us consider therefore, Brethren, whereof we were made: who and what kind of Persons we came into this World: as if it were out of a Sepulchre, and from utter Darknes. He that made and formed us, brought us into his own World, having prepared for us his Benefits before we were born.

That which I produce these Places for, is to shew what the Doctrine of this Apostolical Man was concerning the Pollution and Guilt with which Infants are born into this World.

*Hermas Pastor l. 1. Visione 3. cap. 3.*

§. 2. He having there describ'd an Emblem or Vision, shewed him by a Woman who represented the Church, concerning a certain *Tower* built on the *Water*, by which the building of Christ's Church was signified: has these Words;

‘Interrogavi illam: Quare turris ædificata est super aquam, Domina? ‘Dixeram tibi & prius te versutum esse, circa structuram diligenter inquirentem: igitur invenies veritatem. Quare igitur super aquas ædificatur turris, ‘audi; Quoniam vita vestra per aquam salva facta est, & fiet.

‘I ask'd her, Why is the Tower built on the Water? She answer'd, I said before that you were wise to inquire diligently concerning the Building: therefore you shall know the Truth. Hear therefore why the Tower is built on the Waters. Because your Life is saved, and shall be saved by Water.

By this is denoted, that Baptism with Water is appointed the Sacrament of Salvation to such as are saved: which Meaning will more plainly appear by the Import of the Passage following.

*Hermas Pastor l. 3. Similitud. 9. cap. 16.*

He is there relating a Vision of the same Import as the other; the building of the Church represented by the building of a Tower, wherein all things are shew'd and explain'd to him by an Angel. He sees some Stones put into this Building that were drawn up from the Deep; and others that were taken from the Surface of the Earth: the first denoting Persons already Dead; the other, Persons yet Alive.

Of those drawn up from the Deep, he saw first 10 Stones, which filled one Range of Building next the Foundation: then 25 more, then 35 more, then 40 more. And afterward in the Explication of the Vision, he asks the Angel;

‘Lapides vero illi, Domine, qui de profundo in structura aptati sunt, qui sunt? Decem, inquit, qui in fundamentis collocati sunt, primum secundum



culum est : Sequentes viginti quinq; secundum seculum est iustorum viro- In the  
rum. Illi autem triginta quinq; Prophetæ Domini ac Ministri sunt. Qua- Apostles  
draginta vero, Apostoli & Doctores sunt prædicationis Filij Dei. Quare, Time.  
inquam, de profundo hi lapides ascenderunt, & positi sunt in structuram  
turris hujus, cum jampridem portaverint Spiritus iustos? Necessè est, in-  
quit, ut per aquam habeant ascendere, ut requiescant : non poterant enim  
aliter in regnum Dei intrare, quam ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris  
vitæ. Illi igitur defuncti sigillo Filij Dei signati sunt, & intraverunt in  
regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filij Dei, morti  
destinatus est : at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur à morte & traditur  
vitæ. Illud autem sigillum *aqua* est, in quam descendunt homines morti ob-  
ligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum est illud  
sigillum, & usi sunt eo ut intrarent in regnum Dei.

‘Et dixi ; Quare ergo, Domine, illi quadraginta lapides ascenderunt cum  
illis de profundo, jam habentes illud sigillum? & dixit, Quoniam hi Apo-  
stoli & Doctores qui prædicaverunt nomen Filij Dei, cum habentes fidem  
ejus & Potestatem defuncti essent, prædicaverunt his qui ante obierunt :  
& ipsi eis dederunt illud signum. Descenderunt igitur in aquam cum illis,  
& iterum ascenderunt. Sed hi vivi descenderunt : at illi qui fuerunt ante  
defuncti, mortui quidem descenderunt, sed vivi ascenderunt. Per hos  
igitur vitam receperunt & cognoverunt Filium Dei : ideoq; ascenderunt  
cum eis, & convenerunt in structuram turris. Nec circumcili, sed inte-  
gri ædificati sunt, quoniam æquitate pleni cum summâ castitate defuncti  
sunt : sed tantummodo hoc sigillum defuerat eis. Habes horum Expla-  
nationem.

‘But, Sir, What are those Stones that were taken out of the Deep  
and fitted into the Building?

‘The Ten, said he, which were laid in the Foundation, are the first  
Age : the next 25, the second Age, of righteous Men. The next 35,  
are the Prophets and Ministers of the Lord : and the 40, are the Apo-  
stles and Teachers of the Preaching of the Son of God. Why, said I,  
Did these Stones come up out of the Deep to be placed in the build-  
ing of this Tower, since they had the just Spirits before? [viz. of Justice,  
Temperance, Chastity, &c. which he had mentioned before.]

‘It was necessary, said he, for them to come up by [*or thro’*] Water, that  
they might be at rest ; for they could not otherwise enter into the  
Kingdom of God, than by putting off the Mortality of their former  
Life : They therefore, after they were dead, were sealed with the Seal  
of the Son of God, and so enter’d into the Kingdom of God. For be-  
fore any one receives the Name of the Son of God, he is liable to Death :  
But when he receives that Seal, he is deliver’d from Death, and is assigned  
to Life. Now that Seal is *Water*, into which Persons go down liable to  
Death, but come out of it assigned to Life. For which Reason to these  
also was this Seal preached ; and they made use of it that they might  
enter into the Kingdom of God.

‘And I said, Why then, Sir, did those 40 Stones which had already  
that Seal, come up with ’em out of the Deep?

In the  
Apostles  
Time.

‘He answer’d, Because these Apostles and Teachers that preached the  
‘Name of the Son of God, dying after they had received his Faith and  
‘Power, preached to them that were dead before, and gave to ’em this  
‘Seal. For that Reason they went down into the Water with ’em, and  
‘came up again. But these last were alive before they went down: but  
‘they that died formerly, went down dead, but came up again alive. So  
‘that it was by the means of these, that they received Life, and knew  
‘the Son of God: and accordingly they came up with them, and fitted  
‘in the building of the Tower. And they were not hewed, but put in  
‘whole, because they died in great Purity, being full of Righteousness:  
‘Only this Seal was wanting to ’em. So you have the Meaning of these  
‘things.

§. 3. When he says, that *the Seal of the Son of God is necessary for their*  
*entring into the Kingdom of God*; and that *that Seal is Water*, it is plainly  
an Expression of that Sentence or Definition of our Savior, which St.  
*John* did *afterward* put into writing in these Words, 1) *Except a Man*  
(so ’tis in the *English*, but the Original is, ἐὰν μὴ τις, *except one, or except*  
*any Person*) *be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the King-*  
*dom of God.*

I say, *afterward*; because this Book was written before St. *John* wrote  
his Gospel, as I shall shew. And tho’ *Hermas* here speak of the Apostles  
indefinitely, as being dead; it is to be understood of the major Part of  
’em: for St. *John* was not dead.

§. 4. The Passage it self, which represents the Patriarchs and Prophets  
of the Old Testament to stand in need of Baptism, and of the Apostles  
preaching the Name of Christ to ’em after they were dead, before they  
could be capable of entring the Kingdom of God, does indeed seem  
strange to us, and is the oddest Passage in all the Book. But we must  
consider it is represented by way of Vision, where every thing is not to  
be taken in a proper Sense: Yet *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who liv’d about  
100 Years after this Book was written, (2) cites this Passage, and takes  
it for real Matter of fact. And those Texts, 1 *Pet.* 3. 19. & 4. 6. which  
speak of *the Gospel being preached to them that were dead*, tho’ they be now  
by most Protestants understood in another Sense, were by most of the  
(3) Ancients understood in a Sense like to this.

This Passage does also lead one to think anew of St. *Paul*’s mention-  
ing a Practice of some Men in those Times being (4) *baptized for the*  
*dead*. A thing that has never yet been agreed on in what Sense it is to  
be understood. Of the Explications that are, I give some Account (5) here-  
after.

There is, if we compare this Passage with those Sayings of the Apostles,  
something like, and something unlike. St. *Peter* mentioning *the Gospel*  
*preached to the Dead*, ( if he be so to be understood ) makes it to be done  
by *Jesus Christ* himself in or by *the Spirit*: which *Hermas* represents as done  
by

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(1) John 3. 5. (2) Strom. 6. (3) Iren. l. 5. c. 31. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. Origen. c.  
Cell. l. 2. Tertul. de Animâ c. 7. (4) 1 Cor. 15. 29. (5) Ch. xxi. §. 3.



by the Apostles after they were dead; and (6) *Clemens Alex.* by both: In the for he makes Christ to have preached to the deceased just Men of the Apostles Jewish Nation; and the Apostles to the deceased heathen Men. *St Paul* Time. speaks of some Persons baptized for the dead; but *Hermas* in the way of Vision represents the dead themselves that died under the Old Testament, to be baptized in the Name of Christ. And (7) *Origen* speaks much to the same purpose as *Hermas*.

But whether these were true Visions, or only the Author's Sense given under such a Representation, still the Scope of the Place is to represent the Necessity of Water-Baptism to Salvation, or to Entrance into the Kingdom of God, in the Opinion of the then Christians, *i. e.* the Christians of the Apostles Times. Since even they that were dead before the Institution of Baptism in the Name of Christ, are in way of Vision represented as incapable of the Kingdom of God without it.

*Hermas Pastor l. 3. Simil. 9. c. 29.*

§. 5. He having there spoken of Martyrs, Confessors, and some other Degrees of Christians, comes to speak of a sort of Harmless People, represented there by the white Color, who have always been as little Children: and adds these Words.

‘Quicumq; ergo permanferint sicut infantes, non habentes malitiam, honoratiores erunt omnibus illis quos jam dixi. Omnes enim Infantes honorati sunt apud Dominum, & primi habentur.

‘Whosoever therefore shall continue as Infants, without Malice, shall be more honourable than all those of whom I have yet spoken. For all Infants are valued by the Lord, and esteemed first of all.

This being to the same effect as our Savior's embracing Infants, and saying, *Of such is the Kingdom of God*, is one of the Reasons used to prove that they are fit to be admitted into the Covenant of God's Grace and Love by Baptism. And whereas the Antipædobaptists expound our Savior's Words, not of Children themselves, but of Men that are of an innocent Temper, like Children: not only that is affirmed here, but it is moreover said of the Infants themselves, that they are greatly valued and esteemed of God.

§. 6. These Books of *Clement* and *Hermas*, when, after they had in the ignorant Age lain hid and unminded, they came again into the Hands of learned Men, were at first questioned, whether they were the genuin Pieces of those Authors, and the same that (8) *Eusebius* testifies to have been reckon'd by many for books of Holy Scripture, and to have been read in many Churches accordingly. But after that so many Quotations of 'em by the Ancients have been examin'd, and found to be *verbatim* the same, there is no longer doubt of that Matter. They were accounted divinely inspired by some, but rejected from that Rank by others. They may therefore very well pass for the two *Apocryphal Books of the New Testament*, as *Tobit*, &c. are

(6) Loc. citat. (7) Hom. in Luc. 14. (8) Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 3, & 16.

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are of the Old: and so they are reckon'd by (9) *Eusebius*, (10) *Rufinus*, &c. The greater Commendation is due to the Pains of Dr. *Wake*, for putting them and some other of the most ancient Pieces into the Hands of the *English Reader*: and the more preposterous is the Humor of many, that prefer the reading of modern Things before 'em.

§. 7. I said that these Books were written before St. *John* wrote his Gospel which may be made appear thus: St. *John* lived to 68 Years after our Savior's Passion, viz. to the Year of Christ 101. as is attested by St. *Hierom*, who says it in (11) two places, and in one of 'em says; *that the Church Histories do most plainly shew it*. And it is certain he cannot be mistaken considerably, because *Irenæus*, who often recounts how greedily he had in his younger Years heard *Polycarp* discourse of St. *John* and his Affairs, and of the Conferences he had had with him, says in (12) several Places, *that St. John continued to the Times of Trajan*: and the Year of Christ 101. is but the 3d Year of *Trajan*. And it is agreed by all, that he wrote his Gospel but a very little before his Death.

'Tis true indeed, that St. *John* seems, chap. 5. 2. to speak of Jerusalem as if it were then standing. But many learned Men understand these Words, *There is at Jerusalem, &c.* that is, *in the place where Jerusalem was*, or in the Ruines; as if one had said, during the Ruines of London, there is in *Cheapside* a Conduit.

The Current Tradition is, that he wrote it upon his Return to *Ephesus*, after that violent Persecution of Christians in the 14th Year of *Domitian*, Anno Dom. 94, remembred by all Writers. In that Persecution St. *John* was banish'd into the Island *Patmos*, (13) *for the Word of God, and for the Testimony of Jesus Christ*: where he had that Vision or Revelation which he has publish'd, which *Irenæus* shews to have been in the latter End of *Domitian's* Reign, in these Words, (14) *We will not run the Hazard of affirming any thing positively, concerning the Name of Antichrist* [signified by the Number 666] *for if it had been expedient to be published plainly at present, it would have been exprest by him himself that saw the Vision: since it is not very long ago that it was seen; being but a little before our Time, at the latter end of Domitian's Reign.*

*Domitian* dying, Anno 96. and *Nerva* a mild Prince succeeding, the Prisoners and banished Men were released: and St. *John* returned to *Ephesus*, where, as (15) *Irenæus* and (16) *Athanasius* testifie, he wrote his Gospel. And St. *Hierom* mentions the Occasion of it; (17) *He, last of all the rest, wrote his Gospel, being entreated so to do by the Bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus and other Heretics, and especially the then new-sprung-up Opinion of the Ebionites, who affirm, That Christ had no Being before Mary, for which Reason he thought it needful to discourse concerning his Divine Nativity also*. And this is, as to the main, confirmed out of *Irenæus* himself; for he says (18) *that he wrote it at Ephesus*: and, that (19) *he aim'd thereby to extirpate the Error which had*

(9) Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 3, & 16. (10) In Symbolum. (11) de script. Eccl. & l. 1. contra Jovinian. (12) l. 2. c. 39. & l. 3. c. 3. (13) Rev. 1. 9. (14) l. 5. c. 30. (15) l. 3. c. 1. (16) in Synopsi. (17) de script. Eccl. v. Joan. (18) l. 3. c. 1. (19) l. 3. c. 11.



had been sowed in the Minds of Men by Cerinthus. These things are reported by such Men as had the Opportunity of easily knowing the Truth in such Matters of Fact. In the Apostles Time.

Now for the Age of these Books of *Clement* and *Hermas*, one need only enquire for the Time of *Clement's* Death: for *Hermas* wrote his while *Clement* was living and Bishop of the Church at *Rome*, and (20) mentions him therein as such. And tho' the Time of *Clement's* Death be not so exactly to be discover'd from the Ancients, but that they that have gone about to settle it have varied; and some from others 20 Years: yet they that have plac'd it the latest, have plac'd it as soon as *St. John's* Death is plac'd by those that have plac'd that the soonest, viz. *Anno 101*. for in giving that Date of *St. John's* Death, I gave the earliest that is pitch'd upon. *St. Chrysostom* and the *Chronicon Alexandr.* make him live some Years longer.

The Two that of late have made the most exact Disquisition about the Time of *St. Clement*, are *Bp. Pearson* and *Mr. Dodwell*. (21) *Bp. Pearson* having found by undeniable Proofs that the Times of *Hyginus Bp. of Rome* are set too low in the Chronological Tables by 15 or 20, or (as some Writers place him) 30 Years, and that he must have enter'd upon his Office *Anno 122* at the latest, does proportionably set all the foregoing Bishops higher: and so he has made *St. Clement* come into the Bishoprick immediately after the Death of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which he places, *Anno 68*: (35 Years after our Savior's Passion) and to continue alive till the Year 83. And he supposes *Linus* and *Anencletus*, who are commonly placed before *St. Clement*, to have been no otherwise Bishops there than as they acted under the said Apostles in their Life-time.

(22) *Mr. Dodwell* judges that after the said Apostle's Death, which he places *Anno 64*, *Linus* was Bishop, and after him *Anencletus*. But that they both died in a very short time, about a Year; and that *Clement* succeeded *Anno 65*, and continued to 81. By either of these Accounts, *Clement* was dead a great while before *St. John* had wrote any of his Books.

§. 8. But there is a Passage in *Irenaus* (whose Authority every one owns to be in this Matter beyond Compare) wherein the Time of *Clement's* Succession, and the Distance thereof from the Time of those Apostles, is purposely insisted on: and that tho' it mention not the Years; yet as it supposes his Entry on that Office, to be nigher *St. Peter* and *St. Paul's* Time, than some had plac'd it; so it will by no means suffer him to be plac'd so early, as to succeed within a Year or two after their Death. It is *l. 3. c. 3.* where he is confuting that Plea of the *Valentinians*, (Heretics that held that there is another God, superior to him that created the World) whereby they pretended to have this Doctrine by Tradition from the Apostles; who would not write it, nor tell it to every Body, but to some more perfect Disciples, by whose Hands it came to them. The Words are these.

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(20) *L. 1. vif. 2.* (21) *Pearsoni opera posthuma Chronolog. Dissert. 2.* (22) *Dissertatio sing. de Success. Rom. Pont. c. 11, 12, &c.*

In the  
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‘It is easie for any one that would be guided by Truth, to know the Tradition of the Apostles, declared in all the World. And we are able to reckon up those that were placed Bishops by the Apostles in the several Churches, and their Successors to this time; who never taught nor knew any such thing as these Men dream of. Now the Apostles, if they had known of any deep Mysteries which they would communicate to those that were perfect privately and by themselves, would have taught ‘em to those Men sooner than any, to whom they committed the Churches: For they desired that such should be very perfect in every thing, and wanting in nothing, whom they left as their Successors, delivering to them their own Place of Government. Since if these Men did well, there would ensue great Advantage; but if they miscarried, great Mischiefe.

‘But it being a long Business in such a Book as this to reckon up the Successions of *all* the Churches: if we shew the Tradition left by the Apostles, and the Faith taught the Christians derived by Successions of Bishops to our Time, in that Church which is one of the greatest and most ancient, and known to every body, founded and built by the two most glorious Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*; we shall shame all those who by Self-conceit or Vain-glory, or by Ignorance, and mistaken Opinion, hold Things that they ought not. For every Church, I mean the Christians of all Places round about, have necessary Occasions to come to this Church, by reason that the Government and Power is there: [*meaning the Seat of the Empire*] and so in this Church the Tradition of the Apostles is always preserved by means of those that from all Places resort thither.

‘The blessed Apostles then having founded and built this Church, deliver’d over to *Linus* the Office of the Bishoprick. This *Linus Paul* mentions in his (23) Epistles to *Timothy*.

‘The next to him is *Anencletus*.

‘After him, in the third place from the Apostles, *Clement* comes into the Bishoprick, who had both seen the blessed Apostles and conferred with them, and had the Preaching, and Tradition of the Apostles as yet sounding in his Ears; and that, not he alone; for there were many then left alive who had been personally taught by the Apostles. It was under this *Clement* that a great Dissention happening among the Brethren that were at *Corinth*, the Church that was at *Rome* sent a most powerful Epistle to the *Corinthians*, perswading ‘em to Peace, stirring up their Faith a-new, and declaring to them the Tradition which they had lately received from the Apostles: which teaches, that there is but one God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, Creator of Man, &c. — And that the same God is declared by the Churches to be the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, whoso will may see, *ex ipsa Scriptura*, by that Scripture [or Writing] itself, and may understand the Apostolical Tradition of the Church: For that Epistle is older than they are that now teach these false Doctrines, and invent another God above the Creator and Maker of the Things



'Things that are seen. He proceeds to Name the Bishops from *Clement* In the  
to *Eleutherus*, who was then Bishop, the 12th from the Apostles: and to  
appeal to the Church of *Smyrna* which had had *Polycarp*: and to the Church  
of *Ephesus* which had had St. *John* so lately living among 'em; and that none  
of these had taught or pretended to know of any of those secret Traditions that these Men set up. Apostles  
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Now when it was for his Purpose to shew how near *Clement* and this Epistle of his were to the Times of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and he says no more, but that *Clement* had seen and heard them, and that several others were then alive beside him, that had done the like; he plainly supposes that they had been dead a considerable time. For we never speak so of Men that have been dead but a Year or two. When we say, *There are many yet alive that can remember such a Man, and have convers'd with him*; a Stander by will conclude, we speak of one that has been dead a good while: it may be 15 or 20 Years. And yet even so, if we reckon with (24) *Eusebius* and other ancient Accounts, that *Clement* held the Seat but nine Years, he will yet die before St. *John*, and before the Time when, by all Accounts, he wrote his Gospel.

This also is considerable; that *Clement*, who quotes many Places out of other Books of the New-Testament, seems never to have seen any of St. *John's* Writings.

Therefore tho' Bp. *Pearson* has convinc'd every Body that *Hyginus* is to be placed as he has placed him: yet it seems improbable that *Clement* should have been Bishop so soon as he places him. Rather some Years are to be taken from the Times of the Bishops that were between those two

§. 9. For the same Reason, I think it very improbable that this *Clement* was the *Clement* mentioned, *Phil.* 4. 3. as St. *Paul's* Fellow-Labourer, when he was at *Rome* the first time, six Years before his Martyrdom: tho' (25) *Eusebius*, St. (26) *Jerom*, and *Epiphanius* do guess him to be the same. For would not *Irenaeus* have mention'd that, instead of saying what he does? It was much more to his Purpose, than to observe the like of *Linus*, of whose Authority he makes no such Use.

And more improbable it is, that this *Hermas* should be the same whom St. *Paul* salutes as his Acquaintance 11 Years before he died, *Rom.* 16. 14. tho' (27) *Origen* guesses it to be he; and (28) *Eusebius* and (29) St. *Jerom* tell us that several thought so. For this *Hermas*, as he was no young Man, because (30) he had Children then guilty of Fornication; so he was no very old Man when he wrote: because he mentions the (31) Woman that had been brought up with him, as a Woman of such great Beauty at that time. To conclude Men to be the same, because of the same Name, as it is very obvious, so 'tis of little weight.

C

And

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(24) *Chronic. it. Hist.* l. 3. c. 34. (25) *H. E.* l. 3. c. 12. (26) *de Script. Eccl.* v. *Clementis*. (27) *Hom. in Rom.* 16. (28) *l. 3. c. 3.* (29) *de Script. Eccl. Hermas.* (30) *l. 1. vif. 2. c. 2.* (31) *l. 1. yif. 1.*

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And if they be not judged to be the same, nor to have had any such Familiarity with the Apostles, but only to have seen or heard 'em, &c. then that Argument falls to the Ground of those that say, These Books are either spurious, and then, Why do we regard 'em? Or else, if they be counted genuin, Why are they not put into the Canon, as well as the Writings of St. Luke, and St. Mark? St. Mark and St. Luke were for certain Contemporaries, Companions, and intimate Acquaintance with the Apostles for a long time of their Life: the same is not certain, and I believe not true, of the Authors of these Books; tho' it be plain that they liv'd in the Apostles Age, and wrote before the Death of St. John.

## CHAP II.

### Quotations out of Justin Martyr.

*Dialog. cum Tryphone, pag. 94. Ed. Steph. 1551.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles 40.

§. 1. **K**Αὶ ἔχ' ὡς ἐδεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι, ἢ τῷ ἐπαλθῆναι ἐν εἰδει πνεύματος πνευμαθῆ, οἵ τε αὐτὸν ἐλελυθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ὥσπερ ἐδὲ τὸ γυνῆ-  
θῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι ὡς ἐνδεῆς τέτων ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῷ γένει τοῦ πῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὑπὸ θανάτου καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ Ὄφεως ἐπετρίχεται, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν  
αἰτίαν ἐχούσας αὐτῶν πηνηρευσάμεναι.

And we know that he did not go to Jordan, as having any need of being baptized, or of the Spirit's coming on him in Shape of a Dove. As also, neither did he submit to be born and to be crucified, as being under any Necessity of those things. But he did this for Mankind, which by Adam was fallen under Death, and under the Guile of the Serpent, beside the particular Cause which each Man had of Sinning.

I recite this only to shew, that in these Times, so very near the Apostles, they spoke of original Sin affecting all Mankind descended of Adam: and understood, that besides the actual Sins of each particular Person, there is in our Nature it self, since the Fall, something that needs Redemption and Forgiveness by the Merits of Christ. And that is ordinarily applied to every particular Person by Baptism.

*Dialog. cum Tryphone, pag. 59. ejusdem Edit.*

§. 2. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ διὰ τέτε περὶ ἡμεῶν, ἢ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα περιλάβομεν περιουσίαν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνὸς καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν; ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ βαπτίσματος αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγενόμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμεῶν καὶ πάντων ἐρετόν ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν.

We also who by him have had Access to God, have not receiv'd this Carnal Circumcision, but the Spiritual Circumcision, which Enoch, and those



‘those like him observed. And we have received it by *Baptism*, by the Year after the Ascension of the Apostles 40.  
 ‘Mercy of God, because we were Sinners: and it is enjoined to all Per-  
 ‘sons to receive it by the same way.

’Tis plain that this most ancient Father does here speak of Baptism, being to Christians in the stead of Circumcision: and the Analogy between these two is one of the Arguments used by the Pædobaptists to prove that one ought to be given to Infants, as well as the other was. It is to the same Sense, as is that Saying of St. Paul, where he calls Baptism, with the putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh, which attends it, *the Circumcision of Christ*, (or as it would be more intelligibly render’d, *the Christian Circumcision*) in these (3) Words; *In whom also ye are circumcised with the Circumcision made without Hands, in putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh, by the Circumcision of Christ, buried with him by Baptism*. For by those Words, *the Circumcision of Christ*, must be understood either that Action by which Christ himself in his Infancy was circumcised: and it is no Sense to say, that the *Colossians* were circumcised with that: or else, that Circumcision which Christ has appointed, *the Christian Circumcision*: and with that he says they were circumcised, being buried with him by Baptism. Only he, as well as Justin, refers both to the inward and outward Part of Baptism; whereof the inward Part is done without Hands: and accordingly the Ancients were wont to call Baptism, *περιτομὴν ἀχειροτονίαν*, *the Circumcision done without Hands*; as will appear by some following Quotations. (a) So that it seems hard for the Antipædobaptists to maintain, as some of them do, that the Scripture and ancient Christians do not make any Resemblance between these two Sacraments.

The Paraphrase given of this Text, of St. Paul in the *Quest. ad Orthodox.* ascribed to Justin Martyr q. 102 is this. The Question there is, *Why, if Circumcision were a good thing, we do not use it as well as the Jews did?* The Answer is, *We are circumcised by Baptism with Christ’s Circumcision, &c.* And he brings this Text for his Proof.

*Justin’s Apologia prima (vulgò 2da) ad Antoninum Pium. (4)*

§. 3. This holy Man and good Martyr of Jesus Christ does in this Apology presented to the Emperor and Senate, in behalf of the Christians, vindicate them from the absurd and abominable Slanders which the People rais’d on ’em: as that they did in their Assemblies eat young Children, and commit promiscuous Fornication, &c. And having spoke of their Doctrine and Conversation, and shewn that they neither believed nor practis’d any such mischievous Things as were reported, he proceeds to speak of the two most solemn Rites that they us’d, viz. of initiating or entring the Converts that came to ’em by Baptism: and of confirming their Faith, by receiving the Lord’s-Supper. And of Baptism says thus,  
 “Οὐ τεύπον ἢ ἀνεθιγμένῳ ἑαυτὸς πρὸ Θεοῦ, χειροποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐξηγουσθαι.

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ὁ πῶς

Year af- ὅπως μὴ τοσοῦτο περιλιπνὲς δόξωμεν πονηρεύειν τὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει. Ὅσοι ἀν παιδῶσι καὶ  
 ter the A- πνεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα, εἶναι, καὶ βίην ὅπως  
 p. 40. δύνασθαι ὑπακούοντι, εὐχεσθῶ τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τὸ Θεῶ τῶν προσημαρτημένων  
 ὁφείσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχόμενων καὶ συνευδύνων αὐτοῖς. Ἐπιβα. ἄρονται ὑφ'  
 ἡμῶν ἐνθά ὅπου ἐστὶ, καὶ τρέπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννηθήμεν, ἀναγεννών-  
 ται. Ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ Δεσπότη Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Κριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῇ ὕδατι τότε λεγόν πνέονται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κρι-  
 στός ἔπει, Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννησῇτε ἐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἑσάνων ἐτι ὃ  
 καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τελευτῶν τῆς ἀπαξ γαυνωδύας ἐμῶνται φανερόν πάνσιν ἐστὶ.  
 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ Προσέτε, ὡς προεγράφημεν, ἔρηται, τίνα τρέπον φεῖζονται τὰς  
 ἀμαρτίας ἢ ἀμαρτήσαντες καὶ μετανοοῦντες, ἐλέχθη ὃ ὅπως, Λεσάδε, καθαροὶ γένεθε, &c.---  
 Καὶ λέγον ὃ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴν τὸ πρῶτον γένεσιν  
 ἡμῶν ἀγνοοῦντες κατ' ἀνάγκην γερμάνεμεθα ἐξ ὕδατος ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ μέζιν τῶν γονέων  
 κατ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἐν ἔσθι σαύλοισ καὶ πονηραῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γερμάνεμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης  
 τέκνα μὴδ' ἀγνοίας μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ περαιρέσεως καὶ ὀπισθήμης, ἀφ' ἑσέως τε ἀμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν προσημαρτομεν πύχνομεν ἐν τῇ ὕδατι, ἐπονομάζεσθαι τῷ ἐλομένῳ ἀναγεννηθῆναι καὶ μελα-  
 νοῦνται ὅτι τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τὸ τὸ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ Δεσπότη Θεοῦ ὄνομα, &c.  
 Καλεῖται ὃ τοῦτο τὸ λεγόν φιλισμός.

‘ I will now declare to you also after what manner we being made new  
 ‘ by Christ [or baptized] have dedicated our selves to God : least if I should  
 ‘ leave out that, I might seem to deal unfairly in some part of my Apo-  
 ‘ logy. They who are perswaded and do believe that those Things which  
 ‘ are taught by us are true, and do promise to live according to ’em, are  
 ‘ directed first to pray and ask of God, with Fasting the Forgiveness of  
 ‘ their former Sins : and we also pray and fast together with ’em. Then  
 ‘ we bring ’em to some Place where there is Water ; and they are rege-  
 ‘ nerated by the same way of *Regeneration* by which we were regenerated :  
 ‘ for they are washed with Water in the Name of God the Father and  
 ‘ Lord of all Things, and of our Savior *Jesus Christ*, and of the Holy  
 ‘ Spirit. For Christ says, (5) *unless you be regenerated, you cannot enter into*  
 ‘ *the Kingdom of Heaven* : and every Body knows it is impossible for those  
 ‘ that are once generated [or born] to enter again into their Mother’s  
 ‘ Womb.

‘ It was foretold by the Prophet (6) *Isaiah*, as I said, by what means  
 ‘ they who would repent of their Sins might escape ’em : and was writ-  
 ‘ ten in these Words ; *Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil, &c.*

‘ And we have been taught by the Apostles this Word [or this Reason]  
 ‘ for this thing : because we being ignorant of our first Birth were ge-  
 ‘ nerated by Necessity [or Course of Nature] of the humid Seed of our  
 ‘ Parents mixing together, and have been brought up in ill Customs and  
 ‘ Conversation ; that we should not continue Children of that Necessity  
 ‘ and Ignorance, but of Will [or Choice] and Knowledge, and should ob-  
 ‘ tain Forgiveness of the Sins in which we have lived, by Water, [or in  
 ‘ the Water]. There is invoked, over him that has a Mind to be regenera-  
 ‘ ted the Name of God, the Father, and Lord of all things, &c.---And this  
 ‘ Washing is called *the Enlightning*, &c.

If



If I am ask'd to what Purpose I bring in this in a Discourse of *Infant-Baptism*: My Answer is, That I do not produce it as making directly or immediately either for or against it. He being here to shew that the Ceremony of entering Profelytes that came to them from the *Heathens*, had no ill thing in it, had no Occasion to speak of the Case of Infants. But I bring it,

1. Because it is the most ancient Account of the Way of Baptizing, next the Scripture; and shews the plain and simple manner of Administering it. The Christians of these Times had lived, many of them at least, in the Apostles Days.

§. 4. 2. Because it shews that the Christians of these Times used the Word *Regeneration*, [or, being born again] for Baptism: and that they were taught so to do by the Apostles. And it will appear by the Multitude of Places I shall produce, that they us'd it as customarily, and appropriated it as much to signifie Baptism, as we do the Word *Christning*. They us'd also ἀνακαινισμός or καινοποιεῖν, *Renewing*, and φωτισμός, *Enlightning*, for the same thing: as appears by the first and last Words of this Passage.

And 3dly, Because we see by it, that they understood that Rule of our Savior, *Except one be regenerated* [or born again] *of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, of Water-Baptism; and concluded from it, that without such Baptism, no Person could come to Heaven. And so did all the Writers of these 400 Years, not one Man excepted.

§. 5. This is of the more Use to note, because many modern Writers use the Word *Regeneration* or *New Birth*, for Repentance and Conversion, whether it be accompanied with Baptism at that Time or not. But the Ancients do not so. The Scripture also uses it for Baptism: *The Washing of Regeneration*, Tit. 3. 5. is the Washing of Baptism.

And I shewed before in the Introduction, that this Phrase was not first used by our Savior or his Apostles: but that it was a usual Word of the Jews, to denote that Baptism by which any Profelyte was baptized unto Moses.

*Justin Martyr Apol. 1 (vulgò 2da) prope ab initio.*

§. 6. Καὶ πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλὰ ἐξηγονέσθαι καὶ ἐβδουκονέσθαι, οἱ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες. Several Persons among us of 60 and 70 Years old, of both Sexes, who were discipled [or made Disciples] to Christ in their Childhood, do continue uncorrupted [or Virgins]

St. Justin's Word, ἐμαθητεύθησαν, were discipled, or, made Disciples, is the very same Word that had been used by St. Matthew in expressing our Savior's Command, μαθητεύσατε, Disciple [or, make Disciples] All the Nations. And it was done to these Persons, Justin says, in their Childhood. So that whereas the Antipædobaptists do say, that when our Savior bids the Apostles, *Disciple the Nations*, baptizing 'em; he cannot mean Infants; because he must be understood to bid 'em baptize only such among the Nations as could be made Disciples: and Infants, they say, cannot be made Disciples. They may perceive

Year after the Apostles 40. perceive that in the Sense in which *Justin* understood the Word, they may be made Disciples. And *Justin* wrote but 90 Years after *St. Matthew*, who wrote about 15 Years after Christ's Ascension. And they that were 70 Years old at this time must have been made Disciples to Christ in their Childhood (as he says they were) about 36 Years after the Ascension: that is, in the midst of the Apostles Times, and within 20 Years after *St. Matthew's* Writing.

## C H A P. III.

Quotations out of *St. Irenæus*.

Year after the Apostles 67. §. 1. **T**HIS Father does in many Places speak of original Sin, as affecting (1) *all Mankind*, (2) *all our Race*, putting 'em in a State of (3) *Debtors to God, Transgressors, and Enemies to him*, (4) *under the Stroke of the Serpent, and addicted to Death*. And that it is only in and thro' Christ that they have (5) *Reconciliation and Redemption*. He also so speaks of Baptism, as of the Means or Instrument by which this Redemption is conveyed and applied to any one, and calls it by the Name of (6) *λύτρωσις* and *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *Redemption*.

But tho' this laid together do make an Argument for the baptizing all Persons, Infants as well as others; yet I shall pass by this and other such Places in this and other Authors, that speak of Original Sin, and the Necessity of Baptism only in general: intending henceforward to recite such only as do more directly and immediately concern Infants, and speak of their Baptism; either for or against it.

*Irenæus adv. Hæreses*, l. 2. c. 39. Speaking of Christ.

§. 2. *Magister ergo existens Magistri quoq; habebat ætatem. Non reprobans nec supergrediens hominem, neq; solvens suam legem in se humani generis: sed omnem ætatem sanctificans per illam quæ ad ipsum erat similitudinem. Omnes enim venit per semet ipsum salvare: omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; infantes, & parvulos, & pueros, & juvenes, & seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem: & infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem; simul & exemplum illis pietatis effectus, & justitiæ & subjectionis: in juvenibus juvenis, &c.*

‘Therefore as he was a Master, he had also the Age of a Master. Not ‘disdaining nor going in a Way above human Nature; nor breaking in ‘his own Person the Law which he had set for Mankind: but sanctifying ‘every

(1) *L. c. hæc*. 5. c. 19. (2) *ibid.* c. 21. (3) *ibid.* c. 16. (4) *L. 4. c. 5. & L. 5. c. 19.*  
(5) *L. 3. c. 20.* (6) *L. 1. c. 18.*



every several Age by the Likeness that it has to him. For he came Year after Year to save all Persons by himself: *All*, I mean, who by him are regenerated <sup>ter the A-</sup> [or baptized] unto God; *Infants*, and Little-ones, and Children, and <sup>postles 67.</sup> Youths, and Elder Persons. Therefore he went thro' the several Ages: for Infants being made an Infant, sanctifying Infants: to Little-ones he was made a Little-one, sanctifying those of that Age; and also giving them an Example of Godliness, Justice, and Dutifulness: to Youths he was a Youth, &c

This Testimony, which reckons Infants among those that are *regenerated*, is plain and full; provided the Reader be one that is satisfied that the Word *Regeneration* does, in the usual Phrase of those Times, signify *Baptism*: and this cannot be doubted by any that are at all acquainted with the Books of those Ages. As for those that are not, I have already had Occasion to (7) refer 'em to the Use of the *Jews* before and in Christ's Time, and to some places of Scripture: and it may be worth the while to turn back to the Passage of *Justin Martyr* last quoted, (He lived but 30 or 40 Years before this Man) and to observe how he uses the Word. The Reader will also see in almost all the Passages that I shall have occasion to produce, the same Use of the Word constantly observed: that to say *regenerated* is with them as much as to say *baptized*.

§. 3. At present, take these three Evidences of it. 1. *Irenæus* himself uses it so in all other Places of his Book that I have ever observed: as for Instance, l. 3. c. 19. where he is producing Testimonies of Scripture concerning the Holy Spirit, he has this, *Et iterum, potestatem regenerationis in Deum demandans discipulis, dicebat eis, &c.* And again, when he gave his Disciples the Commission of *Regenerating* unto God, he said unto them, *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing 'em in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* Where the *Commission* of *regenerating* plainly means the *Commission* of *baptizing*.

§. 4. 2. There are several Sayings both of the *Latin* and *Greek* Fathers, which do plainly shew, that they not only used that Word for *Baptism*; but also that they so appropriated it to *Baptism*, as to exclude any other Conversion or Repentance that is not accompanied with *Baptism*, from being signified by it. As these that follow.

*Greg. Nazianzen*, when he deters the baptized Person from falling back into sinful Courses, tells him, (8) *There is not another Regeneration afterward to be had, tho' it be sought with never so much Crying and Tears*; and yet grants in the next Words, that there is Repentance after *Baptism*: but shews a Difference between that, and the free Forgiveness given in *Baptism*. 2600

*St. Austin* being askt, whether a Parent carrying his Child which had been baptized, to the Heathen Sacrifices, do thereby obliterate the Benefit of his *Baptism*, (9) gives this Rule; *An Infant does never lose the Grace of Christ which he has once receiv'd, but by his own sinful Deeds, if when he grows up* 3000

(7) Introduct. §. 6. (8) Orat. 40. prope ab initio. ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀναγεννήσεως.

(9) Epist. 23. ad Bonifacium.

Year after the Apostles 67. up he prove so wicked: For then he will begin to have Sins of his own, *quæ non regeneratione auferantur, sed alia curatione sanentur.* Which are not to be done away by Regeneration, but by some other way of Cure. These kind of Sayings do plainly contradistinguish Regeneration from Repentance, Conversion, &c. except in case of Baptism.

270. So St. Hierom discoursing in Praise of Virginity, has this (10) among the rest, that *Christ was natus ex Virgine, renatus per Virginem: born of a Virgin, and regenerated by a Virgin:* meaning he was baptized by John that was unmarried. To say that Christ was regenerated, taking the Word, as many modern Writers do, for Conversion, Repentance, &c. would be an impious Speech.

St. Austin calls the Persons by whose Means Infants are baptized, *eos per quos renascuntur*, those by whom they are regenerated: which would be a strange Speech in the Dialect of some late English Writers, who use the Word for the Conversion of the Heart:

S. 5. 3 When Irenæus does here speak of *Infants regenerated*; 'tis plain enough of it self, that they are not capable of Regeneration in any other Sense of the Word, than as it signifies Baptism: I mean the outward Act of Baptism accompanied with that Grace or Mercy of God, whereby he admits 'em into Covenant, tho' without any Sense of theirs.

I shall in the Place that I must cite henceforward, where we meet with the Word *regeneratus renatus*, &c. translate it *regenerated*, without any farther Explication: but the Reader will find that he must understand by it, *baptiz'd*; or else that he will make no Sense at all of the Place.

S. 6 Since this is the first express Mention that we have met with of Infants baptized, it is worth the while to look back, and consider how near this Man was to the Apostles Time. Mr. Dodwell, who has with the greatest Care and Skill computed his Age, (10) makes him to be born in the Apostolic Age, viz the Year after Christ's Birth 97, four Years before St. John died; and that he was chosen Bishop of Lyons, Anno Dom. 167. which is after the Apostles 67. His Proofs are too long to repeat here. So much is plain, that he wrote the Book I here quote within 80 Years after the Apostles, and that he was then a very old Man. For he wrote the two first of his five Books against Heresies first, and (11) publish'd them; in which these Words are: and he publish'd his third Book in the Time of Eleutherus Bishop of Rome, for he (12) mentions him as then Bishop. Eleutherus's Time is set by (13) Bishop Pearson from the Year of Christ 170 to 185: but by (14) Mr. Dodwell from 162 to 177. So that the Year of Christ 180 is the latest that the two first Books can well be suppos'd to have been written. Therefore whether we agree or not with Mr. Dodwell, that he was born before St. John's Death; yet it could be but very little after, by the Age he must be of when he wrote. And besides, he himself (15) says, as I also recited before, that the Revelation made to St. John in Patmos, was  
but

(10) L. 1. contra Jovinian. circa medium. (10) Dissert. ad Irenæum. (11) Vide Proleg. l. 3. (12) c. 3. (13) Pearsoni opera posthuma. (14) Dissert. sing. de Rom. Pontif. Successione, c. 14, & 15. (15) l. 5. c. 30.



but a little before his time, and that *Revelation* was 5 or 6 Years before St. Year after the Apostles 67. *John* died. The learned Man that has given the last Edition of his Works, though he differ from Mr. *Dodwell*, yet makes him born but 6 Years after St. *John*'s Death. Every Body that was at this Time 80 Year old, must have been born in the Apostles Time. *Irenæus*'s Parents must have been born then, if he were not himself.

I shall say no more, but leave it to every Body to judge whether it were possible for the Church then to be ignorant what was done as to the baptizing of Infants in the Apostles Time; when many then living, and the Parents of most then living were themselves Infants in that Time. Yet this I may add, that *Irenæus*, tho' at this Time he liv'd in *France*, being Bishop of *Lyons*, yet was brought up in *Asia*, (where St. *John* had died but a little before) and probably born of Christian Parents. For he had in his younger Years often heard *Polycarp* (who was St. *John*'s Acquaintance, and was (16) chosen by him Bishop of *Smyrna*, and was probably that *Angel* [or Bishop] of the Church of *Smyrna*, that is so much commended, *Rev.* 2. 8.) discourse of St. *John* and his Teaching. This he relates of himself in his (17) *Epistle to Florinus*: and he says, he remembers the thing as if it were but Yesterday: for, says he, *I remember the things that were done then, better than I do those of later Times* (which is the Property of Old Men) so that *I could describe the Place where he sate, and his Going out and Coming in, his Manner of Life, his Features, his Discourse to the People concerning the Conversation he had had with John, and others that had seen our Lord; how he rehears'd their Discourses, and what he had heard them that were Eye-Witnesses of the Word of Life, say of our Lord, and of his Miracles and Doctrine: all agreeable to the Scriptures.*

20.


In an Age so nigh the Apostles, and in a Place where one of 'em had so lately liv'd, the Christians could not be ignorant what had been done in their Time in a Matter so public and notorious as is the baptizing or not baptizing of Infants.

§. 7. It is to be noted, that this Testimony of *Irenæus*, or any other of any of the Fathers, is not so much to be regarded as it speaks their Opinion or Sense, as it is for that it gives us an Evidence of what was then believ'd, taught, or practis'd by the Church. If he had only signified that he thought fit that Infants should be regenerated, it had been but one Doctor's Opinion: but he speaks of it as a Thing generally known that they were then usually regenerated.

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(16) *Iren.* l. 3. c. 3. (17) *Apud Euseb. Hist.* l. 5. c. 19.

Year af-  
ter the  
Ap:stles  
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## CHAP. IV.

## Out of Tertullian.

§. 1. **T**ertullian and Origen being the two next that have said any thing of this Matter, their Character is such as requires something to be said of it. They were both of 'em very learned Men; but both inclin'd to be singular in their Opinions, and accordingly both fell into great and monstrous Errors in the Faith.

The first fell into the Heresie of the *Montanists*, who blasphemously held that one *Montanus* was that *Paraclete* or *Comforter* which our Savior promised to send: and that better and fuller Discoveries of God's Will were made to him than to the Apostles, who prophesied only in Part. He commonly calls the *Catholics*, *Psychichos*, the *carnal Men*. And he afterward forsook the *Montanists* too, and set up a new Sect of his own called (1) *Tertullianists*: Some Remainders of which Sect continued at *Carthage* till St. *Austin's* Time, and he had the Happiness to convert the last of 'em, and to get 'em to give up their Church or Place of Worship to the Catholics.

The other being a great *Platonist*, taught the *Præexistence* of Souls: that the Souls of all Men had a former Being before the World, and had sinned in that former State, and were sent hither into Bodies as a Punishment: and he (2) derived original Sin from thence, which the Scripture derives from the Fall of *Adam*. He had also other Errors about the Resurrection and the future State, &c. So that (3) St. *Hierom* giving Advice to *Tranquillinus* of the Caution wherewith one must read *Origen's* Works, says, *My Opinion is that Origen is sometimes to be read because of his Learning, but so as we read Tertullian, Arnobius, Apollinaris, and some other Ecclesiastical Writers, both Greek and Latin, taking Care to choose the Good that is in 'em, and avoid the contrary.*

As for the Occasion I have here to quote 'em, the Rule I mention'd before is chiefly to be minded; that so far as they do, as Historians, give us an Account of the Faith and Practice of the Church in their Times, their Testimony is considerable: but where either of 'em has any particular Opinion of his own, it is not of any great Authority.

*Tertullian* has spoke so in this Matter of Infant-Baptism, as that it is hard to reconcile the several Passages with one another. The Reader shall have the Particulars.

*Tertullianus*

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(1) Augustin. de hæresibus, c. 26, & 86. (2) Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 23.  
(3) Ep. ad Tranquillinum 76.



*Tertullianus de Baptismo, c. 10.*

Year after the Apostles  
100.

§. 2. Having spoken of the Matter of Baptism, Water, and the Form of it, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, he adds,

*Diximus quantum mediocritati nostra licuit de universis quæ baptismi religionem fruunt: nunc ad reliquum statum ejus æque ut potero progrediar de quæstionibus quibusdam.*

‘I have according to my mean Ability discours’d of all things that make up the Religion [*or Essence*] of Baptism: Now I will proceed to speak of some lesser Questions about the other State thereof.

## Afterward c. 12, 13.

§. 3. *Quum vero præscribitur nemini sine baptismo competere salutem, ex illi maxime pronuntiatione Domini, qui ait; nisi natus ex aqua quis erit, non habet salutem: suboriuntur scrupuli, imò temerarii tractatus quorundam, quomodo ex istâ præscriptione Apostolis salus competat, quos tinctos non invenimus in Domino, præter Paulum: imò cum Paulus selus ex illis baptismum Christi induerit, aut præjudicatum esse de cæterorum periculo, qui careant aquâ Christi, ut præscriptio salva sit: aut rescindi præscriptionem, si etiam non tinctis salus statuta est. Audivi (Domino Teste) ejusmodi: ne quis me tam perditum existimet, ut ultro exagitem libidine Styli quæ aliis scrupulum incutiant. Et nunc illis, ut potero, respondebo qui negant Apostolos tinctos. Nam si humanum Johannis baptismum inierant & Dominicum desiderabant (quatenus unum baptismum definierat ipse Dominus, dicens Petro perfundi volenti; qui semel lavit non habet necesse rursum: quod utiq; non tincto omnino non dæxisset) & hæc est probatio exerta adversus illos qui adimunt Apostolis etiam Johannis baptismum, ut destruant aqua sacramentum. — paulo post — Hic ergo scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones: Adeo dicunt, baptismus necessarius non est, quibus fides satis est: nam & Abraham nullius aquæ nisi fidei Sacramento Deo placuit.*

*Sed in omnibus posteriora concludunt, & sequentia antecedentibus prævalent. Fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante Domini passionem, & resurrectionem: at ubi fides aucta est credendi in natiuitatem, passionem, resurrectionemq; ejus; addita est ampliatio sacramento, obsignatio baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei, quæ retro erat nuda, nec potest jam [esse] sine suâ lege. Lex enim tingendi imposita est & forma præscripta; Ite, inquit, docete nationes, tingentes eas in nomen Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus Sancti. Huic legi collata desunt o illa, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ & Spiritu, non intrabit in regnum celorum; obstrinxit fidem ad baptismum necessitatem. Itaq; omnes exinde cecidentes tingebantur, &c.*

‘Whereas it is an acknowledged Rule, that none can be saved without Baptism: grounded especially on that Sentence of our Lord; *Unless one be born of Water, he cannot be saved*: Some Scruples do arise, and even rash Discourses of some Men; How according to that Rule the Apostles could be saved, whom we do not find to have been baptized with our Lord’s Baptism, except Paul. And when Paul only of them had the Baptism of Christ, either the rest who wanted this Water of Christ must be supposed

Year af-  
ter the A-  
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‘ in a dangerous Condition, that so the *Rule* may stand fast: or else the *Rule* is broken if any Persons not baptized can be saved. I have heard some Men (God is my Witness) talk at this rate, and would have no Body think me so lewd as by the Itch of my Pen to raise Questions purposely, which may cause Scruples in other Men.

‘ I will here give an Answer, as well as I can, to those Men that deny the Apostles to have been baptiz’d. For if they received only the Baptism of *John* as of a Man, and had not that of our Lord (Inasmuch as our Lord himself had determin’d that there is to be but one Baptism, saying to *Peter* when he desired to be washed; *He that has been once washed, has no need again*: which he would not have said to one that had not been wash’d at all) even this is a plain Proof against those who take away from the Apostles even the Baptism of *John*, that they may abolish as needless the Sacrament of Water.—And a little after—Here again these impious Men raise Cavils, and say; *Baptism is not necessary for those that have Faith, which is sufficient: for Abraham without any Sacrament of Water, but of Faith only, pleased God.*

‘ But in all Matters the later Injunctions bind, and the following Rules take place above those that were before. Tho’ there were Salvation formerly by bare Faith before our Lord’s Passion and Resurrection; yet when the Faith is enlarged to believe in his Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection, there is an Enlargement of the Sacrament, the Sealing of Baptism, as it were a Garment to our Faith; which formerly was bare, but cannot now be without its Law: for the Law of Baptizing is given, and the Form of it appointed; *Go, says he, teach the Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* And when to this Law that *Rule* is added, *Except one be regenerated of Water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, it has bound up Faith to a Necessity of Baptism. And therefore all Believers from thenceforward were baptized, &c.

And afterward c. 17.

§. 4. Having said that it is not absolutely unlawful for Laymen to baptize, he adds,

*Sed quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundia & modestia incumbit; cum ea majoribus competant, ne sibi adsumant dictatum episcopis officium episcopatus? Emulatio schismatum mater est. Omnia licere dixit sanctissimus Apostolus, sed non omnia expedire. Sufficiat scilicet in necessitatibus utaris, scilicet aut loci aut Temporis aut personae conditio compellit. Tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur cum urget circumstantia periclitantis. Quoniam reus erit perditio hominis, si supersederit prestare quod liberè potuit.*

‘ But how much more necessary for Laymen is it to keep the Rules of Humility and Modesty; that since these Things belong to Men of higher Order, they do not arrogate to themselves the Office of the Bishops that is proper to them? Emulation is the Mother of Schism. The most blessed Apostle said, that all Things were lawful, but all Things were not



'not expedient. Let it suffice that thou make use of this Power in Cases Yearaf-  
 'of Necessity: when the Circumstance either of the Place, or of the Time, ter the A.  
 'or of the Person requires it. For then the adventuring to help is well taken, postles  
 'when the Condition of a Person in Danger forces one to it: because he 100.  
 'that shall neglect at such a time to do what he lawfully may, will be  
 'guilty of the Person's Perdition [or Damnation.]

Let the Reader mind how all this is to be reconcil'd with what he  
 says afterward c. 18.

§. 5. *Ceterum baptismum non temerè credendum esse sciant quorum officium est. Omni petenti te dato, suum habet titulum, proinde ad eleemosynam pertinentem. Inò illud potius perspicendum; nolite dare sanctum canibus, & porcis projicere margarita vestra: & manus ne faciliè imposueris, ne participes aliena delicta.* — *Itaq; pro cujusq; persone conditione ac dispositione, etiam etate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est: præcipuè tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est [ ] sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? quia & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, & proventu male indolis falli. Ait quidem Dominus, Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant ergo dum adulescunt, veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur: fiant Christiani quum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens atas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agatur in secularibus; ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, Divina credatur. Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris. Non minori de causâ innupti quoq; procrastinandi, in quibus tentatio præparata est; tam virginibus per maturitatem, quam viduis per vacationem, donec aut nubant aut continentie corroborentur. Si qui pondus intelligant baptismi, magis timebunt consecutionem quam dilationem. Fides integra secura est de salute.*

*Diem baptismo solemniozem Pascha præstat; cum & passio Domini in quam tingimur, adimpleta est, &c.*

'But they whose Duty it is to administer Baptism, are to know, that  
 'it must not be given rashly. Give to every one that asketh thee, has its pro-  
 'per Subject, and relates to Almsgiving: But that Command rather is  
 'here to be consider'd; Give not that which is holy to Dogs, neither cast your  
 'Pearls before Swine. And that, lay hands suddenly on no Man, neither be  
 'Partaker of other Mens Faults. — Therefore according to every one's Con-  
 'dition and Disposition, and also their Age, the delaying of Baptism is  
 'more profitable, especially in the Case of Little-Children. For what need  
 'is there [ ] that the Godfathers should be brought into  
 'Danger? because they may either fail of their Promises by Death, or they  
 'may be mistaken by a Child's proving of wicked Disposition. Our Lord  
 'says indeed, Do not forbid 'em to come to me. Therefore let 'em come  
 'when they are grown up: let 'em come when they understand: when  
 'they are instructed whither it is that they come: let 'em be made Chri-  
 'stians when they can know Christ. What need their *guiltless* Age make  
 'such hast to the Forgiveness of Sins? Men will proceed more warily in  
 'worldly things: and he that should not have earthly Goods committed  
 'to him, yet shall have heavenly. Let them know how to desire this  
 'Salvation,

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postles  
too.

Salvation, that you may appear to have given to one that asketh.  
For no less Reason unmarried Persons ought to be kept off, who are likely to come into Tentation, as well those that never were married, upon account of their coming to Ripeness, as those in Widowhood, for the Miss of their Partner: until they either marry or be confirm'd in Contenance. They that understand the Weight of Baptism will rather dread the Receiving it than the Delaying of it. An intire Faith is secure of Salvation.

The most solemn Time for Baptism is *Easter*, at which Time the Passion of our Lord, into which we are baptized, was fulfilled, &c.

Let there be also compar'd with this, what he says in another Book.

*Tertullianus de Animâ, c. 39, 40.*

§. 6. Adeo nulla ferè nativitas munda est, utiq; Ethnicorum. Hinc enim & Apostolus ex sanctificato alterutro sexu sanctos procreari ait: tam ex seminis prerogativâ quam ex institutionis disciplinâ: caterum, inquit, immundi nascerentur. Quasi designatos tamen sanctitati, ac per hoc etiam saluti intelligi volens fidelium filios: ut hujus spei pignore matrimonij quæ retinenda censuerat patrocinaretur. Alioquin meminerat Dominica definitionis; nisi quis nascetur ex aquâ & spiritu, non ibit in regnum Dei, i. e. non erit sanctus. Ita omnis anima eonj; in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recensatur; & tamdiu immunda, quamdiu recensatur: peccatrix autem quia immunda.

So there is almost no being born clean [or free from Sin] that is of Heathens. For hence the Apostle says, that, of either Parent sanctified the Children that are born are holy: by reason of the Prerogative of that Seed and also the Instruction in their Education. Else, says he, were they unclean. But yet meaning to be understood thus; that the Children of the Faithful are designed for Holiness, and so for Salvation: that by a Pledge of such Hope he might plead for those Marriages which he would have to be continued. Otherwise [or as for any other Meaning] he knew well enough what our Lord had determined, Except one be born of Water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of God: that is, he shall not be holy. Thus every Soul is reckon'd as in Adam, so long till it be a new enrolled in Christ, and so long unclean, till it be so enrolled, and sinful, because unclean, &c.

§. 7. I have cited these Passages at large and all together, that the Reader may try if he can pick any coherent Sense out of 'em. It is the Property of warm Men, when they are speaking earnestly on one Subject and urging that, to overlap so as that when they are speaking on another with like Earnestness, they fall into Contradiction of what they said before. This Author in the Places here first cited, treating of the Necessity of Baptism, speaks of that Necessity as absolute; and of those that die unbaptized, as lost Men: and is enrag'd at those that maintain that Faith without it is sufficient to Salvation. Yet afterward, when he is discoursing of the Weight, as he calls it, of Baptism, he advises several sorts of Peo-



ple to delay it; and to encourage 'em, tells 'em that if they should by that Delay happen to miss of it, *an entire Faith is secure of Salvation.*

The most probable Guess that I can make of that which was his steady Meaning (if he had any) is, that those who put off their Baptism negligently, or as slighting it, do, if they finally die without it, lose their Life: but that in those that put it off only that they may be fitter for it, and in a more likely Condition to keep it unstained, if by that Means they happen to die without it, the Will and Purpose of being baptized shall be accepted for the Deed.

And when he is discoursing on the aforesaid Subject of the Weight of Baptism, he finds Fault with the Custom of Baptizing *Infants*, and would have them delay'd till they are able to understand and consider what they do: and then farther, till they are married: and if they do not marry, or if their Consort die, then farther till the Danger of Lust is over, which is frequently not till Old Age. A strange Advice, and which no Man either of the Ancients, or Moderns, either of the one or the other side in this Controversie do approve of. And to urge his Opinion the more, he speaks of Infants as if they were innocent or sinless, and so had no Need of the Forgiveness of Sins granted in this Sacrament.

Yet in the last cited place, when he is on another Theme, he plainly owns the Catholic Doctrine of Original Sin in Infants; and that every Soul born of *Adam* is *unclean* and *sinful*, and continues so till it be enrolled or ranked anew in Christ: and cites, as pertinent to their Case, the *Prescription*, as he calls it, or the *Standing-Rule*, John 3. 5. *Except any one be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into God's Kingdom.*

How to reconcile this Diversity, I know not, unless his Meaning (when he would have spoke for good) were, That the Baptism of Infants, and of those other sorts of Persons, should be delay'd till the Times he speaks of, in case there were no Danger of Death in the mean while: but that in case of such Danger it should be administred presently: in which Case he says it is so necessary, that any one that is present (whether in Orders or not, so he determines it) ought to administer it, or else he is guilty of the Person's Ruine or Perdition.

§. 8. And I like this my Resolution of his Opinion the better, because I find it to be what several of each of the disagreeing Parties do agree to have been his Sense. For as (4) Mr. *Baxter* makes this Acknowledgement; yet again I will confess that the Words of *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen* shew that it was long before all were agreed of the very Time, or of the Necessity of Baptizing Infants before any Use of Reason, in case they were like to live to Maturity. So Mr. (5) *Danvers* his Antagonist owns this; 'Tertullian' that, as Dr. *Barlow* tells us, was so great an Opposer of Infant-Baptism, 'as irrational and unwarrantable, yet had this Fancy of Baptizing a dying Child to save it. Some Body or other had so strangely imposed upon this Man, that he thought the modern Pædobaptists were ashamed to own this Doctrine, that a Child or other Person is to be baptized that he may be saved.

Year as- saved. Also (6) Mr. Tombs says, *If he [Tertullian] did allow it, it was only in Case of Necessity, as may appear by his Words in his Book de Animâ c. 39.* And to name one of the Church of Rome, *Vasquez* says, that *those Places in the Book de Animâ, and those where he makes Baptism necessary to Salvation, do not prove that he recanted his Opinion, (7) for he might well enough assert that Baptism is necessary for all; and yet think that it was not to be given before adult Age in any other Case but only that of extreme Necessity.*

This Explication of his Meaning is also confirmed from the older Editions of this Book *de Baptismo*, which instead of those Words in *Rigaltius's* Edition, *Quid enim necesse est sponsors, &c.* 'What need is there that Godfathers, &c. read thus; *Quid enim necesse est, si non tam necesse, sponsors, &c.* 'What Occasion is there, except in Case of Necessity, that the Godfathers, &c. So it is in the Edition of *Pamelius*: and so, as *Pamelius* affirms, *Gaigneus* the first Editor of this Book *de Baptismo* has it. But I have followed the Edition which I had, which is *Rigaltius's* (only leaving a Blank at the place) supposing he had some Ground from the Manuscripts to leave out that Clause. Yet it cannot be denied that he has (as Mr. *le Clerc* (8) observes) set some Passages false, that were true in the former Editions; nor that he has otherwise shewn himself partial for the Antipædobaptists, as I shall shew hereafter, *Part II. Chap. XI §. 5.* And therefore I incline now to the Opinion, that the old Editions are the truest, and that it ought to be read, *except in Case of Necessity.* And then the Case is plain how his Meaning was.

§. 9. But that which most deserves the Reader's Observation is, that the Words of *Tertullian* do not import that the Custom of the Christians at that Time was to leave Infants unbaptized: but on the contrary, they plainly intimate that there was a Custom of baptizing 'em: only he dislikes that that Custom should be generally used. For when he says, *Why does that innocent Age make such haste, &c.* His Words shew the Matter of Fact to have been so, together with his Opinion against it. But the Thing we now enquire of, is the Practice of the Church, and not one Doctor's Opinion, especially when it does not appear that any Body was prevail'd on by him to alter that Practice; for there is no Appearance that either the *Montanists* (to whom he turn'd) or the *Tertullianists* (whom he set up) were against it. On the contrary, St. *Austin* (9) reciting the Opinions of both these Sects, does not mention any such thing held by either of 'em, and says at other Places, that he never read of any Sect that did deny it, as I shew hereafter.

The same Observation ought to be made concerning the *Sponsors* or Godfathers whom he speaks of as used in the Baptism of Infants that could not answer for themselves. Which shews the great Mistake of some of the more ignorant Persons among the Antipædobaptists, who derive the Use of Godfathers from I know not what *Pope of Rome* of late Years: whereas this was within a 100 Years of the Apostles.

§. 10.

(6) Examen of Marshal's Sermon pag. 10. (7) In 31am partem Thomæ. Tom. 2. Disp. 154. c. 1. (8) *Quæstiones Hieronymi*. Q. 9. c. 3. (9) *l. de hæresibus* c. 26, & 86.



§. 10 It is a heedless Answer that he makes to those Words of our Year af-  
 Savior ; *Suffer little Children to come to me, &c.* when he says, *Let 'em come* <sup>ter the A-</sup>  
*when they are grown up, when they understand, &c.* For that seems to be <sup>postles</sup>  
 the very thing that the Disciples said when they rebuked those that <sup>100.</sup>  
 brought 'em, for which Rebuke our Savior blamed the Disciples. It is  
 something a better Answer which the Antipædobaptists now a Days give,  
*viz.* that our Savior would indeed have Infants brought to him then in  
 their Infancy, and before they understood, and that he bless'd 'em, &c.  
 But we do not read that he baptized 'em. To which the other reply,  
 that he declar'd the Love of God to 'em, by his blessing and embracing,  
 and saying, *Of such is the Kingdom of God.* Which shews 'em to be ca-  
 pable of the Covenant of Mercy : and that Infants are expressly admit-  
 ted to enter Covenant, *Deut. 29. 10. you, your Little-ones, &c.* and in the  
 Old Testament had the Seal of the Covenant. From whence it will fol-  
 low that it is no Absurdity by reason of their Nonage ; which is the  
 only Thing *Tertullian* argues from. And besides : when our Savior says ;  
*Of such is the Kingdom of God :* (which shews 'em to be capable of his  
 Kingdom) and thereupon orders 'em to be brought to him, and says ;  
*forbid [or withhold] 'em not :* since he is now present with us only in  
 his Ordinances and Sacraments ; What way have we to bring our Chil-  
 dren to him, as he orders, but by Baptism to offer and dedicate 'em  
 to him ?

§. 11. In the same Book of Baptism, c. 5. he observes that the Hea-  
 then Nations also used Baptism, as a religious Rite, and particularly in the  
*Mysteries of Apollo and Ceres Persons were baptized, idq; se in regeneratio-*  
*nem & impunitatem perjuriorum suorum agere præsumunt.* ' And they say,  
 ' they do this for their Regeneration and the Pardon of their former Fer-  
 ' juries. And he says, *Here we see the Aim of the Devil imitating the Things*  
*of God.* He means ; the Heathens imitated the Jewish Baptism.

§. 12. One Thing more ought to be observ'd out of the Passage I  
 cited from *Tertullian's* Book *de Animâ*, *viz.* that he expounds that Text,  
*1 Cor. 7. 14. Else were your Children unclean, but now they are holy,* much  
 after the same rate as many modern Pædobaptists do, of baptismal Ho-  
 linefs : only he thinks the Apostle speaks of it, not as then given, but  
 as designed for them. He paraphrases, *Sancti*, Holy, by *sanctitati desi-*  
*gnati*, designed for Holinefs, (*viz.* when they come to be baptized, as his  
 following Words in the said Passage shew, if the Reader will turn back  
 to 'em.) This Sense of a baptismal Holinefs the Antipædobaptists (who  
 understand no more by it but that such Children are not Bastards,) would  
 condemn as a new Exposition. But I shall shew by more Instances  
 that will come in my way, and especially in *CH. XIX. §. 19.* where I com-  
 pare together all the Expositions of this Text given by the Ancients,  
 that it was the most general one.

§. 13. It is plain that *St. Austin* and *Pelagius* and several others that  
 manag'd the *Pelagian* Controversie, had never seen *Tertullian's* Book of  
 Baptism.

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Baptism. For when St. *Austin* (13) pleaded that no Christian, Catholic, or Sectary, had ever taught to the contrary, but that one Reason for the Baptizing of Infants was for the Forgiveness of Original Sin; *Pelagius* granted (14) that there was none that denied that they were to be baptized: But when he, and *Celestius*, and *Julian* do ransack Antiquity for Places to shew that they are baptized on other Accounts, and not for Forgiveness; how neatly would that Saying of *Tertullian* have fitted 'em; *What need their innocent [or sinless] Age make such haste for the Forgiveness of Sin?* Or else we must say, they would not quote it, because he contradicts himself in this Point. Or else they would not use his Authority, which was in no good Repute, because he revolted to *Heresy*: tho' Dr. *Allix* concludes this Book to have been written before.

It was customary in those Times, if any one made use of *Tertullian's* Authority in any controverted Matter, to stop his Mouth with that (15) Saying of St. *Hierom*, *illum hominem ecclesia non fuisse*; that *Tertullian* was not a Man of the Church: and *Pelagius* had a great Mind (if it had been possible for him continuing in his Opinion of denying Original Sin) to have continued a Member of the Catholic Church.

*Baronius* likewise observes, that when the *Donatists* maintain'd against St. *Austin* and the Catholics, that Baptism given by *Heretics* is null, and the Party must be baptized again; if St. *Austin* could have shewn that this Opinion was first set on foot by *Tertullian* (whose Name was in ill Repute for his singular Opinions) that that one Thing would have served much to discredit it. And that he might have done if he had ever seen this Book of Baptism, where that Opinion is asserted, c. 15. which is the earliest Mention we find of it.

Yet St. *Hierom* had seen this Book either in *Greek* or *Latin* (in both which Languages it was written) For he quotes some Passages out of it about the Story of St. *Paul* and *Tecla*, but nothing about the Matter of Infants.

## CHAP. V.

### Quotations out of Origen.

#### *Homilia 8. in Levit. c. 12.*

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§. 1. **A**udi David dicentem; *In iniquitatibus, inquit, conceptus sum, & in peccatis peperit me mater mea: ostendens quod quacunq; anima in carne nascatur, iniquitatis & peccati sorde polluitur: & propterea dictum*

(13) See CH. XIX. §. 17. (14) See CH. XIX. §. 30. (15) adv. Helvidium.



*Etum esse illud quod jam superius memoravimus; quia nemo mundus à sorde, nec si unius diei fuerit vita ejus. Addi his etiam illud potest, ut requiratur quid cause sit, cum baptisma ecclesia in remissionem peccatorum detur, secundum ecclesie observantiam etiam parvulis baptismum dari: cum utiq; si nihil esset in parvulis quod ad remissionem deberet & indulgentiam pertinere, gratia baptismi superflua videretur.* Year after the Apostles 110.

‘Hear David speaking: I was, says he, conceived in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother bring me forth: Shewing that every Soul that is born in the Flesh is polluted with the Filth of Sin and Iniquity: And that therefore that was said which we mention’d before; that none is clean from Pollution, tho’ his Life be but of the Length of one Day.

‘Besides all this, let it be consider’d, what is the Reason that whereas the Baptism of the Church is given for Forgiveness of Sins, Infants also are by the Usage of the Church baptized: when if there were nothing in Infants that wanted Forgiveness and Mercy, the Grace of Baptism would be needless to them.

*Homil. in Lucam 14.*

§. 2. Quod frequenter inter fratres queritur, loci occasione commota [l. commotus] retracto. Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? vel quo tempore peccaverunt? aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus; nullus mundus à sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per baptismi sacramentum natiuitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur & parvuli.

‘Having Occasion given in this Place, I will mention a Thing that causes frequent Enquiries among the Brethren. Infants are baptiz’d for the Forgiveness of Sins. Of what Sins? Or when have they sinned? Or how can any Reason of the Laver in their Case hold good, but according to that Sense that we mentioned even now: None is free from Pollution, tho’ his Life be but of the Length of one Day upon the Earth? And it is for that Reason because by the Sacrament of Baptism the Pollution of our Birth is taken away, that Infants are baptized.

*Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. 5.*

§. 3. Deniq; & in lege pro illo qui natus fuerit, jubetur offerri hostia, parvulum aut duo pulli columbini: ex quibus unus pro peccato, alius in holocaustum. Pro quo peccato offertur hic pullus unus? nunquid nuper editus parvulus peccare potuit? Et tunc habet peccatum, pro quo hostia jubetur offerri, à quo mundus negatur quis esse nisi unius diei fuerit vita ejus. De hoc ergo etiam David dixisse credendus est illud quod supra memoravimus; quia in peccato concepit me mater mea: secundum historiam enim nullum matris declaratur peccatum. Pro hoc & Ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem suscepit etiam parvulis baptismum

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*baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi quibus mysteriorum secreta commissa sunt divinorum, quia essent in omnibus genuina sordes peccati, quae per aquam & Spiritum ablui deberent: propter quas etiam corpus ipsum Corpus peccati nominatur.*

And also in the Law it is commanded that a Sacrifice be offer'd for every Child that is born; a Pair (1) of turtle Doves, or two young Pigeons: of which one is for a Sin-Offering, the other for a Burnt-Offering. For what Sin is this one Pigeon offer'd? Can the Child that is new born have committed any Sin? It has even then Sin, for which the Sacrifice is commanded to be offer'd; from which even he whose Life is but of one Day is denied to be free. Of this Sin David is to be supposed to have said that which we mention'd before; *In Sin did my Mother conceive me: for there is in the History no Account of any particular Sin that his Mother had committed.*

For this also it was, that the Church had from the Apostles a Tradition [or, Order] to give Baptism even to Infants. For they, to whom the Divine Mysteries were committed, knew that there is in all Persons the natural Pollution of Sin, which must be done away by Water and the Spirit: by reason of which the Body it self is also called *the Body of Sin.*

§. 4. The Plainness of these Testimonies is such as needs nothing to be said of it, nor admits any thing to be said against it. They do not only suppose the Practice to be generally known and used, but also mention its being order'd by the Apostles.

But concerning the Authenticalness of 'em there does need something to be said. For the Greek (which is the Original) of all Origen's Works being lost, except a very few; there remains only the Latin Translations of 'em. And when these Translations were collected together, a great many spurious ones were added and mixt with 'em, and went under Origen's Name. But upon the Renewal of Learning, the Critics quickly smelt 'em out, and admitted none for his, but such as appear'd to have been done into Latin either by St. Hierom or else by Rufinus: both of whom lived within the Time limited for our present Enquiry, viz. the first 400 Years.

For which Reason I have rejected the Quotations brought by some for Infant-Baptism out of Origen on Job, which is plainly a spurious Piece written by some Arian.

§. 5. Of these which I have brought, the Homilies on St. Luke were translated by St. Hierom: but those on Leviticus and the Comments on the Epist. to the Romans, by Rufinus. St. Hierom added a Preface to his Translation, which is printed with it; a Passage out of which is quoted by Rufinus, (2) and also some Part of the Translation it self. And St. Hierom himself mentions this Work in the Catalog of his own (3) Works. So that of this there is no Doubt. Erasmus once doubted whether even these Homilies were the genuin Works of Origen, as Huetius ob-

serves

(1) Levit 12. 8. (2) Apolog. adv. Hieronym. 2da. (3) De Scriptoribus Eccl.



serves in these (4) Words: *Erasmus in his Epistle to Francis Ciglianus*, Year after the Apostles 110. *had written that these Homilies did seem to be some other Man's and not Origen's: but in his Censure affixed to the Books of Origen, he recanted his Opinion, and acknowledged the true Author.* Which I the rather note, because Mr. Tombs (5) and Mr. Danvers (6) do quote *Erasmus on Luke 1. 3.* saying thus, *For so he seems to think whoever he was whose Commentaries are extant upon Luke, under the Title of Adamantius, [or, Origen].* From whence they conclude that *Erasmus took 'em not to be Origen's, or at least doubted of it.* Which is not fair, if they knew that *Erasmus* had recanted his Doubt, as is to be seen in his Edition of *Origen's Works.*

§ 6. Neither does any one raise any Question of the Translation of the other two, on *Leviticus* and the *Romans*, but that it was done by *Rufinus*. But these two Men used several Methods in translating. For, whereas *Origen's* Books contained in them several Expressions not consistent with the Faith in some Points. *St. Hierom* (7) changed nothing, but express'd every thing as it was in the Original, as he owns himself: but *Rufinus* alter'd or left out any thing that he thought not Orthodox. And in the *Homilies on Leviticus* he himself says, that he took a greater Liberty than ordinary.

All the World since have approved the Method of *St. Hierom*, and blamed that of *Rufinus*: for it is fit for a Translator to give a true Account of what his Author says, be it Good or bad. Whereas now in these Translations of *Rufinus*, the Reader is uncertain (as *Erasmus* angrily says) whether he read *Origen* or *Rufinus*.

Some Antipædobaptists do for this Reason reject the Quotations here brought out of the Homilies on *Leviticus* and the *Romans*: it being uncertain whether they are the Words of the Author, or the Additions or Interpolations of the Translator. This Plea must needs give some Abatement to the Authority of these two Testimonies: yet it is the less in this Matter, because,

1. That on *St. Luke* translated by *St. Hierom* contains the same thing in effect. It is as full an Evidence of the then Practice: only it does not mention the Tradition from the Apostles.

2. There is no kind of Probability that *Rufinus* (whatever Interpolations he might make in other Matters) made any Alteration in this: since this was none of the Subjects on which *Origen's* Opinion was question'd by the Church in *Rufinus's* time. Those Things in which he was singular, are largely canvass'd both by *St. Hierom* and *Rufinus* themselves in their Invectives and Apologies one against another: and also by (8) *Epiphanius*, and (9) *Theophilus Bp. of Alexandria*, who reckons 35 singular Opinions that *Origen* held: and they are about the Resurrection of the same Body, the Eternity of Hell Torments, the Præexistence of Souls,

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(4) *Origenianorum*. l. 3. p. 253. (5) 3d Review. (6) 1st Reply to Mr. Willis, p. 87. (7) Vide *Erasmi in censurâ operum Origenis*. (8) *Epist. ad Joannem Hierosolymit.* (9) *Epistolæ Paschales B.P. Tom. 4.*

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Souls, some Expressions about the Trinity, &c. but not one Word about this Matter. And there is no Pretence that *Rufinus* had any other Occasion to alter any thing, but only as being a great Lover of *Origen*, whatever was in his Comments express'd in a doubtful or heterodox Sense concerning any of the aforesaid Points, he left it out, or else gave it a favorable Turn in the Translation, or in some Explication that he added. But what is this to the Baptism of Infants, concerning which it is not pretended that *Origen's* Enemies challeng'd him as holding any singular Opinion?

3. *Rufinus* (who confesses that in the Translation of the Comments on *Leviticus*, he had used more freedom) says only this of his Management in the Translation of the Comments on the *Ep. to the Romans*, that he had (10) *shortened this Work by one half*. He speaks of no Addition to that: and it is in that that there is Mention of the Tradition from the Apostles.

§. 7. Mr. *Tombs* (11) says, that *if one read these Passages, and consider how they are brought in, and how plain the Expressions are against the Pelagians, one shall conceive that they were put in after the Pelagian Heresie was confuted by Hierom and Austin, who often tells us, that the Fathers afore that Controversie arose, did not speak plainly against the Pelagians. And of all others Origen is not taxed as Pelagianizing.*

If the Passages did speak of, or relate to any Contest about the Doctrine of Original Sin, or any Adversaries to it; or did set themselves to prove it as a Thing controverted: this Exception would have some Weight. But they speak of it as a supposed and known Thing from Scripture, and as of a Thing denied by none, and in no other Style than many Sayings of other Fathers do before *Pelagius's* Time, some of which I cited (12) out of *Irenaeus*. And the Opinion in which *Origen* Pelagianiz'd, was not as Mr. *Tombs* would intimate, in denying that corrupt State in which all are born into this World (his asserting of that in many other Places is notorious, and he built his Opinion of Præexistence on it) but in affirming that it is possible for a Man in this Life to arrive at such a perfect Conquest of the said Corruption, that he may afterward live without Sin: which was another of the false Doctrines of *Pelagius*. This is plainly proved to have been the Opinion of *Origen* from the few Words of St. *Hierom* in the Proleg to his *Dialogs against the Pelagians*; where having recited the Opinions of some former *Heresies* that vaunted themselves to be without Sin, he adds, *Illud autem Origenis proprium est, &c.* But *Origen* had this peculiar Opinion, that it is impossible for a humane Soul to be without Sin from its Beginning to its Death: and on the other side, that it is possible, when a Man turns himself to a good Life, to arrive to such Strength, that afterwards he shall not Sin. It was on account of this Tenet that St. *Hierom* calls *Origen* the Pelagians beloved. Which he does at the latter End of the last of the *Dialogs* above-mention'd.

(10) Præfat. in Epist. ad Romanos. (11) Examen. pag. 7. (12) CH. III. §. 1.



mention'd. Mr. *Tombs* might easily have observ'd in those few Works of *Origen* that are left in the Original, as plain Expressions against the Pelagians as he calls it, i. e. as plain Mentions of Original Sin) as there are in these Passages. As in his 7th Book against *Celsus*, p. 365. Ed. Cant. 1658. He discourses much as he does here, how the Books of the Old Testament do order a Sin Offering to be offer'd *ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἀσπλυσμένων, ὡς ἔκ καθαρῶν ἐκ ἀμαρτίας*: even for Infants new born, as being not clear from Sin. Where he proceeds, on the same Argument, to quote, as he does here, the Saying of *David* Psal. 51. 5. and several such Texts.

§. 8. But this Argument of Mr. *Tombs* may be well retorted against those that think these Passages were put in by *Rufinus* (Mr. *Tombs* in one Part of his Discourse seems to lay it on him, and yet in another, seems to think they were put in by some Body afterward: or else he speaks absurdly when he makes it to be done after the *Pelagian* Times). For whoever had put in any Thing of Original Sin, *Rufinus* would not: he had been more likely to raze it out, if he had not been afraid of Censure. For tho' he seems to have conceal'd his Opinion from the World, except some few Confidants; it was proved after his Death, that he was an Enemy to the Doctrine of Original Sin, at least as derived from our first Parents. St. *Hierom* does once or (13) twice reckon him by the Name of *Grunnius* among the Precursors, or those that had given Occasion, to *Pelagius*. He himself tells how some had accus'd him to *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*, as having unsound Opinions about the Origin of the Soul: and he makes but a lame Answer to it, in the Letter which he writes to him for his Apology. But *Celestius* discover'd all, when being upon his Trial at a Council of *Carthage*, (in which he was condemn'd for this Heresie) there were these Examinations and Answers, which St. *Austin* has quoted (14) out of the Acts of that Council, which was held Anno Dom. 412.

The Bishop *Aurelius* said,

' Let the rest [of the Articles charged on him] be read.

' And there was read, That the Sin of Adam hurt himself only, and not Mankind.

*Celestius* answer'd,

' I said, that I was unresolv'd concerning the Derivation of Sin (yet so as to submit to any one to whom God has given the Grace of Knowledge) because I have heard different Opinions of this from those that have been Prefhyters of the Catholic Church.

*Paulinus* the Deacon said, Tell us their Names.

*Celestius* said,

' The holy Presbyter *Rufinus*, who dwelt at *Rome* with holy *Pammachius*, I have heard him say, that there is no Derivation of Sin.

' *Paulinus* the Deacon said, Are there any more?

' *Celestius* said, I have heard others also say the same.

' *Paulinus*

(13) Ep. ad Cresiphontem it. Præfat. l. 4. in Jeremiam. (14) Lib. de peccato originali, c. 3, 4.

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' *Paulinus* the Deacon said, *Tell us their Names.*  
' *Celestius* said, *Is not one Presbyter enough for you?*

And afterward, in another place [of the Acts]

' *Aurelius* the Bishop said, *Let the rest of the Charge be read.*  
' And there was read, *That Infants when they are born are in the same*  
' *State that Adam was in before his Transgression.*  
' *Aurelius* the Bishop said, *Did you ever teach so, Celestius, that Infants,*  
' &c.  
' *Celestius* said, *Let him explain how he means; Before his Transgression,*  
' &c.  
' *Aurelius* the Bishop said, *Whether the State of Infants now to be ba-*  
' *ptized, be such as Adam's was before his Transgression: or, whether they do*  
' *derive the Guilt of Transgression from the same sinful Origin from whence*  
' *they are born? This is what the Deacon Paulinus would hear from you.*  
' *Paulinus* the Deacon said, *Whether he has taught that or not; Let him*  
' *deny.*  
' *Celestius* said, *I told you before concerning the Derivation of Sin, that I*  
' *have heard several in the Catholic Church deny it: and some I have heard*  
' *affirm it. It is a Matter of Question [or Controversie] not of Heresie.*  
' *As for Infants, I always said, that they stand in need of Baptism, and that*  
' *they ought to be baptized, &c.*

We see that tho' *Celestius* pretended he could have named others, yet he named none but *Rufinus*, who was dead, as holding this Tenet. *Rufinus* therefore was not likely to insert any thing into *Origen's* Works about Original Sin.

I know that *Garner* the Jesuit would have it, that the *Rufinus* intended by *Celestius* was another of the same Name, and not he whose Works we have: and that, because *Mercator* calls him a Syrian; whereas this *Rufinus* whose Works we have, was of *Aquileia*. But others with more Reason think, that *Mercator* calls him a Syrian only because he lived 30 Years in Syria and those Eastern Parts, and brought his Errors, and his Love of *Origen*, from thence. And the *Rufinus* meant by *Celestius* has always been taken for the same that is ordinarily known by that Name.

§. 9. There would have been the less Need of this long Disquisition to prove that the forecited Passages of *Origen* are genuin, if that Passage of his which Mr. *King* has found out in the Original Greek of his Commentaries on St. *Matthew*, and produces (a) to this Purpose as an Evidence for Infant-Baptism, were not a very ambiguous one. If the Sentence had ended there where Mr. *King* cuts it off, it had been a plain Case that *Origen* must have been understood to speak there of Infants in Age. But some Words, which he has left out, do, when they are read with the rest, very much puzzle the Cause, and make it doubtful whether *Origen* be to be there understood of Infants in Age, or of such

(a) Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church pag, 57.



such Christian Men as are indued with the Innocence and Simplicity of Infants. The impartial Management which I have promis'd, obliges me to set down the whole Place, or else none of it.

Origen is there commenting on those Words of our Savior, *Mat. 18. 10.* Take heed that ye despise not one of these Little-ones: for I say unto you, that in Heaven their Angels do always behold the Face of my Father which is in Heaven. He has a long Discourse, and something rambling: speaking sometimes of Infants in Age (such as our Savior had one then before him mention'd, *v. 2.*) and sometimes of Men resembling Infants. After which he puts this Question,

*Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. pag. 331. Ed. Huetij, Rhotomag. 1668.*

Εἴτα πάλιν ζητήσινεν ἂν τις, πότε τῶν δαικνυμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος μικρῶν οἱ κηρύμφοι αὐτῶν Ἀγγελοι περιεστανται; πότερον δεξάμενοι τὴν οἰκονομίαν περὶ αὐτῶν διοικεῖν ἢ διὰ λαβεῖν παλιγγενεσίας, ᾧ ἐγενήθησαν, ὡς ἀρτηγένητα βρέθη τὸ λογικὸν καὶ ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθεῖσι, καὶ μικρῇ ὑπκαίμενοι πονηρᾷ πινὺ διδάμει; ἢ ἀπὸ γένεσος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόγνωσιν καὶ τὸν προσοισμὸν αὐτῶ, &c.

Then again one may inquire; When it is that the Angels here spoken of are set over those Little-ones shewed [or signified] by our Savior? Whether they take the Care and Management of 'em from the Time when they by the Washing of Regeneration, whereby they were new born, do, as new born Babes desire the sincere Milk of the Word, and are no longer subject to any evil Power? Or from their Birth, according to the Fore-knowledge of God and his predestinating of 'em, &c.

If Origen Meant to say, that it is a Question whether such a little Child as our Savior then set before the Apostles, have his guardian Angel given him by God from his Birth, or from his Baptism; then 'tis a plain Supposal that such Infants were baptized. But his Mention of their desiring of the Milk of the Word at the Time of their Baptism, makes it doubtful whether he meant of such who are Infants in a proper Sense, or whether he had in his Mind at that Place such Men as he had before called *Christ's Little ones*, i. e. Men, who when converted and baptiz'd, do become humble in Spirit, &c. And this Doubt is encreased by observing the Answer that he gives to this his own Question: for he says, that for one side of it (*viz.* that the Guardian Angel is given to every one from his Birth) these Places of Scripture do make; *God (b) who separated me from my Mother's Womb.* And *(c) Before thou camest forth out of the Womb, I sanctified thee*, &c. But for the other side (*viz.* that it is at Baptism that the good Angel is given) this does make, that the Time of Peoples Unbelief is under the Angels of Satan: and then after their New birth, he that has bought us with his own Blood, delivers 'em to a good Angel. He has also another Fancy; that possibly the evil Angel that prendes over a Man during his Heathen-

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(b) Gal. 1. 15. (c) Jer. 1. 5.

Year after the good Angel to him.

Moreover in the Text it self; tho' our Savior had begun his Discourse with taking a little Child, and telling 'em they must *humble themselves as that little Child*; yet in the Process of it (and before he came to speak the forecited Words) viz. at v. 6. he uses the Phrase of *Little ones which believe in him*.

So that upon the whole, the Proof of Infant-Baptism from this place of *Origen*, does labor under considerable Ambiguity: and it is better for the Pædobaptists not so to rely upon it for a Proof of *Origen's* Sense, but that they do adhere likewise to those Passages of his which I recited before; which tho' they are but Translations of such Books of his, the Original whereof is not now extant, yet they are, as I have shewn, Translations well attested.

I will add to this one Passage more, in which *Origen* brings in this Text of Scripture, which is,

*Hom. 9. in Josuam.*

He is speaking of that Text, *Jos. 8. 33.* how *Joshua* wrote a Copy of the Law of *Moses* on the Stones of the Altar: and that he did it *in the Presence of the Children of Israel*. And in Allusion to this; speaking of our Savior's writing his Law, not on Stones, but in the Hearts of his Disciples, he finds this way to prove that this also is done *in the Presence of the Children of Israel*. He says that the Word *Israel* signifies a *Mind that sees God*: and that that Definition fits well to *Angels*: and that the Angels are to be thought to be present at the giving of the Holy Sacraments. And then he adds,

*Secundum Domini sententiam dicentis de infantibus (quod & tu fuisti infans in baptismo) quia Angeli eorum semper vident faciem patris mei qui in caelis est. Coram illis igitur filijs Israel, qui aderant illo tempore cum tibi fidei Sacramenta traderentur, videntibus faciem Dei, Jesus in corde tuo Deuteronomium scripsit.*

According to that Saying of our Lord concerning Infants (and thou wast an Infant when thou wast baptized) Their Angels do always behold the Face of my Father which is in Heaven. So then Jesus wrote his Law in thy Heart in the Presence of those Children of Israel, Beholders of God's Face, at the Time when the Sacrament of Faith was given thee.

All that is doubtful in this Place too, is, whether when he says, *Thou wast an Infant when thou wast baptiz'd*, he mean an Infant in Age, or only an Infant in the foresaid spiritual Sense. *Erasmus* takes it in the former Sense: for in his Edition of *Origen's* Works, he sets in the Margin of that Place, the Word, *Pædobaptismus*.

Tho' this Part of *Origen's* Works be not extant in *Greek*, yet we may the more depend upon it, because *Rufinus* assures us that in the Translation of these Homilies, and those on *Judges*, he has neither added nor omitted any thing; but truly rendred what he found in the *Greek* Books. *Perorat. in Hom. ad Romanos.*



§. 10. But whatever be determin'd concerning the Sense, or concerning the Authenticalness of this, or of any other one, particular Saying of *Origen*; That he in his Books did generally speak of Baptism as given to Infants, is plain by this: That St. *Hierom* (who was of all the *Latin* Fathers the greatest Reader of *Origen's* Works in their original Language) do's acquaint us, both that he did so; and also that he built his false Hypothesis of the Præexistence of Souls on this Ground partly, that by it he might give the better Account of the Sins for which an Infant is baptized. For St. *Hierom* in his Third Dialog against the *Pelagians*, having upbraided them that they could not apprehend what the Scripture teaches of Original Sin in Infants, as derived from *Adam*, for the Forgiveness whereof they should be baptized, says to them in the last Words of that Book.

*Quod si injusta vobis videtur alienorum remissio peccatorum; quâ non indiget qui peccare non potuit: Transite ad Amasium vestrum, qui praterita in cœlis & antiqua delicta solvi dicit in baptismo. Ut cujus in ceteris auctoritate docimini, & in hac parte errorem sequamini.*

'And if the Forgiveness of Sins, which are the Sins of another, do seem to you unjust, or such as he [*an Infant*] that could commit no Sin himself, has no need of; Then march over to your Beloved [*plainly meaning Origen*] who holds that in Baptism are forgiven those Sins which have been committed in a former State in the celestial Regions: And as you are influenced by his Authority in your other Points, partake of his Error in this too. The Place, with the Context, I must recite hereafter, *CH. XIX. § 26.*

Now *Origen*, or any other Antient, mentioning a Practice as received, and giving a false Ground for it, is as good a Witness of the Practice it self as the most orthodox Mentioner of it.

§. 11. There is one Circumstance that makes *Origen* a more competent Witness to give Evidence whether the Baptizing of Infants had been in use Time out of Mind, or not, than most other Authors that we have left to us of that Age: because he was himself of a Family that had been Christian for a long time. *Tertullian* and all the rest that we have mentioned, except *Irenæus*, must have been themselves baptized in adult Age; because they were of Heathen Parents, and were the first of their Family that turned Christians: but *Origen's* Father was a Martyr for Christ in the Persecution under *Severus*, the Year after the Apostles 102. And *Eusebius* (15) assures us that his Forefathers had been Christians for several Generations; τὰ τε δὲ δεῖκναι τὸ τῆς κατὰ χεῖρὸν διδασκαλίας ἐν προγόνων ἐσώζετο. The Christian Doctrine was convey'd to him from his Forefathers. Or, as *Rufinus* (16) translates it, *ab avis atq; atavis*, 'From his Grandfathers and Great Grand-fathers.

That which gave Occasion to *Eusebius* to inquire into his Pedigree, was the Slander of *Porphyrius*: for he endeavouring to shew that the

Year of the Apostles 110. Christian Religion had nothing in it of Learning or Science, and had none but illiterate Followers; and not being able to deny or conceal the great Repute of *Origen* for his Skill in humane Literature, had feigned that he was at first a *Heathen*, and having learned their Philosophy, and then turning Christian, had endeavoured to transfer and apply it to trim up the *Christian Fables*. In Confutation of this Lye, *Eusebius*, as I said, sets forth his Christian Descent.

Now since *Origen* was born *Anno* 185, that is, the Year after the Apostles, 85. (for he was 17 Years old when his Father suffer'd) his Grandfather, or at least his Great-Grandfather, must have lived in the Apostles Time. And as he could not be ignorant whether he was himself baptized in Infancy, so he had no farther than his own Family to go for Inquiry how it was practis'd in the Times of the Apostles.

Besides that he was, as I said, a very learned Man, and could not be ignorant of the Use of the Churches, in most of which he had also travelled: for as he was born and bred at *Alexandria*, so it appears out of *Eusebius* (17) that he had lived in *Greece*, and at *Rome*, and in *Cappadocia*, and *Arabia*, and spent the main Part of his Life in *Syria* and *Palestine*.

## C H A P. VI.

### Quotations out of St. Cyprian.

*Cypriani Epist. 64. (Pamelij Edit. 59.) ad Fidum.*

Year of the Apostles 150. §. I. **S**T. Cyprian was Bishop of *Carthage*. And it was the Custom in that, as in all other great and metropolitical Cities, for the neighbouring Bishops to meet there at certain Times to consult of and determine any emergent Affairs of the Church.

At this time, *Anno Dom.* 253. there were 66 of 'em in Council. And one *Fidus* a Country Bishop, had sent a Letter with two Cases, in which he desired their Resolution; which they give in this Epistle to him.

One being about one *Victor* a Presbyter, that after a Crime committed, had, by the Rashness of a certain Bishop, been admitted too soon to Absolution, is nothing to our Concern.

The other Question being, whether an Infant, before it was 8 Days old, might be baptized, if Need required: I shall recite so much of the Letter as concerns that.

*Cyprianus*



*Cyprianus & ceteri Collegæ, qui in Concilio affuerunt, numero 66. Year after the Apostles 150.*  
*Fido fratri salutem.*

*Legimus literas tuas, frater carissime, quibus significasti de Victore quodam presbytero, &c. -----*

Quantum verò ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sunt, constitutos baptizari non oportere: & considerandum esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ; ut intra octavum diem, eum qui natus est baptizandum & sanctificandum non putares, longe aliud in Concilio nostro omnibus visum est. In hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum nemo consensit: sed universi potius iudicavimus nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei & gratiam denegandam. Nam cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat; Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest, qui semel in utero Dei manibus formatus est? Nobis enim atq; oculis nostris secundum dierum secularium cursum accipere qui nati sunt, incrementum videntur. Ceterum quæcumq; à Deo fiunt, Dei factoris majestate & opere perfecta sunt. Esse deniq; apud omnes sive infantes sive majores natu, unam Divini muneris æqualitatem declarat nobis Divinæ Scripturæ fides. Helizæus super infantem Sunamitidis viduæ filium qui mortuus jacebat, ita se Deum deprecans superstravit, ut capiti caput & faciei facies applicaretur, & superfusi Helizæi membra singulis parvuli membris, & pedes pedibus jungerentur. Quæ res si secundum nativitatis nostræ & corporis qualitatem cogitetur, adulto & provello infans non posset equari, nec coherere & sufficere possent membra parva majoribus. Sed illic æqualitas divina & spiritualis exprimitur, quòd pares atq; æquales sint homines quando à Deo semel facti sunt, & possit ætas nostra in incrementis corporum secundum seculum, non secundum Deum habere discrimen. Nisi si & gratia ipsa quæ baptizatis datur, pro ætate accipientium vel minor vel major tribuitur; cum spiritus sanctus non de mensurâ, sed de pietate atq; indulgentiâ paternâ æqualis omnibus præbeatur. Nam Deus ut Personam non accipit, sic nec ætatem; cum se omnibus ad cælestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate libratâ præbeat patrem. Nam & quod vestigiū infantis in primis partûs sui diebus constituti mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisq; nostrum horreat exosculari: nec hoc putamus ad cælestem gratiam dandum impedimento esse oportere. Scriptum est enim, omnia munda sunt mundis: nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans à partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratiâ dandâ atq; in pace faciendâ horrere debeat osculari: quando in osculo infantis unusquisq; nostrum pro suâ religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare; quas in homine modo formato & recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id quod Deus facit amplectimur. Nam quod in judaicâ circumcisione carnali octavus dies observabatur, Sacramentum est in umbrâ atq; imagine antè præmissum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum: nam quia octavus dies, i. e. post sabbatum primus, dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret, & nos vivificaret, & circumcisionem nobis spirituales daret: Hic dies octavus i. e. post sabbatum primus

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& Dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit superveniente postmodum veritate, & datâ nobis spirituali circumcissione. Propter quod neminem putamus à gratiâ consequendâ impediendum esse eâ lege quæ jam statuta est, nec spiritua- lem circumcissionem impediri carnale circumcissione debere: sed omnem omnino ad- mittendum esse ad gratiam Christi: quando & Petrus in Actis Apostolorum loqua- tur & dicat; Dominus mihi dixit neminem hominum communem dicendum & im- mundum. Ceterum si homines impedire aliquid ad gratiæ consecutionem posset; magis adultos & proventus & majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus, & in Deum multam ante peccan- tibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, & à baptismo atq; à gratiâ nemo prohibetur: quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens na- tus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ primâ nativitate contraxit? qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata. Et idcirco, frater carissime, hæc fuit in Concilio nostra sententia, à baptismo atq; à gratiâ Dei, qui omnibus & misericors & benignus & pius est, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum circa universos observandum sit atq; reti- nendum; magis circa infantes ipsos & recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de ope nostrâ ac de Divinâ misericordiâ plus merentur, quod in primo statim nativitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac flentes, nihil aliud faciunt quam depre- cantur. Optamus te, frater carissime, semper benè valere.

*Cyprian and the rest of the Bishops who were present at the Council,  
Sixty Six in Number, To Fidus our Brother, Greeting.*

‘We read your Letter, most dear Brother, in which you write of  
‘one Victor a Priest, &c. — But as to the Case of Infants: Whereas  
‘you judge that they must not be baptized within 2 or 3 Days after they are  
‘born; and that the Rule of Circumcision is to be observed, so that none  
‘should be baptized and sanctified before the eighth Day after he is born :  
‘We were all in our Assembly of the contrary Opinion. For as for  
‘what you thought fitting to be done, there was not one that was of  
‘your Mind, but all of us on the contrary, judged that the Grace and  
‘Mercy of God is to be denied to no Person that is born. For where-  
‘as our Lord in his Gospel says, *The Son of Man came not to destroy*  
‘*Men's Souls [or, Lives] but to save 'em:* As far as lies in us, no Soul,  
‘if possible, is to be lost.

‘For what is there deficient in him who has been once formed in  
‘the Womb by the Hands of God? They appear to us and in our Eyes  
‘to attain Perfection [or, Encrease] in the Course of the Days of the  
‘World: but all Things that are made by God, are perfect by the  
‘Work and Power of God their Maker. The Scripture gives us to un-  
‘derstand the Equality of the Divine Gift on all, whether Infants or  
‘grown Persons. *Elisha* in his Prayer to God stretched himself on the  
‘Infant Son of the *Shunamite* Woman that lay dead, in such manner  
‘that



that his Head, and Face, and Limbs, and Feet were applied to the Head, Face, Limbs, and Feet of the Child: which, if it be understood according to the Quality of our Body and Nature, the Infant could not hold Measure with the grown Man, nor its little Limbs fit and reach to his great Ones. But in that Place a spiritual Equality, and such as is in the Esteem of God, is intimated to us; by which Persons that are once made by God are alike and equal: and our Growth of Body by Age makes a Difference in the Sense of the World, but not of God. Unless you will think that the Grace it self, which is given to baptized Persons, is greater or less, according to the Age of those that receive it: whereas the holy Spirit is given not by different Measures, but with a fatherly Affection and Kindness equal to all. For God, as he accepts no one's Person, so not his Age; but with an exact Equality shews himself a Father to all for their obtaining the heavenly Grace.

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And whereas you say, that *an Infant in the first Days after its Birth is unclean, so that any of us abhors to kiss it.* We think not this neither to be any Reason to hinder the giving to it the heavenly Grace. For it is written; *To the Clean all Things are clean:* nor ought any of us to abhor that which God has vouchsafed to make. Tho' an Infant come fresh from the Womb, no one ought to abhor to kiss it at the giving of the Grace and the owning of the Peace [or, Brotherhood] when as in kissing the Infant, every one of us ought, out of Devotion, to think of the fresh Handy-work of God: for we do in some Sense kiss his Hands in the Person newly formed and but new born, when we embrace that which is of his making.

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That the eighth Day was observed in the *Jewish* Circumcision, was a Type going before in a Shadow and Resemblance; but on Christ's Coming was fulfilled in the Substance. For because the eighth Day, that is, the next to the Sabbath Day, was to be the Day on which the Lord was to rise from the Dead, and quicken us, and give us the spiritual Circumcision; this eighth Day, that is the next Day to the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, was signified in the Type before; which Type ceased when the Substance came, and the spiritual Circumcision was given to us.

So that we judge that no Person is to be hindered from obtaining the Grace, by the Law that is now appointed: and that the spiritual Circumcision ought not to be restrained by the Circumcision that was according to the Flesh: but that all are to be admitted to the Grace of Christ; since *Peter* speaking in the *Acts of the Apostles*, says, *The Lord has shewn me that no Person is to be called common or unclean.*

If any thing could be an Obstacle to Persons against their obtaining the Grace; the adult and grown and elder Men would be rather hindered by their more grievous Sins. If then the greatest Offenders, and they that have grievously sinn'd against God before, have when they afterward come to believe, Forgiveness of their Sins; and no Person

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'is kept off from Baptism and the Grace: how much less Reason is there  
 'to refuse an Infant, who being newly born has no Sin, save that be-  
 'ing descended from *Adam* according to the Flesh, he has from his very  
 'Birth contracted the Contagion of the Death anciently threatned?  
 'Who comes for this reason more easily to receive Forgiveness of Sins,  
 'because they are not his own but others Sins that are forgiven him.  
 'This therefore, dear Brother, was our Opinion in the Assembly;  
 'that it is not for us to hinder any Person from Baptism and the Grace  
 'of God, who is merciful and kind and affectionate to all. Which  
 'Rule, as it holds for all; so we think it more especially to be ob-  
 'serv'd in reference to Infants and Persons newly born: to whom our  
 'Help and the Divine Mercy is rather to be granted, because by their  
 'Weeping and Wailing at their first Entrance into the World, they  
 'do intimate nothing so much as that they implore Compassion.  
 'Dear Brother, we wish you always good Health.

It is not denied by any but that this is a plain Proof of Infants Ba-  
 ptism being taken for granted at that time: since both *Fidus* who puts  
 the Question, and the Council that resolve it, do shew by their Words  
 their Sense to be that they are to be baptiz'd in Infancy; only *Fidus*  
 thought not before the eighth Day.

Mr. *Tombs*, who makes some Exceptions against the foregoing Testi-  
 monies, as not being plain Declarations of the Author's Mind, or not  
 certainly genuin, (but yet no other Exceptions than what I have men-  
 tion'd) grants this to be plain, and to (1) *say enough, and more than e-*  
*nough, except it had spoke more to the Purpose,* and would have it pass for  
 the *Spring-head of Infant-Baptism*.

§. 2. But there is one Antipædobaptist Writer, a Man of more Bold-  
 ness in his Assertions than the rest, that would represent this as a  
 forged or supposititious Piece. (2) *We would rather believe,* says he, *that*  
*these Things were foisted into his Writings by that villanous cursed Generation,*  
*that so horribly abus'd the Writings of most of the Ancients.*

But as Mr. *Tombs* was more wary and learned than to object any such  
 thing, so there could not have been any thing more unluckily pleaded.  
 For so it happens, that in all Antiquity there is not any one Piece  
 that can more certainly be prov'd to be genuin than this: because it  
 is so often quoted by St. *Hierom*, St. *Austin*, and others that liv'd a  
 while after; not in any question of Infant-Baptism, but of Original Sin,  
 which the *Pelagians* denied, tho' they, as I shall shew hereafter, granted  
 and practis'd Infant-Baptism. I shall have occasion in the following  
 Chapters to cite some of the Passages of the foresaid Fathers where they  
 mention this Epistle of St. *Cyprian*, and at present shall refer the Reader  
 to such Places of St. *Austin*, where he transcribes large Passages *verba-*  
*tim* out of it, so as to recite it by Parcels almost all.

In



In his *Ep. 28. ad Hieronym.* He, speaking of some that taught that the Body only, and not the Soul, must suffer for Original Sin, says among other Things this; *Blessed Cyprian, not making any new Decree, but expressing the firm Faith of the Church, in refuting those that thought a Child must not be baptized before the eighth Day, said (not that no Flesh, but) that no Soul must be lost.* Year after the Apostles. 150.

And *l. 4. contra duas Epist. Pelagianorum, c. 8.* He recites three large Passages out of it.

And *l. 3. de peccatorum meritis & remissione, c. 5.* having mention'd this Epistle, he tells *Marcellinus*, the Nobleman, to whom he writes; *You may, if you please, read the Epistle it self of the said Martyr about the Baptizing of Infants: for there is no doubt but it is to be had at Carthage. However I have thought fit to transcribe some part of it, as much as is necessary for our present Question, [which was about Original Sin.]* So he begins where I began; *but as to the Case of Infants: whereas you judge they must not be baptized within 2 or 3 Days, &c.* and goes on to repeat two large Paragraphs *verbatim* out of it.

Also having Occasion to (3.) preach at Carthage against *Pelagianism*, he towards the End of his Sermon, recites to the People some Part of this Epistle, telling 'em that *they are the Words of Cyprian an ancient Bishop of that See.* Holy Cyprian, says he, *was asked whether an Infant might be baptized before the eighth Day, because in the old Law it was not lawful to circumcise but on the eighth Day. The Question was of the Day of Baptizing, for of Original Sin there was no Question: and therefore from a thing of which there was no Question, the Question that was started was resolved.* St. Cyprian said among other things; so that we judge that no Person is to be hindred from obtaining the Grace, &c. [proceeding to those Words] because they are not his own but others Sins that are forgiven him. See how he making no doubt of this Matter [viz. of Original Sin] solves that of which there was Doubt: he took this from the Foundation of the Church to fasten a Stone that was loose.

St. Hierom also quotes a good Part of it *verbatim l. 3. Dialog. adv. Pelag.*

§. 3. Since then it is plain that it was at that Time, and in those Places where St. Cyprian had liv'd, commonly known for his, and frequent in the Hands of learned Men; there is the less need of considering those Objections which are brought as probable against its being genuin.

The foresaid Author says, *We meet with no such Council, neither can it appear where it was held.*

But this is to make himself more ignorant than he is, as if he did not know that the Date of this is before those Times in which the Acts of the Councils used to be registred and collected into Volumes: so that this had been lost, if it had not been preserv'd among the Epistles of this Father. And besides, that they never us'd to put into the

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Volumes of Councils the Acts of those ordinary Assemblies in which the neighbouring Bishops met every half Year at the principal City (whereof this was one, viz. St. Cyprian's neighbouring Collegues assembled at Carthage) but only those in which some extraordinary Matter was handled.

§. 4. Yet this is proper to observe here, that whereas (4) *Grotius* would prove that *Infant-Baptism* was not universally held to be necessary, because in the Councils one finds no earlier Mention of it than in the Council of Carthage, meaning that in the Year 418. We see here that tho' that were true (which I shall by and by (5) shew to be false) that there were no earlier Mention of it in those Councils that are in the ordinary Collections: yet there is Mention of it in this, that was earlier than any of 'em; and tho' met on ordinary Occasions, more numerous than several of 'em.

§. 5. It is objected likewise, that whereas St. *Austin* somewhere (6) lays down this as a Rule, that *what the whole Church thro' all the World does practise, and yet it has not been instituted in Councils, but has been always in use, is with very good Reason supposed to have been settled by Authority of the Apostles*, and applys that Rule to Infant-Baptism; he consequently takes it not to have been instituted by any Council; and therefore that he contradicts himself when he believes there was such a Council as this Letter mentions.

But there needs nothing but for a Man to open his Eyes to see that this Council does not *institute* the Baptism of Infants, or enact that they should be baptized; but takes that for granted, or as a Thing known and supposed by both Parties, that they are to be baptized; and determines only that Question, whether they may be baptiz'd before the eighth Day. Which very Thing St. *Austin* notes in the Words I just now cited, *Ep. 28. Cyprian not making any new Decree, &c.*

§. 6. Another Exception that is made, has I think, some Truth in it, viz. That some of the Reasons used in this Council and express'd in this Letter, do appear something frivolous and shallow. But I do not see how it is at all to the Purpose.

1. Because these Reasons are not design'd to prove Infant-Baptism, but to take off the Objections concerning the eighth Day.

2. If they had been us'd by these Bishops as Grounds of Infant-Baptism; yet since our Enquiry is what the Church then practis'd, and not how able St. *Cyprian* and they were to argue; their Evidence is the same, how weak soever their Reasonings are. But,

3. This also may be said in Apology for their Abilities; that to a frivolous and foolish Question or Objection 'tis almost impossible to give any Answer that will not seem frivolous to those that consider not the Occasion of it. On this Account *Irenaeus*, and many of the Fathers suffer in our Judgment: they are forc'd to write a great deal in  
Confutation

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(4) Annot. in Mat. 19. (5) CH. XVI. (6) De baptismo contra Donatistas, l. 4. c. 23.



Confutation of such idle and enthusiastical Stuff as seems to us not to deserve three Words: but it was necessary then to disentangle the Souls of ignorant Christians. So any Book written now in answer to the Reasonings of the *Quakers*, &c. will in the next Age seem to be the Work of a Man that had little to do. This *Fidus* thought that the natural Uncleaness of an Infant in the first Days after his Birth, was a Reason against baptizing it then: which, as *Rigaltius* observes, was a Relique of heathenish Superstition. He also seems to have made some Question whether so young an Infant be a perfect human Creature: as if eight Days made any great Difference in that Matter. The Answers to such Arguments will seem of little Weight. All that he objected of Sense, was the Rule of Circumcision on the eighth Day. To which *St. Cyprian* answers, as other Fathers do, that the Circumstance of the Day was typical, and so not now obliging.

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§. 7. If we look back from this Time to the Space that had passed from the Apostles Time, which was but 150 Years; we must conclude that it was easie then to know the Practice of Christians in the Apostles Days. For some of these 66 Bishops must be thought to be at this Time 70 or 80 Years old themselves, which reaches to half the Space: and at that Time when they were Infants, there must have been several alive that were born within the Apostles Age. And such could not be ignorant whether Infants were baptiz'd in that Age, when they themselves were some of those Infants.

It is plain likewise that there was no Dispute or Difference of Opinion (as there must have been among so many, if any Innovation had been made). For 'tis here said, *there was not one of Fidus's Mind* that Infant-Baptism must be delayed till the eighth Day. Much less then was there any of Opinion that it was not to be us'd at all.

*In a Doctrinal Point, as Mr. Baxter well observes, a Mistake is easier, or in a bare Narration of some one Fact: But in a Matter of Fact of so public Notice, and which so many thousands were Partakers in, as Baptism was, How could they be ignorant.*

Suppose it were a Question now among us, Whether Persons were baptiz'd at Age only, or in Infancy also, 70 or 80 Years before we were born: Were it not easie to know the Truth, what by Tradition, and what by Records?

§ 8. I shall conclude what I have to note on this Testimony with observing these Things.

1. That it was the Custom of those Times and Places to give the new baptized Person, whether Infant or Adult, the *Kiss of Peace*, or, as it is called by (7) *St. Paul* and (8) *St. Peter*, the *Holy Kiss*, or the *Kiss of Charity*, in token of their owning him for a Christian Brother: for *Fidus* makes that a Part of his Objection, that that would be indecent or loathsome in the Case of a new born Infant, before it be a Week old.

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§. 9. 2. That these Bishops held, that to suffer the Infant to die unbaptiz'd, was to endanger its Salvation. This appears in their Reasonings.

§. 10. 3. The Third is a various Reading or Spelling of one Word in this Epistle, from whence some Disputes have arisen. Mr. *Daille* in a Book written on purpose to publish the *Navi* and Errors which he could find in the Fathers Works, (9) reckons St. Cyprian one of the first of those from whose Words one may prove there was a Custom of giving the Holy Communion to Infants. And he proves it first and chiefly from this Epistle, in which, as 'tis here written, there is never a Word about it. But where we read in the first Clause of it, *baptizandum & sanctificandum*, should be *baptized and sanctified*, (which latter Word is commonly used as another Word for Baptism) he quotes it, *baptizandum & sacrificandum*, by which he understands, *should be baptiz'd and partake of the Eucharist*. Some Editions, it seems, have it so. But, I suppose, very few: and those mistaken ones. For (10) Dr. *Hammond*, (11) *Marshal*, and the *Magdeburgenses*, and Mr. *Walker*, and all that I have seen, do quote it *sanctificandum*, as it is also in the last Edition, viz. *Oxon.* 1682. in which are the various Lectons of several Manuscripts that had been collated: but no Variety in reading of this Word. And the Matter is out of doubt; since St. *Austin*, transcribing that Part of the Epistle (12) writes it *sanctificandum*. And indeed *sacrificandum* in that Sense is not *Latin*.

From this Use of the Word *Sanctification* for *Baptism*, and *Sanctified* or made holy for *baptized* (which I shall shew (13) hereafter to have been very common and usual) the Fathers do give Light to the Explication of that Text of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 7. 14. As I shall more fully shew at a (13) fitter Place.

4. We see also here confirm'd, what I said (14) before, that they reckon'd Baptism to be to us in the room of Circumcision. For it was upon that Account, that *Fidus* thought it must keep the Times of the Old Circumcision: and the Bishops of the Council, tho' denying that, do call it *the Spiritual* [or Christian] *Circumcision*.

## Another Passage out of St. Cyprian.

### *Libro de Lapsis, circa Medium.*

§. 11. There had been at *Carthage* a great Persecution of the Christians, in which many had fallen, and had denied their Religion, and had joined in the idolatrous Sacrifices: some of which afterward, when the Persecution

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(9) De usu Patrum. l. 2. c. 4. (10) Six Queries inf. bapt. §. 36. (11) Against Tombs p. 39. (12) L. 4. contra duas Epist. Pelagianorum c. 8. (13) CH. XI. §. 9. (14) CH. II. §. 2.



cution was over, went about to crowd themselves into the Church, without giving first any sufficient Proofs of their Repentance for so horrid a Crime, or expecting the Consent of the Church for their Readmission. St. Cyprian thought it necessary for these Men to be first made sensible of the Guilt they had contracted: for which Purpose he writes this Book; and has among others, this Passage, in which he mentions their Infants; and tho' there be no express Mention of their Baptism, yet you will see it is in other Words plainly described.

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*Nonne quando ad Capitolium sponte ventum est, quando ulro ad obsequium diri facinoris accessum est, labavit gressus, caligavit aspectus, tremuerunt viscera, brachia conciderunt? Nonne sensus obstupuit, lingua haesit, sermo defecit? Stare illic potuit Dei servus, & loqui & renunciare Christo, qui jam Diabolo renunciarat & seculo? Nonne ara illa, quò moriturus accesserat, rogus illi fuit? Nonne Diaboli altare, quod foetore tetro fumare ac redolere conspexerat, velut funus & bustum vitae suae, horrere ac fugere debebat? Quid hostiam tecum, miser, quid victimam supplicaturus imponis? ipse ad aras hostia, victima ipse venisti. Immolasti illic salutem tuam; spem tuam, fidem tuam funestis illis ignibus concremasti. Ac multis proprius interitus satis non fuit: hortamentis mutuis in exitium suum populus impulsus est: mors invicem lethali poculo propinata est. Ac ne quid deesset ad criminis cumulum, infantes quoque parentum manibus vel impositi vel attracti, amiserunt parvuli quod in primo statim natiuitatis exordio fuerant consecuti. Nonne illi, cum iudicii dies venerit, dicent; nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto cibo ac poculo Domini ad profana contagia sponte properavimus: perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes sensimur parricidas. Illi nobis ecclesiam matrem, illi patrem Deum negaverunt: ut dum parvi & improvidi & tanti facinoris ignari per alios ad consortium criminum jungimur, alienam fraude caperemur?*

When you came to the Capitol, [the Idol Temple] when you went with a ready Compliance to the committing of that horrible Crime, Did not your Legs tremble, your Sight wax dim, your Bowels turn, and your Arms flag? Did not your Mind grow amazed, your Tongue falter, and your Speech fail you? Could one that was God's Servant stand there and speak out, and renounce Christ, who had before renounced the Devil and the World? Was not the Altar of Incense a Funeral Pile to him, since he came thither to take his [spiritual] Death? Had he not reason to abhor and fly from the Altar of Sacrifice to the Devil, which he saw smoak and stink with a nasty Smell, as from the Funeral Fire which signified the Forfeiture of his Life? What need hadst thou, poor Wretch, to bring thy Offering or Sacrifice thither with thee? Thou camest thy self a Sacrifice and a Burnt-offering to the Altar. Thou didst there sacrifice thy Salvation: thou didst burn up all thy Hope and Faith in those deadly Fires.

There were also a great many that thought it not enough to procure their own Damnation. The Multitude encourag'd one another to their Destruction: they drank Death to one another, and pledg'd each other in that poisonous Cup.

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' And that nothing might be wanting to the Measure of their Wickedness, their little Infants also being led or brought in their Parents Arms, lost that which they had obtain'd presently after they were born. Will not they at the Day of Judgment say; *We did nothing of this, neither did we forsaking the Meat and Cup of our Lord, run of our own Accord to the partaking of those profane Desilements. 'Twas the Apostasy of others that ruin'd us: we had our Parents for our Murderers. 'Twas they that renounced for us the Church from being our Mother, and God from being our Father. When we, being young and inconsiderate, and not sensible of the Greatness of the Crime, were made Partakers of the Wickedness, we were entrapped by the Treachery of others.*

§. 12. When he says, *the Infants lost [or forfeited] that [Gift or Grace] which they had obtained presently after they were born:* 'tis plain that he means their Baptism or the Benefits thereof. St. Austin had occasion to recite these Words of St. Cyprian and to give his Comment on them. The occasion was this; one Boniface had put to him this Question; *Whether Parents do their Children that are baptized any Hurt when they carry 'em to the Heathen Sacrifices to be cur'd of any Illness: And, if they thereby do 'em no Hurt, then how it comes to pass that the Faith of the Parents stands 'em in stead when they are baptiz'd: and yet their Apostacy afterward should not be able to hurt 'em.*

St. Austin (15) answers, that the Force of that Sacrament is such, that he that is once regenerated by it, cannot afterwards be entangl'd in the Guilt of another Person's Sin, to which he does not consent. He gives the Reason of the Difference to this purpose; that the Guilt of Original Sin descends from the Parent to the Child, because the Child is not as yet a separate living Person, *anima separatim vivens*, from his Parent. But when a Child is become *in se ipso alter ab eo qui genuit*, in himself a separate Person from him that begot him, he is not guilty of his Parents Sin done without his Consent. He derived his Guilt, because he was one with him and in him from whom he derived, at the time when it was derived to him: but one does not derive from another, when each has his own proper Life; so as it may be said, *the Soul that sinneth it shall die.* That the Faith and godly Will of the Parent in bringing his Child to Baptism, is available, because the same Spirit that sanctifies and regenerates the Child, moves the Parent to offer him to Baptism. *The regenerating Spirit,* says he, *is one and the same in the Parents that bring him, and in the Infant that is brought and regenerated.*— *And the Guilt is not so communicated by another Person's Will, as the Grace is communicated by the Unity [or Identity] of the Spirit.*

Yet (as he observes afterward) the Parents or other Guardians that endeavour thus to entangle their Children or other Infants in this Sacrilege of the Devil, are deservedly called spiritual Murderers. For they do not, 'tis true, effect any Murder upon 'em; but yet as far as it lies in them they are Murder-

ers.



ers: and we do with Reason say to 'em, Don't murder your Infants. For the Apostle says, Quench not [or extinguish not] the Spirit: not that he can be extinguished; but yet they are fully called Extinguishers of him as much as in them lies, that would have him extinguished.

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Then it is that he takes notice of this Passage of St. Cyprian, and says, *In this Sense may that be rightly understood which St. Cyprian wrote in his Epistle concerning the Lapli, when reproving those that had in the Time of Persecution sacrificed to Idols, he says, 'And that nothing might be wanting to the Measure of their Wickedness, their little Infants also being led or brought in their Parents Arms, lost that which they had obtained presently after they were born, &c. They lost it, he means, as far as concerns the Wickedness of those by whom they were brought to lose it, in the Will and Purpose of those that committed so foul a Wickedness upon 'em. For if they had lost it indeed as to themselves, they would have continued as Persons to be condemned by the Sentence of God without any Excuse: which if St. Cyprian had thought to be so, he would not presently have subjoined their Excuse, saying, 'Will not they at the Day of Judgment say? &c.*

§. 13. There is one Place more in St. Cyprian, where he speaks of all Persons in general; yet because he names not Infants particularly, I shall but just mention it. It is

*Libro 3. Testimoniorum ad Quirinum, c. 25.*

This is a Common-place-Book of the Heads of Christian Doctrine, collected by this Father, and proper Texts of Scripture added for the Proof of each of 'em.

The Doctrine or Proposition for this Chapter is this.

*Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus & renatus quis fuerit, pervenire non posse.* If any one be not baptiz'd and regenerate, he cannot come to the Kingdom of God.

The Texts of Scripture are among other, these

*In Evangelio cata Joannem. Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Quod enim natum est de carne, caro est; & quod natum est de spiritu, Spiritus est.* In the Gospel according to St. John. Except any one be regenerate of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. For that which is born of the Flesh, is Flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit.

§. 14. We have in our English Language a way of speaking whereby instead of the Word [Person] in a Sentence, we generally use the Word [Man] tho' the Sense be such as requires to be understood of any human Creature; Man, Woman, or Child. And so in the Text of St. John here cited, John 3. 5. tho' the Original be *ἐὰν μὴ ᾖς*, &c. and all Latin Books and Writers translate it, as Cyprian here does, *nisi quis*, &c. which signifies, except one [or except any one, or, except a Person] be born,

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born, &c. Yet the *English* Translators have rendred it, *Except a Man be born, &c.* And some *English* Antipædobaptists (learned ones you'll say) have taken the Advantage of the Word [Man] to prove that it is of a grown Person in Exclusion of Children, that our Savior speaks. But the more wary of 'em finding that this Argument will from the Original turn strongly against 'em, are willing to compound, and leave this Text quite out of the Dispute, and say that our Savior does not there speak of Baptism at all.

There is not any one Christian Writer of any Antiquity in any Language, but what understands it of Baptism. And if it be not so understood, it is difficult to give an Account how a Person is born of *Water*, any more than born of *Wood*.

I shall have Occasion to speak more (16) particularly of the Sense of the Ancients concerning this Text. In the mean time, we see here plainly that St. *Cyprian* understands it of Baptism: and also we see by reading the foregoing Epistle to *Fidus*, that he and his Fellow-Bishops understood the Case of Infants particularly to be included in it.

There is another Passage in St. *Cyprian*, from which is plainly infer'd the Baptism of Infants, because it shews that in his Church the Custom was to give the Communion to them at the Age of 4 or 5 Years. But since it mentions not their Baptism expressly, I shall reserve it to the (17) Chapter where I speak of the Custom that was in some Churches of their communicating.

## C H A P. VII.

### A Quotation out of the Council of *Eliberis*.

#### *Concil. Eliberitanum. Can. 22.*

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§. 1. **S**I quis de Catholicâ Ecclesiâ ad hæresim transitum fecerit, rursusq; ad Ecclesiam recurrerit: placuit huic pœnitentiam non esse denegandam, eo quod cognoverit peccatum suum: qui etiam decem annis agat pœnitentiam; cui post decem annos præstari communio debet. Si vero infantes fuerint transdukti; quòd non suo vitio peccaverint, incunctanter recipi debent.

'If any one go over from the Catholic Church to any Heresie [or 'Seët] and do return again to the Church: It is resolved that Penance 'be not denied to such an one; because he acknowledges his Fault. 'Let him be in the State of Penance for ten Years, and after ten Years, 'he ought to be admitted to Communion.

'But



‘But if they were Infants when they were carried over; inasmuch Year after the Apostles  
 ‘as it was not by their own Fault that they sinned, they ought to be  
 ‘admitted presently.

Here is indeed no express Mention of these Infants having been baptized in the Catholic Church before they were carried over to the Sect. But inasmuch as they are said to be *transdueli*, carried over from the Catholic Church; it is, I think, plainly implied. For the Phrase of all Antiquity is not to call any one of the Church, till he be baptiz’d. Be he Infant or Adult that is designed to be a Christian, till he be baptiz’d, they call him *Catechumenus*: and a *Catechumen* is not yet of the Church. We perceive by St. *Aust. n* in many ( ) Places, that it was a common thing for the Neighbours or any Visitant, to ask concerning a Christian’s Infant-Child; Is he *Fidelis* or *Catechumenus*? *i. e.* Is he yet baptiz’d or not? So that an Infant or adult Person was not reckon’d *Fidelis* or of the Church till his Baptism. And therefore to speak of Infants conveyed over from the Catholic Church to any Sect, is to suppose them first baptized in the Catholic Church, and afterward by their Parents or others carried to the Congregations of the Sectaries, and educated in that way. The Council decrees that such upon their Return to the Catholic Church shall be received without any Penance.

Concerning the Time of this Council, I shall not enter into any of the nice Inquiries. Almost all Chronologers place it as I here do, *viz.* Anno Dom. 305. *Baluzius* will have it be 10 or 15 Years later. A main Exception against moving the Date of it any lower, is, that a great many of the Canons of it do enact what Penance is necessary in the several Cases of such as thro’ Fear do deny the Christian Religion, or comply to sacrifice to the Idol Gods. This is a Sign that Persecution reigned at that Time, at least in *Spain*: but every Body knows that a little after this Time Persecution for the Christian Religion ceased in all the World.

§. 2. That which will make a Reader, that is not acquainted with Antiquity, wonder, is, that these ancient Fathers do inflict so severe a Penance on those that had run into any Sect. They ordain that such must be kept in a State of Penance (*i. e.* of Humiliation and asking Pardon of God and the Church) for ten Years Time before they be admitted to full Communion: except they were Infants when they were carried over.

The Commonness of a Sin does in most Men wonderfully abate the Sense of the Guilt of it. Now a Days if Men have run into Schism, and do afterwards think fit to return to the Church; they are so far from being sensible of any Guilt that they have incurred, that they think their very Return does lay a great Obligation on the Church. In short, many Christians, that take the Word of God, not as it lies, but as their

Year af- Prejudices have represented, do think that Adultery indeed is a Sin, and  
ter the A- Drunkenness is a Sin, but that Schism is none.  
postles

205. But all the Ancient Christians do express the same Sentiment of the  
Guilt of Schism as St. Paul does, who (2) reckons those that make *Di-  
visions, Seditions, and Heresies* in the Church among the most capital Of-  
fenders, *which shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*: such as Murderers,  
Adulterers, &c. And commands that they be excommunicated, or (3) a-  
voided by all good Christians. Nor has God ever passed any Act of In-  
dulgence or Toleration in Abatement of that Law.

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(2) Gal. 5. 19, 20. (3) Rom. 16. 17.

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## C H A P. VIII.

### A Quotation out of the Council of *Neocæsarea*.

Year af- §. I. **T**H O' this Council mentions nothing at all about Infants or  
ter the A- their Baptism; yet *Grotius* (1) seems to himself to have found  
postles a Proof out of it that many in that Age judged that they are not to  
214. be baptized. Bp. *Taylor* (2) from him, and from them others, prosecute  
the Argument.

So much is plain, that some about that Time and Place had put this  
Question; Whether a Woman with Child, that had a Mind to become  
a Christian and be baptiz'd, might conveniently receive Baptism during  
her going with Child, or must stay till she was deliver'd. And 'tis a-  
greed likewise that the Reason of the Doubt was, because when she  
was immers'd into the Water, the Child in her Womb did seem to  
some to be baptized with her: and consequently they were apt to argue  
that that Child must not be baptiz'd, or would not need to be baptiz'd,  
afterward for it self. This any one will conclude from the Words of  
the Council, which are these;

#### *Concilij Neocæsariensis, Canon 6.*

Περὶ κοινορίας, ὅτι δεῖ φωτίζεσθαι ὅποτε βέλεται: Ὅυδὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινανίῳ  
ἢ ἡκίστα τῷ πεπομένῳ: διὰ τὸ ἔχουσιν ἰδίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δεῖ-  
κνυσθαι.

'A Woman with Child may be baptiz'd when she pleases. For the  
'Mother in this Matter communicates nothing to the Child: because in  
the Profession every one's own [or peculiar] Resolution is declared.  
'[or,

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(1) Annot. in Mat. 19. 14. (2) Liberty of Prophecyng.



‘ [or because every one’s Resolution at the Profession is declar’d to be peculiar to himself.] Year after the Apostles 214.

§. 2. The Argument of the Antipædobaptists from this Passage, is, that both those that rais’d the Doubt, and the Council that resolv’d it, must have been of Opinion that it is unlawful to baptize an Infant.

For, say they, those Men that scrupl’d the Baptizing of a Woman with Child, scrupl’d it for this Reason, because they thought that in so doing they baptiz’d the Child too; which to do had been no Absurdity supposing the Baptism of an Infant to be lawful: it would have been only the doing of both under one.

And also the Fathers of the Council, say they, do seem to grant that the Baptizing of the Child would be unlawful: for they give that Reason why they allow the Baptizing of the Woman, *because her Baptism communicates nothing to the Child.*

And besides, the Fathers (as these Men construe their Words) do determine that in the baptismal Profession every Person must declare his own Choice or Resolution: which it is impossible for the Infant in the Womb, or any other Infant to do.

§. 3. The Pædobaptists say, that this is a wide Mistake of the Meaning of those that rais’d the Doubt, and of the Council in resolving it. For that it was no more than this.

They that scrupled the Baptizing of such a Woman, scrupled it for this Reason; because it would be a disputable Case whether the Child in her Womb were to be accounted as baptiz’d by its Mother’s Baptism or not: and so when that Child was born, they should be in great Perplexity whether they must baptize it or not. For if they did, there would be Danger that it would be baptized twice: and if they did not, ’twas questionable whether it had any Baptism at all. And that therefore it was better the Woman should stay till she were deliver’d and then she might be baptiz’d for her self and the Child for its self.

But the Bishops in Council (considering, as ’tis likely, the Danger of the Woman’s Death in the mean while) determin’d otherwise; that she might be baptiz’d if she would: and that there was no ground for the foresaid Scruple or Perplexity about the Child’s Baptism; for that it was a plain Case that the Child is not to be accounted as baptiz’d by its Mother’s Baptism. For that such a Woman’s Baptism reaches no farther than her self, and is not communicated to the Child in her Womb; and give this Reason; *because the Profession that any one makes at Baptism, declares ἵνα προσέσται, a Resolution [or Desire to be baptiz’d] that is peculiar to themselves: and so the Woman in this Case does not desire or demand the Baptism at that Time for her Child, but for her self only.*

§. 4. If the Reader will please to turn back and read the Words once again with any Attention; he will see that they are, as to the main of the Determination, applicable to either of these Senses. If the Bishops had thought Baptizing of Infants unlawful, they would have determin’d

Year af- this Cafe much as they do : but it is no kind of Proof that they did think  
ter the A- so ; becaufe if they meant only to take away the Perplexity about Ba-  
postles p- tizing the Child, when born, they must also determine it as they do.

214.

But the learned Reader will likewise observe that there is something in the Propriety of Phrase in the last Clause that does incline it to this latter Sense ; and that is the Notation of the Word, [*ἰδιό*] which properly signifies any thing *peculiar to one's self* ; and the Repetition of the Article τὴν before the Words ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ.

If the Bishops had meant to determine that the Child could not be suppos'd to be baptiz'd with its Mother for this Reason, becaufe in Baptifmal Profession every one must declare his own Choice ; and so an Infant could not be baptiz'd : they would have exprefs'd that latter Clause thus, διὰ τὸ ἕκαστον δεῖν ἑαυτὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δεικνῦναι, *because every one must make his own Choice at the Profession*. But when they say, διὰ τὸ ἕκαστον ἰδίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δεικνῦναι, they do (as any Critic will observe) exprefs this Sense ; *because the Choice which is made at the [baptifmal] Profession, is declared by every one peculiar to himself*. And so it is only a Reason of what they had said last ; *that the Mother communicates nothing to the Child* : and not any Reason against the baptizing of an Infant.

§. 5. Before I go farther, I esteem it very material to observe by the Bye this Emphasis of the Word *ἰδιό*, for apprehending the Force of a Text of St. Paul against the Polygamists. These Men presume to say, that there is no Prohibition in the New-Testament of the Plurality of Wives to one Man. St. Paul I Cor. 7. 1, 2: perswades People, if they can be so content, to an absolute Continence ; but if they cannot, he allows Marriage : but with this Limitation, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἕρπει καὶ ἕκαστη τὸν ἰδίον ἀνδρα ἕρπει. The true Translation of which Words is, *Let every Man have his own Wife, and let every Woman have a Husband peculiar to her*.

For as when Aristotle says, ἰδίον ἅπαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις : it were a very imperfect rendring to translate it ; *Men have this of their own* : which ought to be, *This is proper, or peculiar, to Men*. And where he says, ὁ δὲ βάτραχος ἰδίαν ἔχει τὴν γλῶσσαν : to say, *Frogs make their own Noise*, would not reach the Sense : which is, that *Frogs make a Noise peculiar to themselves*. So it is an imperfect Translation of the foresaid Words of the Apostle, which our English gives, *Let every Woman have her own Husband*. The Word signifies, *one peculiar to her*.

§. 6. But to return to our Business, Grotius among the Arguments with which he endeavours to uphold the Cause of the Antipædobaptists, produces two Commentators on this Canon, Balsamon and Zonaras, who (as he would represent their Meaning) interpret it as if the Council had understood Infant-Baptism to be unlawful. Grotius's Words are these, (3) *How much soever the Commentators draw it to another Sense ; it*

is



is plain that the Doubt concerning the Baptizing Women great with Child, was for that Reason, because the Child might seem to be baptiz'd together with its Mother; and a Child was not wont to be baptiz'd but upon its own Will and Profession. And so Balsamon explains it, Compend. Canon Tit. 4. 'That cannot be inlightned [or baptiz'd] because it is not yet come in-  
to the Light, nor has any Choice of the Divine Baptism. And also Zonaras, 'The Child that is now in the Womb has need of Baptism then when it shall be able to choofe.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
214.

Any one that reads this, would conclude that Balsamon and Zonaras at least (if not the Neocæsarean Fathers) were Antipædobaptists: if he be one that does not understand that there are most full and evident Records of the Time in which these two Men lived (which was the 12th Century) and that there was then no such thing as Antipædobaptism in the Greek Church, in which Balsamon was Patriarch of Antioch.

§. 7. Rivet, Marshal, &c. do accuse Grotius of Partiality and foul Dealing in general in his pleading the Cause of the Antipædobaptists, and particularly in this Place. And tho' the Opinion of Balsamon and Zonaras be not of that Moment as to make it worth the while to repeat their Words (since they had at that Distance no better Opportunity of knowing the Mind of the Council than we now have) yet I will set them down something at large, that the Reader may see if he can acquit that great Man of the Crime of Prevarication.

Balsamon's Comment on that Canon is this; Some had said, 'That Wo-  
'men which come over from the Heathens to the Church great with Child ought  
'not to be baptized, but to stay till they were deliver'd; lest when the Mo-  
'ther is baptized, the Child in her Womb do seem to be baptized too, as being  
'altogether united to her: and so when it is born it will either be left unbap-  
'tiz'd; or if it be baptiz'd it may be accounted to be twice baptiz'd. The  
Fathers therefore not allowing this Contradiction, appointed that such Women  
may be baptiz'd without any Scruple when they please: for that the Woman  
has nothing common with the Child in her Womb in the Concern of Baptism:  
especially, say they, when as to every one in Baptism his own Promising is  
necessary. But the Embryo [ἐσπεριώμενον διαθήσας] having not the Qualification  
[or Disposition, or Affection] cannot make the Profession at Baptism. And  
that Clause, when they please, was added to the Canon because of some that  
say, 'Before the Embryo be formed into a Human Creature, the Wo-  
'man may be baptized without Scruple, but not conveniently afterward;  
'because the Child in her Womb then is in the same Case as Infants new-  
'ly born, which may not [lege may] promise. The Fathers therefore said,  
that it is at the Woman's Pleasure to be baptized when she will; because in  
what State the Embryo is none can tell, nor be Sponsor for it: but Infants do  
promise by their Sponsors, and being actually baptiz'd have the heavenly Illumi-  
nation granted to 'em.

And in his Glosses upon Photius's Nomocanon, Tit. 4. c. 10. he says,  
There was a Question made, Whether a Woman with Child might be baptized:  
for some said, 'Because the Child in the Womb is united to the Mother

Year af- ' as a Part of her, and cannot be inlightned [or baptized] with the  
 ter the A- ' Mother, because it is not yet come into the Light, nor has any Choice  
 p- fies ' of the Profession of the Divine Baptism; therefore the Mother ought  
 214. ' not to be baptiz'd, but to stay till the Child be born: least one Part  
 ' of her be inlightned, and the other remain uninlightned. And if the  
 ' Child be baptiz'd with the Mother's Baptism, then, if it be baptiz'd  
 ' after it is born, it will prove to be twice baptiz'd, which is absurd.  
 Therefore the Synod of Neocæsarea resolve the Doubt in their Sixth Ca-  
 non, &c.

Zonaras's Words are these in his Comment on the said Canon. *It determines that Women with Child may be baptiz'd when they please. And whereas some affirmed that the Fœtus is baptiz'd together with the Mother, and that therefore the Infant when born must not be baptiz'd, least it should have a double Baptism: therefore were those Words added, For the Mother in this Matter communicates nothing to the Child. i. e. For the Mother only and not the Child is made Partaker of Holy Baptism. For, says it, every one's own Choice is requisite that they do profess themselves Followers of Christ: and it appears by that Baptism which they receive with a willing Mind. And because in the Fœtus that is inclosed in the Mother's Womb there is no Choice, it is not to be accounted to have received Baptism; and therefore it has need of Baptism again when it shall be able to choose*

These two Commentators do indeed understand the last Clause of the Canon in that Sense which I shewed even now not to be the true Sense, nor according to the Rules of Critics. But yet it was not fair in Grotius to represent them as being themselves, or supposing the Council to be, against Infant-Baptism: since as it appears that they suppose every one's Choice to be necessary at Baptism; so it likewise appears that an Infant's Choice and Promise made by its Sponsors or Godfathers is the Choice and Promise they speak of. Besides that he quoting Scraps of Sentences, produces as *Balsamon's* own Words that which *Balsamon* had brought in as pleaded by others; and also something alter'd, as the Reader will see by comparing.

§. 8. The Issue of the Dispute is; the Council say in this Matter, what any one, whether Pædobaptist or Antipædobaptist, would say; and therefore the Proof that they were of one or of the other Opinion must be taken from some other Evidence: for these Words make neither for the one nor the other. And since we are now come so low as within 60 Years of the Time of St. *Austin*, *Pelagius*, &c. and they, as I shall shew (4) presently, do declare that they never read or heard of any Christians that were against Infant-Baptism; it were a strange thing to suppose that there should have been a Council so late as under the Reign of *Constantin*, as this Council was, and they never to have read or heard of it. No Man can think but they had heard of this Council, which was but a little before the Time of their Birth. 'Tis plain there-  
 fore

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(4) CH. XIX. §. 17. & 29, 30, &c. ad 40.



fore that they took the Meaning of it not to have been against Infant-Baptism.

St. *Austin* sometimes speaks of this Case of a Woman baptiz'd while great with Child: and he does not only determine it as these Bishops do, but he speaks of it as a clear Case; perhaps because he knew it had been determined in this Council. He takes occasion to mention it, *l. 6. contra Julianum, c. 5.* where he is shewing the Weakness of that Argument of the *Pelagians*, who said, that if Original Sin be the Cause why Infants are baptiz'd, then the Child that was born of Christian and Baptized Parents would not need to be baptized, as being born of those that were cleansed of that Sin, and of a Mother whose Body was the Temple of the Holy Spirit. He says among other Things, this;

' That the Mother's Body should be the Temple of God, is the Benefit of Grace not of Nature: which Grace is conveyed not by Birth, but by Regeneration. For if that which is conceived in the Mother's Body did belong to it so as to be accounted a Part of it, then an Infant whose Mother was upon some Danger of Death, baptiz'd while she was great with him, would not need to be baptiz'd. But now when such an Infant is baptiz'd, he will not be accounted twice baptiz'd. Therefore when he was in the Womb of his Mother, he did not appertain to it: and yet he was formed in a Temple of God, but so as not to be himself the Temple of God. And he has the same Instance over again, *c. 6.*

§. 9. Some learned Men have given their Conjectures of the Occasion of this Doubt, *viz.* what should make some People of this Country take up an Opinion; that if a Woman with Child were baptiz'd, her Child when born would have no need of Baptism: and they give a very (5) probable Account of it. Several *Jews* were dispers'd in these Parts: and the *Rabbies* of the *Jews* had this Rule concerning the Baptism of Proselytes; *If a Woman great with Child become a Proselyte, and be baptized; her Child needs not Baptism when it is born:* as I shewed in the Introduction.

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(5) Hammond Six Queries, Inf. bap. §. 109. Lightfoot. Hor. Hebr. Mar.

## CHAP. IX.

A Quotation out of *Optatus Milevitanus*.

Year after the Apostles  
260.

§. 1. **T**HIS Bishop living in *Africa* had Occasion to write several Books against the Schism of the *Donatists*. Some Part of the Controversie between them and the Catholics was about Baptism: but not about Infant-Baptism. as a certain Writer of small Reading has mistaken the Matter. It was whether Baptism given by an ill Minister were valid, or must be renewed? and whether the Catholics were so corrupt a Church as that all baptiz'd by them, whether in Infancy or at Age, must be baptiz'd afresh by some such pure Men as the *Donatists* were?

Otherwise the Doctrine and Practice of Baptism was the same with both the Parties.

This appears plainly by what this Author (1) says in way of Persuading them to break off their Schism; *The Ecclesiastical Management is one and the same with us and you. Tho' Mens Minds are at Variance, the Sacraments are at none. And we may say, we believe alike, and are sealed with one and the same Seal: no otherwise baptiz'd than you, nor otherwise ordain'd than you are. We read the Scripture alike: We pray to the same God. The Lord's-Prayer is the same with us and you, &c. The same thing is (2) affirmed by St. Austin. He owns their Baptism, Ordination, &c. to be rightly perform'd: he blames nothing in them but their Separation. And by Cresconius the Donatist, who has these (3) Words to the Catholics; There is between us and you one Religion, the same Sacraments, nothing in the Christian Ceremonies different. It is a Schism that is between us, not a Heresie.*

§. 2. But that which I mean to quote, and is all that he has Occasion to say about Infant-Baptism is this.

*Lib. quinto de Schismate Donatistarum prope finem.*

He had been there comparing a Christian's putting on Christ in Baptism, to the putting on of a Garment, and had called Christ so put on, *Tunicam natantem in aquis*, 'a Garment swimming in the Water. And then says,

*Sed ne quis dicat, temerè à me Filium Dei vestem esse dictum: legat Apostolum dicentem; Quotquot in nomine Christi baptizati estis, Christum induistis. O tunica semper una, & innumerabilis, quæ decenter vestiat & omnes ætates* &

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(1) L. 3. de Schismate Donatist. prope finem. (2) Epist. ad Theodorum Donatist.  
(3) Apud Augustinum l. 2. contra Cresconium. c. 3.



& formas: nec in infantibus rugatur, nec in juvenibus tenditur, nec in feminis mutatur. Year after the Apostles 260.

‘ But lest any one should say, I speak irreverently, in calling Christ a Garment: let him read what the Apostle says, *As many of you as have been baptized in the Name of Christ, have put on Christ*. Oh what a Garment is this, that is always one and never renewed, that decently fits all Ages and all Shapes! It is neither too big for *Infants*, nor too little for Men, and without any Alteration fits Women. He goes on to shew how it may be also compared to the Wedding-Garment, &c. This needs no Note.

## C H A P. X.

*A Quotation out of St. Gregory Nazianzen, concerning St. Basil's Baptism in his Infancy.*

§. 1. **T**HIS Quotation might have been plac'd 30 or 40 Years sooner, (at which Time St. Basil must have been born) because it recites a Matter of Fact done then. But I set it at this Year, because this Author that mentions it, began at this time to be a Man of Note in the Church, (a Presbyter and Writer of Books, &c.) tho' he preach'd the Sermon that I shall cite about 20 Years after. Year after the Apostles 260.

Some that have gone about to draw up a Catalog of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy, tho' born of Christian Parents, have reckon'd St. Basil among 'em: but the Evidence they bring, is out of spurious and forged Authors, as I shall shew in its Place (1). And in the mean time I shall produce the Authority of a Piece that all acknowledge to be genuine, which, I think, shews that he was baptiz'd in Infancy.

St. Gregory Nazianzen was contemporary with St. Basil, and so well acquainted with him, as that 'tis impossible any one should have been more: and tho' he seems to have been something the older Man, yet he liv'd to preach a Sermon in Commendation of him, in the Nature of a Funeral Sermon, tho' it was some time after his Death.

In that Sermon he recites several Passages of his Parentage, Birth, Life, and Death: And among them the Passage, which I take to relate to his Baptism, is penn'd in such a rhetorical and figurative Periphrasis, that taking it by its self, one is not sure whether he means Baptism by it or something else. But since the first Reading of it, I have observ'd in another Discourse of his, the very same Description applied plainly and purposely to Baptism: which, together with the Probability that it carries

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ries in it self, convinces me (and I suppose will the Reader when he compares 'em) that it is so to be applied in that Sermon concerning St. Basil.

I shall first give the Words by which he describes Baptism, in his

*Oratio in sanctum baptisma; Or, 40. (2)*

Τείσων γένειον ἡμῶν διδόναι λόγον, τὴν ἐκ σαρκῶν, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Τάτων δὲ ἡ μὲν, νυκτερινή τέ ἐστι, καὶ δόλη, καὶ ἐμπαθής. ἡ δὲ ἡμερινή, καὶ ἐλευθέρα, καὶ λυτὴ παθῶν, πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ γενέσεως κάλυμμα πειτεμένυστα, καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀνω ζωὴν ἐπανάγει, ἡ δὲ φοβερωτέρα, καὶ συντομωτέρα, πᾶν τὸ πλάσμα συνάγει ἐν βραχεί τῇ πλήρῃ παρασησόμενον.

Religion teaches us that there are three sorts of Generation or Formation. That of our Bodies; that of Baptism; and that of the Resurrection. The first of these is *of the Night*, and is servile, and tainted with Lust. The second is, *of the Day*, and is free, and powerful against Lust, and takes away all that Veil [or *Darkness*] contracted in our Birth [or *Generation*] and renews us to the supernal Life. The last is more dreadful, and sudden, bringing together in a Moment all the Creation, to be set before their Creator.

And a little after, among other Titles that he gives to Baptism, he calls it *πλάσμα ἐπανόρθωσις*, the *Amendment* [or rectifying] of our *Formation*.

All that I produce this here for, is to observe the Phrase, or Description that he gives to Baptism. He calls our *natural* Generation, nocturnal, or *of the Night*; but the *baptismal* Generation, diurnal, or *of the Day*. And *Nicetas* there observes, that the Name is taken from those Words of *David*, Psal. 139. 16. where the Translation of the *Septuagint* (which was in use with them) reads (much different from our *English*) ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον σὺ πάντες γεγραθήσονται. ἡμέρας πλαθήσονται. *They shall all be written in thy Book, they shall be formed by Day.*

§. 2. Now see what he says of St. Basil, *Orat. in laudem Basilij*. Orat. 20.

He had spoken of his Progenitors, many of whom were Martyrs for Christ, and of the Piety of his Father *Basil*, who, it seems was a Man in holy Orders: and of his Mother *Emmelia*: and making an End of that Prefatory Discourse, he says,

ἦγερε τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν θεαρόσωμνον. Τὰ μὲν δὲ πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἐν κοινῶν παιδείῃ ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πόλιν ἡνικαυῶτι περὶβάλλετο, ἀπαρμύνηται καὶ διαπλάττεται πλάσων τὴν αἰσὴν τὴν καὶ καθαρωτάτην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ὁ Θεὸς Δάβιδ' καλῶς ὀνομάζει, καὶ τῆς νυκτερινῆς ἀντίθετον.

Now let us contemplate the Affairs that relate to him himself. In the Beginning then of his Age he was by his excellent Father, who was at that time a public Teacher of Virtue in the Country of *Pontus*, swaddled, as I may call it, and formed with that best and most pure Formation



'mation, which Divine *David* rightly names of the *Day*, and which is 'opposed to that of the *Night*. Year after the Apostles

*Bilius* in his Note on these Words says, *He means the Formation of Baptism, or rather of Manners: which David calls, of the Day, saying they shall be formed by Day: for so it is to be read. Which excellent Formation is opposite to that of the Night, which is by Copulation, and is sordid, and a Work of Darknes.* 260.

But I believe *Bilius* had not animadverted (what I here observe) that it is the very same Phrase which he uses in the other Sermon, for Baptism. I also at the first reading thought it uncertain which he meant, Baptism, or good Education in Manners: But the Likeness of a Phrase so singular seems to determine it. They of that Time seem to have understood that Verse of the Psalm, as speaking before of the Christian Baptism.

This Formation appears to have been given in Infancy, both by the Words τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας, in the Beginning of his Age; and also by the Emphasis of the Word σπργανῆται, which signifies the binding or first fashioning of the Body of an Infant in swaddling Clothes; and also by the orderly Method in which he proceeds: for he mentions in the next Paragraph to this, his Childhood, in which he was educated at home, and by the Instructions that are first in order and proper for a Child, fitted for the Perfection he was to arrive at afterward, (therefore the foregoing Paragraph must have referr'd to his Infancy). Then he proceeds to tell, that when he was a Boy big enough, he was sent to School to *Cæsarea*, then to *Byzantium*, and then to the University of *Athens*: where it was that *Gregory*, who knew him before (at *Cæsarea* I suppose) enter'd, as he says, into that strict League of Friendship with him which lasted during their Joint Lives: and in which they seem'd, as he expresses it, to have both but one Soul informing two Bodies. After this he relates how he went into Orders, and came, in process of time, to be Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and so famous a Man as he was.

§. 3. From this methodical Enumerating all the material Passages and Actions of his Life, arises another Proof that he must have been baptiz'd in Infancy; and that the Passage which I mention'd must be meant of that: because in all the Passages of his Life afterward, he never mentions any thing of his Baptism, which it had been impossible to omit if he had received it after any considerable Time of his Life had pass'd.

Also I do not see what else he can mean than St. *Basil's* Baptism in Infancy, by another Expression which he has in the same Oration. He is comparing *Basil* to each of the Patriarchs and holy Men of the Old-Testament, *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. and he shews how he had something in his Temper, and in the Passages of his Life, like to something in every one of theirs. Among the rest he compares him to *Samuel*, and says,

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Σαμουὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικλημένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ γενήσεως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
γέννησιν ἐνθὺς ἱερός, καὶ χρίων βασιλέας καὶ ἱερέας διὰ τοῦ κέρατος. Οὗτος ὁ ἐν ἐκ-  
βεβήσας καθιερωμένος ἀπὸ μητέρας, καὶ μετὰ τῆς διπλοῦς ἐπιδοδόμενος τῷ βήματι;  
καὶ βλέπων τὰ ἐπεσάντα, καὶ Κεῖς Κύριε, καὶ χρίσις τῶν πελειμένων ἐν πνύμα-  
τι.

'Samuel among them that call upon his Name, was both given [or  
'promised] before he was born, and presently after his Birth was conse-  
'crated, and he became an Anointer of Kings and Priests out of a Horn.  
'And was not this Man (*Basil*) consecrated to God in his Infancy from  
'the Womb, and carried to the Steps [or *Font*] in a Coat? Did he  
'not become a *Seer* of heavenly Things, and an anointed of the Lord,  
'and an Anointer of such as were initiated by the Spirit?

The Word *βῆμα* properly signifies *Steps*. It is ordinarily taken for  
a *Pulpit*, to which one goes up by Steps: and it may signify a *Font* or  
Baptistery, to which they did go down by Steps. But the Coat in  
which he says *Basil* was offer'd to God (alluding to the Child's Coat  
which was made for *Samuel* by his Mother) cannot well be supposed to  
have been any thing but the *Albes* used at Baptism. And this, he says,  
was in his Infancy.

The Instance of *Samuel* dedicated in Infancy, is one which this Father  
does at other Places make use of for a Comparison or Example of a  
Christian's Child baptiz'd in Infancy: as will be seen in the next Cha-  
pter; where speaking to some tender Mothers that were afraid, it seems,  
of putting their Infants into the Water at Baptism, he says, *Thou art*  
*afraid as a faint hearted Mother, &c. But Hannah before Samuel was born,*  
*devoted him to God: and when he was born, presently consecrated him, and*  
*brought him up in a priestly Coat.* The very thing that he says here of  
*St. Basil's* Parents.

## C H A P. XI.

### Other Quotations out of St. Gregory Nazianzen, concern- ing the Doctrine of Infant-Baptism.

§. 1. **T**HIS Father was not himself baptiz'd in Infancy: and if it be  
true that he was born after the Time that his Father was a  
Christian and in holy Orders (of which the Antipædobaptists do give  
probable Evidence) he had the most Reason of any one in those Times  
to be prejudiced against the Doctrine of the Necessity of Infant-Baptism:  
which he could not urge himself, nor hear urged by others, without  
some Reproach thereby cast on the Conduct of his Father, for whom he  
always express'd a great Reverence; tho' other Writers give him but a  
mean



mean Character, and shew that the (1) Son's Prudence and Skill was found necessary to retrieve the Father's Credit and the Esteem of the People, and to preserve him from being over-witted by the *Arians*, or frighted by their Power.

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So much is certain, that of all the Instances brought by the Anti-pædobaptists of Men who being baptiz'd Christians themselves, yet did not baptize their Children in Infancy, there is a better Appearance of Proof in this Man's Father's Case than in any other. Of which Instances I must treat more largely in a (2) Chapter on purpose: and at present give Account of what this Author himself speaks of the Doctrine of Infant-Baptism.

§. 2. All that I have to produce is taken out of his Sermon that I mentioned before, viz. his

*Oratio de Baptismo. Or, 40.*

In which he both perswades those of his Hearers, who had not yet so thoroughly embrac'd Christianity as to be baptiz'd into it, that they would without Delay be Partakers of it, and also speaks something concerning the Necessity of it to Infants.

Of this Oration I will give a short Abstract, setting down the Original of such Passages only, as do, some way, affect the Question in hand.

After some Commendations of Baptism, he proceeds to mention the Names or Titles by which it is called: which are these; *The Gift, the Grace, Baptism or Washing, the Anointing, the Laver of Regeneration, the Amending of our Make, or Formation, the Seal*: and explains the Reason of these several Appellations.

Then having spoken of Man's natural and original Corruption, he says, *God has not left his Creature without a Remedy; but as he first made us, so he renews us by this divine Formation*: ἡ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐν σοφίᾳ, τοῖς τελειοτέροις τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ χάρισμα, καὶ τῆς παύσεως εἰκόνη διὰ τὴν καλίαν ἐπαρτίδωκεν. which as it is a Seal for such Persons as newly enter into Life; so to those that are adult it is a Grace, and the restoring of the Image which they had lost.

Then he says, the Force and Effect of Baptism is, *A Covenant with God of a new and holy Life*: and argues from thence how careful we ought to be to keep it intire, and that, says he, ἐν ὅσῳ ἀδούτερος ἀναγεννήτως, because there is no Regeneration to be had afterward. Yet he grants there is Repentance afterward: but that leaves a Scar, and requires a long Time, and many Tears; which we know not whether God will give us a Space for. (They, as I observ'd before, gave the Name of Regeneration to no other but the baptismal Renewing).

Then he warns 'em of the Tentations that they must expect after their Baptism, and how they must oppose and overcome 'em.

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§. 3. Against the Delay of Baptism, he minds 'em of the Danger of missing it by sudden Death: and how much more creditable and comfortable it is to receive it voluntarily in the Time of Health and Strength, than in time of Necessity on a Sick-bed, *when the Tongue falters, and can hardly utter the Words of the holy Initiation; and the Washing is more like the washing of a Corps than religious Baptism.* That a generous Mind will desire not only the Forgiveness of Sins, but also the Reward promised to virtuous Actions, for which there must some Time be allowed between Baptism and Death. That there are three sorts of Persons very different, tho' all of 'em may be saved; *the Slave, the Mercenary, and the Son.* The first minds no more than the escaping of Punishment: the second regards nothing but the Pay: the Son's Mind is full of Duty and Love to his Father. That all other good Things we desire to enjoy as soon as may be: and so we ought to do, this Freedom from Sin.

That the Devil would indeed entice us to give him the Present, and God the Remainder; him the Flower of our Age, and God the Dregs. But that we must consider the many Hazards we are subject to: *the Chance of War, an Earthquake, the Sea, a wild Beast, a Disease, a Crumb of Bread, a Surfeit, a Precipice, a Horse, a Medicine, a Tyrant, &c.*

Then he answers the Pretences which the half Christians of those Times made for their Delay. As, 'I am afraid I shall not keep the Grace of Baptism unstained, and so will not take my Cleansing yet, 'as having none to take afterward. — Oh crafty Imposture, *says he*, of the evil Spirit! He is indeed Darkness, yet he counterfeits Light. When he does not prevail by open War, he lays his Snares. When he cannot bring thee to despise Baptism, he would cheat thee of it by over-much Caution, &c. — He sets on all Ages, and must be resisted in all. 'Art thou a Youth? fight against Pleasures and Passions with this Auxiliary Strength: lift thy self in God's Army, &c. — Art thou old? let thy gray Hairs hasten thee: strengthen thy Old Age with Baptism, &c.

§. 4.

— Νήπιόν ἐστὶ σοὶ; μὴ λαβέτω κειρὸν ἢ χαλκία, ἐν βρέουσ ἀγαθότητι, ὅς ὀνύχων καθιερωθήτω πρὸ Πνεύματος. Σὺ δέδοικας τὴν σαρκαίαν διὰ τὸ φύσει ἀσυνὸς, ὡς μικροψυχος ἢ μήτηρ καὶ οὐλοῦντος. ἢ Ἄννα ὃ καὶ πρὶν ἢ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Σαμουὴλ καθυπέσχετο πρὸ Θεοῦ. καὶ γεννηθέντα ἱερὸν ἐνθὺς ποιῆ, καὶ τῇ ἱερατικῇ σολῇ συνανέδρεψεν, ὃ τὸ ἀνθρώπου φοβηθεῖσα, πρὸ ὃ Θεοῦ πνεύσασα.

'Hast thou an Infant-Child? Let not Wickedness have the Advantage of Time: Let him be sanctified from his Infancy: Let him be dedicated from his Cradle to [or, by] the Spirit. Thou, as a faint-hearted Mother and of little Faith, art afraid of giving him the Seal because of the Weakness of Nature. *Hannah* before *Samuel* was born, devoted him to God, and as soon as he was born, consecrated him, and brought him up from the first in a priestly Garment, not fearing for human Infirmities, but trusting in God. Thou hast no need of Amulets or Charms; together with which the Devil slides into the Minds of shallow Persons,



' sons, drawing to himself the Veneration that is due to God *Δὲ αὐτοῖς* Year after the Apostles  
' *τὴν τιμὴν, τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν σὺλακτήριον.* Give to him the Trinity, that  
' great and excellent Preservative.

He proceeds to stir up all Persons in all Estates and Employments to receive Baptism: only he would advise those that had Places at Court, to resign, and fly from *Sodom*, if conveniently they could, when they were baptized: (It is to be noted that *Valens* a wicked and *Arian* Emperor reigned at that time.) If they could not conveniently, yet to be baptiz'd; and preserve the Purity thereof as well as they could in so ill a Station: that God in judging of our Lives makes Allowance for the Circumstances that we are in: *that for a Man that is fetter'd to get forward a little, is as great Praise as for another to run: for one that travels in a dirty Road to be but a little bespatter'd, is more remarkable than for another to be clean.*

§. 5. He next sets upon those Men that put off their Baptism to Death or Old-Age for the Love of their sinful Pleasures which they were unwilling as yet to part with: who said, *Where is the Advantage of taking Baptism so soon, and thereby cutting one's self off from all the worldly Pleasures and Delights? Whereas one may enjoy these Pleasures in the mean while, and then be baptiz'd at last. For they that went the earliest to labor in the Vineyard sped no better than they that came in the latest.*

He answers; *You have saved me a great deal of Trouble by your making this Plea: for you have at last with much ado discover'd the very Secret of this Delay. And tho' I dislike your wicked Purpose; yet I commend you for one thing, that you own it without Disguise.*

*Come on then, and give the Sense of this Parable: and be not ignorantly scandaliz'd [or drawn into Sin] by this Place of Scripture.*

*First, This is not meant of Baptism, but of those who come, some sooner, some later, to the Faith [or the Knowledge of Christian Religion] and enter the Vineyard, the Church: for every one must labor from that Day and Hour on which he comes to the Faith, &c.*

*Besides, supposing by entering the Vineyard Baptism be meant: the Parable shews that those that do at all enter the Vineyard and labor, shall have a Reward. But you are in danger to miss of doing that. If you were sure that notwithstanding this wicked Contrivance to avoid laboring, you should at last obtain Baptism; you might be pardoned in this sordid Cunning: But since there is Danger, that while you take this Advantage, you will quite miss of the Vineyard, &c. take my Counsel, lay aside these Subtilties, and come with an honest Mind to Baptism; lest you be taken out of this Life before you attain your Purpose, and be found to have devis'd these Fallacies to your own Destruction.*

*But you will say, 'Is not God merciful enough to take in such a Case 'the Desire of Baptism for Baptism.*

§. 6. *You would have us believe a monstrous thing, if you think that God, because he is merciful, will count him inlightened that is not; and take him into the Kingdom of Heaven that wishes for it, but does not perform the Things that make the Way to it. I will tell you what is my Opinion of this Matter; in which, I believe, considering Men will agree with me.*

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As there are several sorts of those who do obtain the Gift of Baptism. Some were before extremely wicked, &c. Others, &c. ——— So it is likewise in those who miss of Baptism. For some of 'em live like Beasts, and regard not Baptism, &c. Some have a Value for Baptism, but delay the receiving of it, either out of Negligence, or δι' ἀπαισίαν out of Greediness longer to enjoy their Lusts: Οἱ δὲ ἐδὲ τὸν ἐν δουλείᾳ τὸ δέξασθαι, ἢ διὰ νουθέσια πυχῶν, ἢ πρὸς τέλος ἀκούσεν πεινίαν, ὡς ἢς ἐδὲ βυλομένοις ἀντὶς ὑπάρχει πυχῶν τὸ χαρίσασθαι. But some others have it not in their own Power to receive it, either because of their Infancy perhaps, or by Reason of some Accident utterly involuntary; so that tho' they desire it, they have no Opportunity to obtain the Gift. As therefore we found much Difference among those [that do obtain Baptism] so there is among these [that miss of it.]

They that wholly scorn it, are worse than the Negligent or those that crave longer time. But these are worse than those who fail of the Gift δι' ἀγνοίας ἢ πεινίαν by Ignorance or Constraint: πεινίαν γὰρ ἐκ ἀλλοῦ ἢ ἀκούσθαι διαμαρτία, for Constraint is no other thing than to miss against one's Will.

And I think of the first sort, that they shall be punish'd as for their other Wickedness, so for their slighting of Baptism. And that the second shall be punish'd, but in a less Degree, because they are guilty of their own missing it, but rather thro' Folly than Malice. Τὸς δὲ μὲντε δεξαμένους μὴδὲ καὶ ἀκούσθαι παρὰ τὸ εὐχαρίστειν, ὡς ἀσχετίους μὲν, ἀπονήτας δὲ, ἀλλὰ παθόντας μᾶλλον τὴν ζήλειαν ἢ δεδωκέντας: but that the last sort will neither be glorified nor punished by the just Judge; as being without the Seal, but not thro' their own Wickedness; and as having suffered the Loss rather than occasioned it.

For he that is not worthy of Punishment, is not therefore presently worthy of Honor; as he that is not worthy of Honor, does not therefore deserve Punishment.

And I think thus also; If you would condemn for Murder a Man that has not murdered, merely because he had a Mind so to do; then let him go with you for a baptized Person, who had a Mind to it but had it not. But if that be absurd, I don't see how this can be reasonable.

Or if you please, take it thus: If to obtain the Effect of Baptism you think it sufficient that you desired Baptism, and thereupon claim the Glory of Heaven; let the Desire of that Glory suffice you instead of the Glory it self: for what matter is it if you go without it, so long as you have the Desire of it.

He next blames those that pretended they would stay till Epiphany or Easter, or Whitsuntide, and then be baptized. What will come of this? says he, the End of your Life will come on a sudden, in a Day and Hour that you think not of, &c.

Those that would stay for the Presence of their Friends and Relations, or till they had got ready an Offering for the Church, or a Present for the Baptizer, or a handsome White-Garment, or Provision for a Treat, he chides in these Words; These things I warrant you are mighty necessary: and the Grace of Baptism will be e're the less for want of these. In things of great Consequence don't stand upon trifling Matters. This Sacrament is of higher Concern, &c. For an Offering, give your self. Put on Christ.

Treat



Treat me with your commendable Life. God values nothing but those things which the Poor have to give as well as the Rich, &c. Year after the Apostles

'Tis in like manner that he that reproves such as stood on height and punctilio's, that would have a Bishop or a Metropolitan, or the Bishop of Jerusalem, or (if it were a Priest) one that led an unmarried Life, for their Baptizer: or that scorn'd to be baptiz'd together with a poor Man: or counted the length of the Service too tedious.

He tells 'em the most acceptable Posture or Preparation to receive it, is a Heart inflamed with the Desire of it: that God takes that for a Kindness, if we be earnestly desirous of his Kindnesses: he takes more Pleasure in giving than others in receiving, &c.

§. 7. He concludes that Paragraph with saying, 'We must therefore make it our utmost Care that we do not miss of the common Grace: and then follow these Words, Ἐσὶ ταῦτα, ἑσὶ πάλιν ἐπιζητούντων τὸ βάπτισμα πὶ δ' αὖν ἔποις πάλιν τῶν ἐπ' νηπίων, καὶ μήτε τῆς ζημίας ἐπιδιδανόμενων, μήτε τῆς χάριτος; ἢ καὶ ταῦτα βαπτίσαντες; πάντως, ἔσπερ πῶς ἐπείγει κίνδυνος. Κρείσσον γὰρ ἀναμώτως ἀμαρτῆσαι, ἢ ἐπιλθεῖν ἀσφαλείᾳ, καὶ ἀτέλεια. καὶ τέτατος λόγος ἡμῶν ἡ ὀκταήμερος πεποιημένη, πυκνὴ πῶς ἔσται σφραγίς, καὶ ἀλογίστοις ἐπ' ἐκπαίδευσιν: ὥς δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐλπίων χάρις διὰ τῶν ἀναμώτων φυλάττεται τὰ πρωτότοκα. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην, τὴν τελευτῶν ἀναμένοντας, ἢ μικρὸν ἐντὸς τέττε, ἢ ὑπὲρ τέττε, ἢ νῦν καὶ ἀκούει τί μουσικὸν καὶ ἀποκρίνεται δύναται, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνιέντα τελείως. ἢ ἐν πυτέρωθεν, ἔστω ἀμάζον καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα πῶς μεγάλῳ μυστηρίῳ τῆς ἰελεώσεως. 'Some may say, suppose this to hold in the Case of those that can desire Baptism: What say you to those that are as yet Infants, and are not in Capacity to be sensible either of the Grace or the Miss of it? Shall we baptize them too? Yes, by all means, if any Danger make it requisite. For it is better that they be sanctified without their own Sense of it, than that they should die unsealed and uninitiated. And a Ground of this to us is Circumcision, which was given on the eighth Day, and was a typical Seal [or Baptism] and was practis'd on those that had no Use of Reason: As also the anointing of the Door Posts, which served the First-born by things that have no Sense. As for others, I give my Opinion that they should stay three Years or thereabouts, when they are capable to hear and answer some of the holy Words; and tho' they do not perfectly understand 'em, yet they form 'em: and that you then sanctify 'em in Soul and Body with the great Sacrament of Initiation. For tho' they are not liable to give Account of their Life before their Reason be come to Maturity (they having this Advantage by their Age, that they are not forced to account for the Faults they have committed in Ignorance?) ἰελεχίδαι δὲ τῶν λυτῶν παντὶ λόγῳ λυσιτέλετον διὰ τῶς ἐξάουνης συμπιέσεως ἡμῶν προσβολὰς τῶν κινδύνων, καὶ βοηθείας ἰχουερίων, 'Yet by Reason of those sudden and unexpected Assaults of Dangers that are by no Endeavour to be prevented, it is by all means advisable that they be secur'd by the Laver [of Baptism].

Then he answers the Objection or Pretence which some made from our Savior's being 30 Years old before he was baptiz'd; shewing the Disparity in a great many Particulars: one is this, that there was no Danger in his

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delaying, who needed no Purgation: and besides had the Time of his Death as well as of his Birth at his own Disposal. But to you, says he, there is a great deal of Danger, if you should depart this Life, having been begotten in Corruption, and not being clothed with Incorruption and Immortality.

§. 8. The rest of the Sermon is spent, partly in teaching 'em how to prepare themselves, viz. by Fasting, Watching, Prayer, Alms-deeds, Restitution of Goods ill gotten in the time of their Heathenism (for, he says, tho' in Baptism they are pardoned all past Sins; yet he that keeps in his Hands, after Baptism, any thing that is in Justice due to another, continues in the Sin: to keep it is a present Sin, tho' the Act of Stealing it be a past one.) And partly in charging on their Consciences the Necessity of keeping their Baptismal Vow, when they have made it: in shewing the wretched Estate from which they are delivered, the happy one into which they are going to be enter'd, and the dreadful one into which they will fall if they revolt. And partly, in explaining the Creed and Faith into which they are baptized; where he especially insists on the Belief of the Holy Trinity (for these were times in which the Arian Heresie was rise) of which having spoken largely, and answer'd the Charge of Tritheism cast on the Catholics, and other Objections of the Arians, he declares he will baptize none of 'em that do not own this Faith. And if you do still halt, says he, and do not own the Divinity full and perfect; seek for some body else to baptize [or dip] you, or rather drown [or destroy] you: for I have no Mind to divide the Deity, and at the time of your new Birth to bring Death on you; so that you will have neither Baptism, nor the hope of the Grace, your Salvation being quickly shipwreckt. For if you deny Divinity to any of these three, you overthrow the whole [Trinity] and make your Baptism of no Force [or Benefit] to you.

He concludes with giving the Meaning of some Ceremonies then used at Baptism: particularly of the Lamps they lighted and held in their Hands, denoting those of the wise Virgins that were prepared to meet their Lord: of which Parable he makes a godly Application to 'em.

§. 9. Among the things that we are to observe from this Oration, this ought to be one.

1. The foul Imposture that Grotius was guilty of when he went (3) about to disprove the ancient Practice of Infant-Baptism from this very Sermon, in which there is nothing more or otherwise said of that Matter than I have recited. He takes a few Words out of this Discourse, and even out of one of the Passages here (4) recited, where Gregory speaks of some, οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν δυνάμει τῷ δέξασθαι, διὰ νηπιότητι τυχόν, ἢ πρὶν τέλος ἀκρίσιον περιεπτεῖν, who have not the receiving of Baptism in their own Power, either for their Infancy perhaps, or by reason of some Accident utterly involuntary, of whom 'tis said a little after, that they lose the Kingdom of Heaven by so dying unbaptized, but yet escape Punishment, because it was not their Fault. He takes out of these Words, the Words διὰ νηπιότητι by themselves, and makes this

(3) Annor. in Mat. 19. 14. (4) Supra §. 6.



this Use of 'em; that Gregory mentioning some *that are not baptiz'd* *ἀπὸ νεότητος* by Reason of their Infancy, imports that Infants were not wont to be baptiz'd.

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A great Stock of Learning does not always cure that Narrowness of Soul by which some People are inclin'd to do any mean and foul thing to favor a Side or set up a Party. There is no mincing this Matter by supposing it to have been a Mistake. The altering and total perverting of the Sense is so plain, that no Man that had read the Sermon, or even but that Passage it self, could mistake it; much less could he.

§. 10. 2. It appears most evidently by the Tenor of this Sermon that *Nazianzen* held concerning Baptism these Tenets;

1. That all who died unbaptized by their own Fault or Negligence, were condemned.
2. He thought that Infants dying unbaptiz'd, and adult Persons who mist of Baptism by some unavoidable Impediment, and not by their own Fault, were in a kind of middle State between Happiness and Torment. But that baptiz'd Infants were Partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven.
3. Where there is no Danger of an Infant's Death, he has a particular Opinion (which he accordingly expresses (5) thus, *ἰδίῳ γνώμῳ*, *I give my Opinion*) that his Baptism should be delayed till he is three Years old: which would please neither the Pædobaptist nor Antipædobaptist.

He seems to have taken up this Opinion in some Degree of Compliance with his Father's Practice, who probably had kept him unbaptiz'd so long purposely, and then seeing no Danger of Death delayed it farther from time to time.

This Man and *Tertullian* are the only two that speak of delaying it at all: one, till the Age of Reason; the other, till three Years. Both one and the other, are to be understood, where there is no Danger of Death in the mean while: which is plainly expressed (6) here, and in *Tertullian* is collected from his other Speeches.

§. 11. 3. He uses three or four times in this Oration (as he does also frequently in his other Works) the Word *ἀγιασθῆναι* to be *sanctified*, or *made holy*] for Baptism. And so did St. *Cyprian* in his Words before (7) cited, and other Places: and so do the Ancients generally. Mr. *Walker* (8) has taken the Pains to produce Quotations out of almost all the ancient Writers to shew that this was a common Phrase with them, to say, an Infant or other Person *sanctified*, when they mean baptized: and I do for Brevity's Sake, refer the Reader to his Book. The Scripture also uses it so, 1 Cor. 6. 11. Eph. 5. 26.

Which makes that Explication of 1 Cor. 7. 14. *Now are your Children Holy*, which is given by *Tertullian*, St. *Austin*, St. *Hierom*, *Paulinus*, *Pelagius*, (9) and other Ancients; and since by Dr. *Hammond*, (10) Mr. *Walker*, (11) &c.

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(5) Supra §. 7. (6) §. 7. (7) CH. VI. §. 1. (8) Modest Plea for Inf. Baptism. Chap. 29. (9) See CH. XIX. §. 19. (10.) Six Queries. (11) Modest Plea.

Year af- &c. much the more probable; whereby they make the Words *ἁγια*  
 ter the A- *Holy*, and *ἡγιασται* *has been sanctified*, to refer to Baptism.

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And their Explication is also the more probable, because there has no other Sense of those Words been yet given by Expositors but what is liable to much Contest: but especially that Sense which some Antipædobaptists have endeavoured to affix to 'em (of Legitimacy in Opposition to Bastardy) seems the most forc'd and far fetch'd of all.

The Words are, *ἡγιασται ὃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἄπιστος ἐν τῇ γυναίκῃ, καὶ ἡγιασται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκατάρτα ἐστὶν, νῦν δὲ ἁγία ἐστὶν.* The grammatical Translation of which Words is, *For the unbelieving Husband [or an unbelieving Husband] has been sanctified by the Wife, and the unbelieving Wife, [or an unbelieving Wife] has been sanctified by the Husband. Else your Children would be unclean: but now they are holy [or Saints].* Our Translators alter'd the Tense, and put [*is sanctified*] instead of [*has been sanctified*] because they thought, it seems, the Sense required it: But without any such Alteration, the Paraphrase given by many learned Men is to this Purpose;

For it has ordinarily come to pass, that an unbelieving Husband has been brought to the Faith and so to Baptism, by his Wife: and likewise an unbelieving Wife by her Husband. If it were not so; and if the Wickedness or Infidelity of the unbelieving Party did usually prevail, the Children of such would be generally kept unbaptized and so be unclean. But now we see, by the Grace of God, a contrary Effect, for they are generally baptiz'd, and so become Holy, or Sanctified.

If the Reader will turn back to *CH. IV. §. 12.* and also compare the Quotations I shall produce in *Ch. XV. §. 2.* and *CH. XVIII §. 4.* and *CH. XIX. §. 19.* of this Book, he will see that St. *Austin's* and *Pelagius's* Comment on those Words of the Apostle is exactly to this Purpose: and that *Tertullian* differs from them only in this, that he expounds the Holiness that such Children have by the Prerogative of their Birth, by these Words, *Sanctitati designati, designed for Holiness*, because he reckons and proves from Scripture, that they cannot be actually holy till they are actually baptiz'd: and that St. *Hierom* and *Paulinus* speak to the same Effect.

The Word *ἅγιοι* in the New-Testament is translated sometimes *Saints*, sometimes *Holy* Persons, and was in the same Use with them as the Word *Christians* is with us.

There are two Things, beside what I have mention'd, that do make this Sense the more natural to that Place. One is, that it appears by the Apostle's other Words in the Context, that this was his Scope of Arguing. *For what knowest thou, O Wife, says he, whether thou shalt save thy Husband? i. e. by bringing him over to the Faith: Or how knowest thou, O Man, whether thou shalt save thy Wife?* This is a very different Aim from what he would have, if he meant only that an unbelieving Wife is sanctified to a Believer for the Use of the Bed, as unclean Meats are to a faithful Eater.



Another is, that the Custom of the Jewish Language had made it ordinary before the Apostles Time to use the Word [*to Sanctify*] for Baptizing or Washing. Where God commands *Moses* at the giving of the Law, *Exod. 19. 10. Sanctify them to Day and to Morrow*; all the learned Jews understand it, that he bid 'em Baptize, *i. e.* Wash 'em. And they prove from this place that *Israel* enter'd into Covenant by Baptism as well as Circumcision. Most of the Orders to the Priests and Levites to Sanctify themselves, are explain'd by Washing themselves. Where 'tis said, *Levit. 6. 27. All that touches the Flesh of the Sin-Offering, shall be Holy*, the Original Word is, *shall be Sanctified*: that is, (as the following Verses shew) shall be Washed. In *2 Sam. 11. 4.* 'tis said, *Bathsheba was then Purified* (in the Original *was Sanctified*) from her Uncleaness: and this was done by Washing. The divers Washings among the Jews, mention'd *Heb. 9. 10.* (where 'tis in the Original, *divers Baptisms*) are frequently styl'd by the Jews in their Writings, *Sanctifications*: as the Priest's washing his Hands and Feet ten Times on the Day of Atone-ment, is called by them *the ten Sanctifications*. This is so fully cleared by *Ainsworth, Lightfoot, Hammond, &c* that there need no more be said of it.

St. *Austin* in his *Questions on Leviticus* has this (12) Enquiry; How it is meant that *Moses* should sanctify the High-Priest, *Levit. 21. 8.* when God says, *ver. 15. I, the Lord, do Sanctify him*? In answer to which he distinguishes between the visible Sanctification and the Invisible: and after some Discourse that the Invisible is the chief, but yet that the other is not to be neglected, says, *Hence Cornelius and they that were with him, when they appeared to be already sanctified invisibly by the Holy Ghost coming on them, were for all that baptized: nor was the visible Sanctification counted needless because the Invisible was before.*

St. *Paul* inscribes his Epistles sent to the Christians of any Place, thus, *τοῖς ἀγίοις* to the holy Persons; or thus, *τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις* to such as have been Sanctified at such or such a Place. And so the Inscription of his Letter to the Corinthian Christians in these (13) Words, *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις*: to those that are sanctified [or have been sanctified] in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints: 'tis but a larger Periphrasis of what one would have said; to all that are Christians there. And St. *Chrysostom* in his Comment on these very Words puts the Question, *τι λέγειν ὁ ἡγιασμός*; What is the Sanctification he speaks of? and answers readily, *τὸ λυτῶν, ὁ καθαρισμός*, the Law, their Baptism, their Cleansing.

The ancient Church likewise that compil'd the Apostles Creed, when they would declare it as an Article of Christian Religion, that all Christians ought to hold Communion with one another, exprefs that Article thus, *The Communion τῶν ἀγίων* of Saints.

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Therefore when St. Paul in this Place uses the very same Word, and says, *else your Children would be unclean: but now they are  $\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$*  (which Word is rendred in *English* sometimes *Saints*, sometimes *Holy*,) 'tis not at all alien to his ordinary Use of the Word to understand it, *Else your Children would be kept unbaptized, unsanctified, unchristian, unholy, or unclean: but now they are generally sanctified by Baptism, and become Holy or Christians.* If we had lived in the Times of the Ancients, when the Word *Sanctified* was us'd in common Speech for *Baptized*, this would have seem'd a natural Interpretation.

This Exposition, as it avoids on one side the Inconveniency of that given by the Antipædobaptists, which takes the Word [Holy] and [Unclean] in a Sense in which they are never used in Scripture: so it is likewise free from the Exceptions which lie against that which limits the Baptism of Children so absolutely to that Condition of their being born of believing Parents; that it leads the Baptizer into many perplexing Scruples, whose Children he may baptize, and whose not. As the late Bishop of *Worcester* has largely (14) shewn.

4. What St. Gregory here says in the last place, that he will baptize no *Arian*, nor any that disown the Godhead of Christ, and the Trinity, is according to the general Sense of the Catholics of that, and of the foregoing Times. They would not hold Communion with the *Arians*, and consequently would not by Baptism enter such as Members into their Church. The greatest Persecutions that the Catholics at any time suffer'd, were on this Account. For the *Arian* Emperors seldom went so far as to force the Bishops to renounce the Catholic Faith and turn *Arians*: But they would banish 'em, unless they would receive the *Arians* to Communion, or join with them: It was upon this Account that *Athanasius* (who flourished from the Beginning to almost the End of the *Arian* Controversie) did so often suffer Exile; because he would not admit *Arius* or his Followers to Communion, when it was desir'd by *Constantin* (who sought herein the Quietness of his own Government) and the other Emperors that were themselves *Arians*.

These Ancients reckon'd that Christians might and ought to hold Communion notwithstanding Difference of Opinions in lesser Matters: but that this was a Fundamental one, as relating to that which is the direct Object of our Worship.

The *Arians* for this Reason made a great many Attempts to express their Faith in such ambiguous Terms as might seem to agree with the Catholic Sense. It is a Wonder to see in (15) *Socrates* and other Church Historians, how many Creeds were set forth for this purpose as Schemes of Agreement between the two Parties. Some of these served in some Churches to patch up for a while an unsound Union; which was broken to Pieces again as soon as each Party express'd their Meaning in other Words. And it was found at last by a long Trial that there was



was no firm Agreement to be had but by owning the Terms of the *Nicen Creed*. Mr. le Clerc observes somewhere that the major Part of the Councils in those Times, and of the Creeds drawn up in them, were on the *Arian* Side. No body need envy 'em this Advantage: for we are not for a Number of Creeds. The Catholics adher'd to the *Nicen*, and were for having no more than that: it was the *Arian* Party, which not agreeing among themselves, multiplied several Draughts of Faith. The *Nicen* Creed was at last found to be the only Test to distinguish a Catholic from an *Arian*.

§. 12. This I observe on Account of some modern *Arians*: or rather they are to be called *Photinians*; for they have much more dishonorable Opinions of our Savior Christ than the *Arians* had, and are more in the Sentiments of *Photinus*, who was in the *Arian* Times condemned (16) both by the *Catholics* and the *Arians*.

There are of 'em both among the *Pædobaptists* and the *Antipædobaptists*. Whether the *Antipædobaptists*, that believe in the Trinity, do baptize and receive into Communion any such, or not, I am not sure. It is not likely that they who do separate from one another for far lesser Differences, will dispense with so great a one about the Divinity of Christ.

But those *Antitrinitarians*, that are *Pædobaptists*, in *England*, have of late, on a sudden, declared themselves to be at Unity with the Catholic Church: yet the Account which they give of their Conversion to a good Opinion of the Catholic Faith, is the oddest one that was ever given in so serious a Matter. One does not know whether they are in earnest, or whether they mock in speaking of that awful Mystery. About the Year 1697 they published a Paper which they called *The Agreement between the Unitarians and the Catholic Church*: drawn up by themselves, and whether approved by any other I know not. In a Book published next Year, which gives an Account of *The Life of Thomas Firmin, and of his Religion*, they recite the said *Agreement*, and discourse something more on the subject Matter of it. In the Account of his Religion, after having observ'd that People had once thought that the Difference between the *Unitarians* and the Catholic Church was real, great, and even unreconcilable, they add (17)

' But the *Unitarians* (or *Socinians*) being Men of ingenuous and free Minds and Principles, and therefore always ready to entertain farther Light; after 8 or 9 Years late Contest in print with the principal Divines of this Nation, have been so dextrous and happy, that instead of farther embroiling the Points in Question, which is the usual Effect of the Paper War, they seem to have accommodated whatsoever Differences between the Church and them. And a little after.

Other Sects by the Favor of Princes, or the Quality of the Times, have obtained an Exemption from Mults and Penalties, &c. — If Socinianism had.

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had any where enjoyed those Halcyon Days; it's sudden irresistible Progress would have been as Lightning, which rushes out of the East and shines even to the West. Alas! on equal Ground and with equal Circumstances the Combat between unintelligible Mystery and clear Reason; between seeming Contradictions, Absurdities, and Impossibilities; and a rational, obvious, accountable Faith, would soon have been ended. But it is better ended: the Divine Providence and Goodness, in Mercy to both Parties, has granted a Peace instead of a Victory. It has pleas'd God to favor the suffering side with an unexpected Light: He has shewn 'em (what may seem incredible) that their Opposers think as they [the Unitarians] speak, that their Difference is not in the Idea's or Notions, but only in the Terms or Words. To manifest this, Mr. Firmin caus'd the following Scheme of Agreement, &c.

And to this Purpose in the other Treatise of the said Book, viz. in the Life of Mr. Firmin, they say, (18)

The Unitarians never intended to oppose any other Trinity, but a Trinity of Minds or Spirits. Grant to 'em that GOD is one infinite Spirit or Mind, not two or three, they demand no more. They applied themselves therefore to enquire which of these Trinities, a Trinity of Spirits, or of Properties, is the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. They could not miss of a ready Satisfaction: all Systems, Catechisms, Books of Controversie, Councils, Writers that have been esteemed Catholic, ——— have defined God to be one Infinite, All-perfect Spirit: and the Divine Persons to be nothing else but the Divine Essence or Godhead, with the three relative Properties; Unbegotten, Begotten, Proceeding.

'Tis a Wonder then that these Men could never perceive this before. Had they never look'd into any System, Catechism, Council, &c. before the Year 1697? they say themselves, that as soon as they set themselves to enquire, they could not miss of a ready Satisfaction.

But since they do now make a Proposal of Coming into the Communion of the Church; it is not so material to enquire what was the Occasion of their Quarrel, as it is to know whether their Return to the Church be cordial; and whether they are as yet of such a Faith, as that, according to this Rule of St. Gregory, they ought to be admitted to Baptism (those of them that are not yet baptiz'd) or to the Communion.

§. 13. 1. And if they would be received as cordially joining with the Catholics; why do they still speak of the Divinity of Christ in so ambiguous Terms as becomes not such as have lain under Censure of false Doctrine in that Point? They (19) repeat out of their Scheme; We say our Lord Christ is God and Man. He is Man in Respect of his reasonable Soul and human Body; God in Respect of God in him: or more scholastically, in Respect of the Hypostatical or Personal Union of the Humanity of Christ with the Divinity. By which the Catholic Church means, and we mean; The Divinity was not only occasionally assisting to, but was, and is always in Christ; illuminating, conducting, &c. And again (20)

Nor



Nor do we reckon of the Lord Christ as but a Creature. I have said before, Year af-  
 he is God and Man. The Divinity did so inhabit in the Humanity of Christ, ter the A-  
 doth so exert in it the most glorious Effects of Omnipotence and Omniscience, that postles  
 if others have been called God because they represented God, Christ is to be so 260.  
 called because he exhibits God.

All this, except what they say of the Personal Union, is lame still. For another Man, as for Example *Moses*, or any Prophet that had the Spirit of God in him, illuminating, conducting, and enabling him to work Miracles, &c. might be said to exhibit God in this Sense; only not in so high a Degree, or not always.

What they subscribe to of the *Hypostatical* or *Personal* Union would indeed be firm, and for ever stop their Way against returning to *Socinianism*, if they had express'd it *scholastically* as they pretend to do. I mean, if they had said this Union to be of the *Humanity of Christ with the λόγος*, or *second of the three Persons*. But when they say, *with the Divinity*, they either do not understand the Import of that Phrase, of *Hypostatical* or *Personal* Union; or else they purposely confound the Notion. They don't mean sure, that the Humanity of Christ is personally united to, or makes one Person with, the Father.

The very Doctrin for which both *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Photinus* were condemned by the Church, was that they made Christ to be God only by the *Inhabitation* of God in him: as Bp. *Stillingsfleet* had (21) fully proved to them. And yet if you mind these Mens Phrases, they own no More: and even the *Hypostatical Union* they explain to mean no more, and do without any Modesty say, that the Church means no more by it.

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§. 14. The Truth is, the *Socinians* have very lately made a great and monstrous Change in their Doctrine: and yet hold their main Article still; That Christ has, properly speaking, no Nature but the Humane. And these *English Unitarians* do by their Way of explaining themselves give Ground to suspect that they are still in that Sentiment. They were wont formerly to degrade that λόγος of which St. John speaks, as much as they could; making it to be nothing but the human Nature of *Jesus Christ*, or something belonging to the human Nature. They did use to expound thus; *In the Beginning was the Word*, i. e. In the Beginning of the Gospel, *Jesus Christ* and his Preaching was. *And the Word was with God*: i. e. He and his Preaching were appointed in the Counsel of God. *And the Word was God*: i. e. He was God's Deputy to Men. *All things were made by him*: i. e. All Matters of the Gospel Dispensation were done by him, &c.

But now of late they put a Notion on the Term λόγος, which carries the utmost Degree of Contrariety to their former Interpretation. They make the λόγος to be not at all distinct from God the Father, neither in Nature nor in Person: but to be his Attribute of Wisdom, Reason,

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&c. Thus a certain Writer over the Water, whose Works they greedily translate into *English*;

*In the Beginning was the Word: i. e. In the Beginning was Reason.*

*And the Word was with God: i. e. And that Reason was with God.*

*And the Word was God: i. e. And God was that Reason.*

*The same was in the Beginning with God: i. e. There was, I say, Reason in God before the World was created. Are not these great Apophthegms for St. John to say?*

And in the following Verses wherever we read *He* or *Him*, they translate *IT*. *All things were made by It: and without It was not any thing, &c.* And then ver. 14. *And the Word was made Flesh: i. e. And this Reason, by the Man in whom it was, was made conspicuous.*

And where the Author to the *Hebrews* having expressly named *God's Son*, whom he has appointed *Heir of all things*, adds these Words; by whom also he made the Worlds: because here is no possible turning *Him* into *It*, the Paraphrase is; that is, having heretofore by that *Logos* or Reason, or eternal Wisdom which resided in Jesus, and was most nearly united to him, created all things. If by most nearly united be meant so united as to become one Person, it is Catholic. But the Terms of residing in him, and of being made conspicuous by him, express a more lax sort of Union than what the Words of Scripture do every where set forth. And at such a Rate of interpreting it might be said of any meer Man, in whom the Spirit of God does reside, that *the World was made by him*: because he has in him that Spirit by which it was made. But the Scripture is far from saying so of any meer Man; and of our Lord Jesus Christ it never speaks otherwise than so: (22) *By Him were all things created: and He is before all things.* (23) *Of whom as concerning the Flesh Christ came, Who is over all, &c. With the Glory* (24) *which I had with Thee before the World was. I* (25) *came forth from the Father. Before Abraham was, I am* [or was] &c. 'Tis not said, the Spirit or Wisdom which is in me, came forth from the Father, or had Glory with thee: but *I* came forth. *I* had Glory, &c. And as far as the personal Word *I* or *He* can denote the same Person, it is here and every where else denoted.

The *Paulianists* and *Photinians* would say, as these Men do, that Christ is God and Man: but if they were ask'd whether he was God first, or Man first; they would say, he was Man first, and afterwards God, by God's dwelling in him. And these Men seem to mean no other. But the Catholic Church believes that he was God first, and afterward became Man. As St. John tells first what he was originally: and then how he was made Flesh.

*Cerinthus*, who was St. John's chief Adversary, and against whom he had a particular Eye, when he wrote his Gospel (as both (26) *Irenaeus* and St. (27) *Hierom* do witness) taught that Jesus was the Son of Joseph and Mary

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(22) Col. 1. 16, 17. (23) Rom. 9. 5. (24) John 17. 5. (25) John 16. 28.  
(26) lib. 3. c. 11, (27) de script. Eccl. v. Joannes,



Mary in like Manner as all other Men : and that he was eminent for Justice, Prudence and Wisdom, above all others : and that after his Baptism Christ came down upon him from the Supreme Power in the Shape of a Dove, &c. This was Cerinthus's Doctrine, as (28) Irenæus repeats it, who lived so high those times that he may well be thought to be born in the time of Cerinthus. And this is the same for Substance with the latter of those two sorts of Socinianism that I mention'd ; only it was by him blunderingly express'd : that which they style *aby* he calls *Christ*, and he does not allow him to be born of a Virgin. They must be *dextrous and happy Men* indeed, that can reconcile St. John's Gospel to that very Sense against which it was purposely written.

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This Cerinthus and Ebion, both whose Doctrine concerning our Lord was (as Irenæus in the (29) next Chapter testifies) the same, were the first Socinians in the World, except those mentioned John 6. 42. who said, *Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph, whose Father and Mother we know ? How is it then that he says, I came down from Heaven ?*

§. 15. 2. But besides : what Hopes can we have of any firm Union with these Men, who at the same time that they desire to be received into Communion with the Catholic Church, do set forth the Faith thereof in as ill Colors as possibly they can ; calling it *unintelligible Mystery*, and their own *clear Reason* ? That which we hold they describe as *seeming Impossibilities, Absurdities, and Contradictions* : theirs is a *rational, obvious, and accountable Faith*. And they express themselves as Men that were cocksure, that if that Act of Parliament, which they call a *Bill in Name and Pretext against Immorality and Blasphemy, in Truth and real Design against the Unitarians*, were taken out of the Way, we should all presently turn Socinians. ('Tis to be noted that this *Act* came out much about the same time that they were *favor'd* with that *unexpected Light*)

They ought not to be so hasty : there is another Book in the Way, and that is the Scriptures. If they were abolished, and other Records of the Church with them, we freely grant that we should not naturally have any Notion of a Trinity, of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in one Godhead ; nor should we ever have thought of being baptiz'd in such a Name : nor have known of the *Word which was God, being made Flesh*. These Mysteries we grant would have been unintelligible.

But then there would have been another Inconveniency in that Way of knowing God which they propose, *viz.* in entertaining only such Notions of him as we can form by natural Reason and *clear Idea's*. For some few Persons of more refined Intellectuals would conceive him to be a *spiritual Being* far above the Properties and Passions of Body and Matter. Others that could form no Notion of a Spirit, would say, This is *unintelligible Mystery* : we must have a God that has a Body, or else we shall think him to be nothing. These latter would be subdivided : for some would believe that he is made of a very fine, subtle, and ethereal Matter,

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quite different from that which may be seen, or has any Limbs, &c. But others, and these the far greatest part of Mankind, would contend that a God that is suppos'd to see, and hear, and judge without any Ears or Eyes, is an *Absurdity, Impossibility, Contradiction*, a thing of which we can form no *clear Idea*: so they would have a God with Eyes and Ears as good as any Painter could make.

The Experience of all Ages of the World, shews that what I say is no Fancy but Matter of Fact. This Way therefore would not do, except they would join to it the Policy of the Papiſts, who do preserve the true Notion of God, as he is set forth in Scripture, for the Use of the learned and such as they allow to read the Scripture; but keep at the same time wooden Gods for the Use of the Mob.

God Almighty give us all the Modesty and Humility to think that his Way of existing may well be such as we cannot comprehend, any more than a Worm can comprehend what Reason, or Speech, or a Soul is: and quietly to acquiesce in that Account which he has been pleas'd to give of his own Nature, and of what we are to believe concerning him: and to take it according to the plain Meaning of those whom he has inspir'd to write it: and to judge our selves, as we are indeed, far incapable of explaining the Manner of it; and much more incapable of any Ability of trying and examining the Truth of it by our natural Idea's of the things themselves. This last is impudent in those who do own the Divine Inspiration of the Writers.

§. 16. The great Progress which they boast they should make, has no Example for their Encouragement in former Ages of the Church. *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* had some Followers: but that was before the Canon of Scripture, and particularly *St. John's Gospel* was compleated and divulged: and it was mostly in wild Countries, as (30) *Arabia deserta*, &c. After the Writings of the Apostles were divulg'd, several single Persons, *Artemon, Theodotus, Paulus of Samosata*, &c. attempted to set up such a Sect, but never proselyted any Region or City: and *Photinus*, tho' a very eloquent Man, and setting up in the *Arian* times, was presently condemned by all Parties: So that *Epiphanius*, who wrote but 30 Years after that he began to vent his *Heresy*, and before *Photinus* himself was dead, as it seems, tells him, (31) that *his Heresie of all others was the easiest to be confuted, not only by skilful Men, but by any that had any tolerable Understanding of the Sense of Scripture*. And a little after. *The Heresie of this Impostor is dwindled away, having lasted but a very little while*; and *Theodorect* says, (32) that in his time it was quite forgot: and so, he says, were all the other Heresies that had denied *Christ's Divinity*, *Cerinthians, Ebionites, Sabellians*, &c. so that the very Names of those Sects were to many unknown. And whereas one (33) *Bonofus*, about, or a little after the time of *Photinus*, went about to vent the same Doctrine in *Dacia*; he was so far from having any

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(30) Epiphan. in Hær. Ebionitarum. (31) Hær. 71. (32) Hæret. Fab. l. 2. c. ult. (33) Mercator Dissert. contra Anathematismos Nestorij. 522.



any Number of Followers, that he himself or his Name is hardly known in History: and *Theodore* seems never to have heard of him.

*Mahomet* the Impostor arising in the foresaid *Arabia* (of which place (34) *Epiphanius* says, *It was the chief Nest of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, as I have, says he, often already observed*) was the only Man that after these times ventur'd to broach the Doctrin against Christ's Divinity: and he indeed with his Succellors have converted a great Part of the World with a sudden irresistible Progress: but then they have accordingly laid aside the Name of Christians, and disowned the Scriptures, as being plainly against 'em in this Matter, tho' they do believe Christ to have been a great Prophet.

Since that, in *Poland*, and such Places bordering on the *Mahometans*, this Opinion has been entertained by some few as a middle sort of Religion between the *Christian* and *Mahometan*. And now of late it is come into *Holland*, and from thence into *England*, serving for the Use of such as being stagger'd in their Faith by the Arguments of the *Deists*, which are rise in those Countries, yet will not go so far with them as to renounce *Jesus Christ* and the Scriptures; but take a middle Way, holding with the Catholics that he is a true Prophet, and the *Messiah* promised, and that he died and rose again, and will be our Judge; but with the *Deists* denying his Divinity, and holding that he had no Being before he was born or conceived in human Flesh. They with the Catholics say that the Scriptures are (originally and as they came out of the Apostles Hands) God's Word and not feigned by Men; but with the *Deists*, That what they say of Christ's Divinity, has been interpolated, or must be explain'd so as to fit with our natural Conceptions; which, they say, cannot admit the Notion of a Son of God that is properly one in Essence with the Father; nor of such a Son of God taking on him the human Nature, when the Father does not. To believe such strange things on the Credit of Revelation, is, they say, to give great Advantage to the *Deists* who deny it all.

This Opinion, I say, never had any considerable Number of Followers in the World. The *Arian*, I grant, had: but that does not nigh so plainly contradict the Scriptures.

§. 17. Now to return to that which gave the Occasion of this Digression: The Catholics, as we see here by *Gregory Nazianzen*, would not baptize or receive to their Church an *Arian*, nor any one that did not profess Belief in the Holy Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. The Catholic Church is of the same Mind still. These Men do make an Overture, and a Declaration of their Purpose of joining themselves to the Church, and they do many of 'em put it in Practice. If they are truly reconcil'd to the Catholic Faith, nothing were more desirable: but for that there is need of a better Test, and it is a Question whether the Church ought to receive 'em without better Satisfaction, than this Scheme  
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*of Agreement.* They own the *Apostles Creed* indeed, which our Church makes Use of in Baptism: but by disowning the *Nicen*, they shew that they do not own the other in the same Sense that the Church does, but repeat the same Words in a very æquivocal Meaning. When we say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son*, &c. we do by the Phrase of believing in him, mean believing in him as in God properly so called; and so we understand likewise the Form of Baptism in his Name, together with the Father and Holy Spirit. And so did the Ancients: this *Gregory* (35) speaking of the Holy Spirit. and how we are baptiz'd in his Name, *If he be a Creature*, says he, *how do we believe in him? For it is one thing to believe in any one, and another to believe something concerning him. For the one is peculiar to God: the other common to any thing.* If these Men mean quite another thing in both these, I cannot see how we and they have *One Faith*, or *One Baptism*; nor indeed how we worship the same God: for the God whom we worship, is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

A Difference in understanding the Meaning of some Articles of lesser Moment, viz. of Christ's Descent into Hell, is not of the same Nature, nor does make an Instance for this Purpose. If any Man differ in Opinion from the received Tenets of the Church in smaller Matters; and therefore cannot join in some particular Collect, Office, Prayer, or Clause of a Prayer, wherein something relating to those Tenets is express'd; we grant, what these Men plead, that *St. Paul's* (36) Rule, *If in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless whereto we have attained, let us walk by the same Rule*, &c. teaches that such a Man should continue in Communion, and conform to all that he can, and omit the saying *Amen* to that which he judges a Mistake. *Bp. Stillingfleet* has fully (37) proved this to be the Meaning of that Place against the Dissenting Ministers, who were not willing that the Separation should sink so. And we can well enough allow of *Mr. le Clerc's* Explication of *Rom. 14. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith, receive you without examining his doubtful Opinions*, and that the Church ought to receive such an one. But all this is in Differences about such Matters as *St. Paul* there instances in, Meats, Drinks, or other Things not of the Foundation. But the Doctrine concerning the Person of *Jesus Christ*, and the Satisfaction for our Sins by him made, is, if any thing be, of the Foundation.

I think the Church of *England* has at this Time the worst Luck in this respect, that any Church ever had. There are numerous Bodies of her People who hold all the same Faith with her, that do against her Will make Schisms from her Communion on Occasion of Differences in Opinion, which are no just Ground for Separation, which Party soever be supposed to be in the right. These she calls and invites to Communion in Prayers, and Sacraments, in which they might join even on supposal

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(35) *Orat. de Sp. Sancto.* (36) *Phil. 3. 15, 16.* (37) *Unreal. of Separ. P. II. §. 19.*



supposal that they could not part with their particular Opinions: and they, either out of Peevishness, or else being over-perswaded by their Leaders, who find their Account in continuing separate Bodies whereof they may be Heads, do refuse to join even in those Things wherein they agree in Opinion with us. On the other side, these Men who give but a poor Account of their Agreement with us in Fundamentals, declare of their own Accord (whether it be to shelter themselves from Penalties, or not, I know not) that they will however join with us.

The least that can be said, is, that it behoves every Curate, who has good Ground to believe concerning any of those that resort to his Communion, that they are Enemies to the Doctrine of the Divinity of our Savior, (and there are up and down more of them than one would think) to take Advice of the Bishop how far such are to be admitted to Communion.

§. 18. I mention'd the Satisfaction of our Savior for our Sins. It is known how derogatory an Explication the *Socinians* have given of that. They have sometimes so spoke, as if the main or only Design of his Death were to give us a good Example of suffering patiently: fearing that if too much Value were put on his Blood as a sufficient Ransom for the Sins of the World, it must be yielded to be the Blood of one that was God in a proper Sense as well as Man. But whereas the New-Testament does almost in every Chapter speak of the Redemption, Propitiation, Sacrifice, Price, Ransom, Purchase, paid or wrought by him, and does lay the Stress (38) of our Salvation upon our Faith in his Blood as well as in his Doctrine: they do (after having explain'd away as much of this Article as possibly they can) yield that he did satisfy for us a little, or redeem us a little. I have heard one of 'em in company and in a braving way explain it thus; *It is as if a Man ow'd me 1000l. and not being able to pay, a Friend of his who had some Interest in me, should intercede with me to forgive him the Debt; and to move me the more, should offer to pay Twelve-pence in the Pound for him, and I in Condescension to this Friend should accept it for Payment in full.*

This is to count (39) the Blood of the Covenant wherewith we are sanctified a much more mean and ordinary thing than the Scripture does every where represent it. And that which brought this Passage of a Discourse in Company to my Memory, was, the Words which these Men use (40) to shew the Soundness of their Faith in that Matter; *We believe that the Lord Christ by what he did, and what he suffer'd was, by the gracious Acceptance of God, a true and perfect Propitiation for Sinners, that repent.* This is what any Catholic, or any Socinian either, may say, and yet have a very different Faith about this Article.

The other Errors with which they are charg'd, and do not by that Agreement revoke, are great; but not to be named the same Day with these.

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§. 19. As for the *Assemblies* which they talk of holding for *Divine Worship distinct from the Assemblies of any other Denominations of Christians*: but these to be not by way of *Schism or Separation from the Church*, but only as *Fraternities in the Church, who should take a more special Care of that Article* [viz. of the Unity of the Godhead] there would be by God's Grace no need of 'em. The Catholic Church does, and ever did, and ever will hold and publish that Doctrine in the first place and above all others. The *Athanasian Creed*, against which they make their chief Exceptions, declares this in Words as absolute as any they can desire to be devised; that tho' the Father be God, Lord, Almighty, &c. and the Son and Holy Spirit likewise; yet there are not three Gods, Lords, Almightyes, &c. but one God, one Lord, one Almighty: and would by Parity of Reason have said; so the Father is Spirit, the Son Spirit, and the Holy Ghost Spirit: yet not three Spirits, but one Spirit.

§. 20. They confess themselves that all Systems, Catechisms, Councils have defined this. But they add, *especially since the Lateran Council*, &c. thereby leaving open a Door for that Slander of a (41) Friend of theirs to take place, who goes about to make the World believe that anciently, in the Times of the *Nicen Council*, and for some time afterward, the Christians held the Faith of the Trinity so as to make *three Gods* in it.

This Slander of an Out-landish Author, our *Socinians* do greedily embrace and confidently averr: which has, as to most of the Particulars by which they would prove it, been fully answer'd by (42) Bp. *Stillingfleet*: and I have occasionally, in another Place (43) said something to some of the rest on which they insist, and to that open Affront given by the said Slanderer to all the Churches that use the *Nicen Creed*, which he says they must either expunge out of their Confessions and Liturgies, or else renounce the Article of *One God*, pretending that the Faith held forth in that Creed is *Tritheism*. But it comes in my way there by the Bye only.

All that I mention it here for, is to shew what an Antipathy this sort of Men have to that Creed, and how they accordingly endeavour to blacken it: which is, as I shew in (44) another Place, the most ancient Copy of a Christian Creed that is now extant in the World, and the most universally subscribed to by all Christians, and has been now for so many Ages accounted the only firm Test and Barrier of the Catholic Church against such as deny the Divinity of our Lord Christ: being of Opinion, that we can have no sound Communion with those that renounce it: and that it is a vain and ill advised thing to hope in these late Ages of the Church to pitch or agree on any fitter Symbol or Test of a Catholic Christian. It should be the more unexceptionable  
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(41) Mr. *le Clerc*. Supplement to *Hammond*. ii. Critical Epistles, &c. (42) Vindication of Trinity. CH. 6. (43.) Part II. CH. V. §. 8. (44) Part II. CH. IX. §. 9, 10, 11, &c.



with them because it has not the Words, *Trinity, Person, &c.* against which their Objections chiefly lie. And yet those of them among us that do put in Practice the foresaid Project of Communicating with the Church, do, as far as I can understand, generally renounce it, and instead of it they give here a Profession of their Faith, in Words subject to great Ambiguity.

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The great Bp. *Stillingfleet* (45) having occasion to speak of that Canon (46) of the first Council of *Arles*, wherein they decree, That if any that come over from a sort of *Heretic* there specified, did offer themselves to communicate with the Catholics, *they should be examin'd by the Priests, whether they had a right Faith of the Trinity, &c.* and if so, they were to be admitted with Imposition of Hands. *But if being examin'd, they do not confess this Trinity, then they must be baptized anew.* He asks this Question, *What Trinity do they mean? of meer Names or Cyphers, or of one God and two Creatures joined in the same Form of Words, as our Unitarians understand it?*

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And to the same Purpose *St. Cyprian* arguing that such as had received Baptism from some Heretics that had monstrous Opinions about the Deity, ought not to be admitted to Communion without a new Baptism, says thus, (47) *If by that Baptism of theirs the Man have obtained Remission of Sins, then is he sanctified and become a Temple of God. Now I ask of what God? If they say, of God the Creator, that could not be, since he did not believe in him. If of Christ; one that denys Christ to be God cannot be a Temple of him. If of the holy Spirit; whereas these three are One, How can the Holy Spirit be pleas'd with him who is against either the Father or the Son?*

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We may by the Bye take Notice, that it appears by this and by another plainer (48) Place of *St. Cyprian*, that that Text (49) of *St. John*, *These Three are One*, either was read then (which was long before the Time of *Arius*) with the same Context that it is now, or at least was understood in the same Sense.

If these ancient Christians would not admit such Men, tho' recanting their Opinions, without a new Baptism; I mean, if they had been baptized into any other Faith than the true Faith of the Trinity; much less would they have entertain'd Communion with them holding still their Opinions.

It is *St. Gregory's* mentioning in this *Oration of Baptism* a Thing that is so applyable to the Case of the Church at present, that has drawn me so far from my Subject.

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(45) *Vindic. of Trinity* c. 9. (46) *Can.* 8. (47) *Ep.* 73. ad *Jubianum*. (48) *Lib. de Unitate ecclesiae*. (49) *1 John* 5. 7.

## C H A P. XII.

*Quotations out of St. Basil.*

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§. 1. **S**T. Basil also has an Oration or Sermon to the Catechumens or new converted Christians, to perswade 'em to Baptism without such Delays as many used: but it has not any express Mention of the Case of Infants as to Baptism: yet it has some Things that are cited *pro* and *contra* to that Purpose. It may not be amiss to give a short Abstract of it, reciting, as I did in the other, the original Words of such Places only as do by some consequence relate to this Question.

*Oratio Exhortatoria ad Baptismum.*

He begins with observing that Solomon mentioning a Time for every Thing, says, *there is a Time to be born, and a Time to die*, placing the Birth first: but that he being to speak of the spiritual Birth, must speak of our spiritual Death first. Which having done, and shewn the lost Condition we are in by Nature, and that Baptism is the Recovery from it, he proceeds.

§. 2. Καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιτίθειτο ἰδίῳ ὕπνῳ, καὶ ἰδίῳ γρηγορήσει, ἰδίῳ πολέμῳ καὶ ἰδίῳ εἰρήνῃ. Καὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτισμῷ ὅπως ὁ πᾶν ἀνθρώπων βίῃ. 'There is therefore a several Season proper for several Things; a Time peculiar for Sleep, and one peculiar for Watching; a Time for War, and a Time for Peace. But any Time of one's Life is proper for Baptism. And afterward, 'Be it Day or Night, be it but an Hour or a Minute. 'Yet the most proper Time is *Easter*: for that is the Solemnity of the 'Resurrection; and Baptism is to us a Ground of our Resurrection.

§. 3. Then having insisted on the Advantage of *Christ's* Baptism above that of *St. John's*, and how all are invited to it: he addresseth thus to 'em: Ὁκνήεις καὶ βυλδῖν καὶ διαμέλλεις; ἐν ἡμέρῃ τὸν λόγον κατηχέμενος ἔτι σὺν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ; πάντῃς μαθητῶν ἐδίδαξας ὡς τὴν ἐπιγνώσιν; πειρασθεὶς διὰ βίαν, κατόπιστος μέχρι γῆρας; πότε γνήσι χριστιανός; πότε γνωρίσωμαι σε ὡς ἡμέτερον, &c. 'Do you demurr and loyter and put it off? When you have been 'from a Child catechiz'd in the Word, Are you not yet acquainted 'with the Truth? Having been always learning it, Are you not yet 'come to the Knowledge of it? A Seeker all your Life long: A Considerer till you are old? When will you be made a Christian? When 'shall we see you become one of us? Last Year you were for staying 'till this Year: and now you have a Mind to stay till next. Take heed 'that by promising your self a longer Life, you do not quite miss of 'your Hope. You don't know what Change to Morrow may bring, &c.



§. 4. When I first copied out this Passage to put it into this Collection, I thought it to be the strongest Evidence against the general Practice of Infant-Baptism in those Times of any that is to be found in all Antiquity (tho' it has not, I think, been taken Notice of by any of the Antipædobaptists) for it plainly supposes that a considerable Part of St. Basil's Auditory at this Time were such as had been from their Childhood instructed in the Christian Religion (and consequently in all Probability born of Christian Parents) and yet not baptiz'd.

But I have since, in searching after other Passages, had occasion more than enough to observe, that there were in these Times abundance of People that were well-Willers to Christianity, half Christians, who yet put off their absolute owning of it, or being baptiz'd into it for a great many Years. These Men had, during that their unsettled Mind, several Children: and they could not with any Face or Conscience desire of the Church Baptism for these their Infant-Children, unless they would first find in their Hearts to accept it for themselves. And so these Children came to be taught the Doctrine of Christianity, and yet not baptiz'd into it; because their Parents, tho' liking of that Religion, yet were not at present fully resolved themselves. But this is no Proof that any Christians, after they were once baptized themselves, did ever suffer their Infant-Children to go without Baptism.

This Place it self is a plain Proof that there were a great many such Men as I have mention'd: for several of the Men to whom St. Basil is here Preaching, and whom he blames for putting off Baptism so long, must be thought to have Children; which Children must be in the Case that I speak of. So that this Place affords an Answer to the Objection drawn from it self, or from any other that speaks of Children instructed in Religion and yet not baptized.

§. 5. He goes on with his Sermon, and shews the Advantages of this Profession to which he invites 'em, and the Lightness of the Yoke which he advises 'em to put on. And proceeds to speak of the Necessity of Baptism in these Words; *Ὁ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ περιτομῶν ἐκ ὑπερβολῆς διὰ τὴν ἀπειλὴν, διὰ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἐπελειμμένηται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐξολερευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. σὺ δὲ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν ἀναβάνη ἐν τῇ ἀκρόασι τῆς σαρκὸς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τελευτήσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ Κελεύς ἀκούεις, Ἀμὴν, Ἀμὴν, &c.* *A Jew does not delay Circumcision because of the Threatning that every Soul that is not circumcised the eighth Day shall be cut off from his People: And dost thou put off the Circumcision made without Hands in the putting off the Flesh, which is performed in Baptism, when thou hearest our Lord himself say, verily, verily, I say unto you, except one be born of Water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of God? If Israel had not passed thro' the Sea, they had not got rid of Pharoah: and unless thou pass thro' the Water, thou wilt not be delivered from the cruel Tyranny of the Devil, &c.*

*If your Sins are many; be not frighted because of their Number: whose Sin has abounded, there Grace will much more abound, if you will receive it. If*

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postles 260. they are small and not very heinous, Why are you afraid of the Time to come, since you have order'd your past Life well, even when you were not furnish'd with the Christian Law?

S. 6. Look upon your Soul to be plac'd in a Balance: the Angels draw you one way, the Devils the other: To which will you incline? Which shall overcome, Carnal Pleasure or Holiness of Life?

Don't you remember how in Egypt the Destroyer pass'd over the Houses that were marked, when in those that were not so he slew the First-born?

If a Physician could undertake by any Art to make you Young again when you are Old, you would earnestly long for that Day in which your florid Youth should be restored: and yet now when 'tis told you that your Soul defil'd with all manner of Sin, may be renewed and born again by Baptism, you slight so great a Benefit.

Are you Young? guard your Youth with the Bridle of Baptism. Is the Flower of your Age past? don't endanger the Loss of your Viaticum: don't miss of your Preservative: don't think of your eleventh Hour as if it were your first.

I know your Reason, tho' you think to conceal it. 'Stay a little longer, say you, 'I will make use of the Flower of my Age in Pleasure, &c. and then when I have enough of that, I'll give it over and be baptiz'd: Think you that God does not see your Purpose, or that he will give his Grace to so wicked a Heart? — If you leave off your Sins for Old-Age, Thanks to your Inability. We regard those that are sober by Choice not by Necessity.

Who has given you a Lease of your Life? &c. Don't you see Children often snatch'd from the Breast, and others die in the Flower of their Age? &c.

Do you stay for Baptism till some Fever force you to it, when you will neither be able to speak the holy Words, nor perhaps to hear 'em, the Disease being got into your Head?

The Devil cries, give me to Day, and give the Morrow to God. But God says, To Day if you will hear my Voice. The Devil gives us Hope of to Morrow, but when to Morrow is come, as a fraudulent Divider, he again asks that Day for himself, and yields the next to Morrow to God.

The Sanctification of Baptism you commend in Words, but in your Deeds you follow the Things that your self condemn. Take heed you don't repent of this Purpose when it is too late, and will do you no good. Learn Wisdom by the Example of the foolish Virgins, &c.

Do not you, Brother, in like manner put off from Year to Year, from Month to Month, from Day to Day, till a Day seize you that you are not aware of, and the Opportunity of Well-doing fail you together with your Life, &c.

Then you'll lament at your very Soul, but no Body will pity you: you'll utter dreadful Moans, but they will be taken for a Delirium. Who will give you Baptism at such a Time? &c. and perhaps it will be Night, and no Body present to help you or baptize you.

But you say, God will then hear me. Yes, because you hear him now. He will grant me some longer Time, Good Reason, because you make so good use of what he does grant you. Wretch, don't deceive your self: let no  
Body



Body seduce you with vain Words, sudden Destruction will come upon you, and Ruine like a Storm, &c. The dreadful Angel will fetch away your Soul, &c. Year after the Apostles

What Thoughts will you have then? 'Fool that I was! Why did not I put off this heavy load of Sin then when I might easily? that I did not wash off these foul Stains? &c. Oh woful Purpose of mine! for the short Pleasure of Sin to suffer eternal Torments. I might now have been one of those that shine in Glory. Oh just Judgment of God! I was called and would not hear, &c.

These and such like Complaints you will make then, if you depart hence before you be baptized, &c.

All the rest is such like pathetical Exhortation to break off Sin, and enter without Delay into the Christian Covenant: and were very proper to be us'd to those who now a Days put off Repentance to a Death-Bed.

§. 7 St. Basil has also two other (1) Pieces about Baptism, written at the Desire of some that put Questions to him, some concerning Baptism, and some on other Subjects (being probably Persons that were preparing themselves to be baptiz'd.) But all the Discourse is (as the Occasion was) of what is proper for Adult Persons to know and consider, when they come to be baptiz'd: and has nothing that peculiarly concerns Infants.

He puts these Persons in mind *ὅτι δὲ πρῶτον μαθητεύσονται τοῖς ἁμαρτίαις, καὶ τότε καταξιωθήσονται τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι*, that they must be first instructed, and then admitted to Baptism. (These Words taken by themselves, some cite as making against Infant-Baptism) that they must resolve to forsake, not some Sins, but all. He shews 'em the Difference of three sorts of Baptism, viz. that of Moses, that of John, and that of Christ. The Baptism of Moses made a Difference of Sins; for all Sins were not forgiven by it. It required Sacrifices to be joined with it. It stood strictly on outward Cleansing. It enjoin'd an unclean Person to continue separate for some time: depended upon Days and Hours, &c. The Baptism of John had none of these Inconveniencies: yet he shews how that also is far surpassed by that of Christ.

§. 8. Coming to a more particular Explication of our Savior's Words; John 3. 3, 5. of being born again, he says, I take that Word [*ἀνωθεν* again] to signify the rectifying of our former Birth, which was in the Filth of Sin: as Job says; no Person is clean from Sin, tho' his Life be but of one Day; [so they read that (2) Text of Job] and as David laments and says, I was conceived in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother bring me forth.

§. 9. There is a Passage in a Sermon of St. Basil's (that which he preached on a Fast-day, that was kept for the great Famine and Drought) of which I have not Skill enough to judge whether it be a Proof of Infants Baptism then used or not. The Judgment of it depends on one's knowing particularly to what Part of the Public Divine Service and Prayers

(1) Lib. primus & secundus de baptismo. (2) Job. 14. 4.

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Prayers People were wont to be admitted before they were Baptiz'd; and to what not: for St. Basil speaks here of little Boys and young Children joining in the Prayers. I know that some have written accurately the History of the Catechumens, and in what Parts of the Liturgy they did partake. But the Passage being short, I can sooner set it down at adventure (that so they that are skill'd in that Matter may judge whether it be to purpose or not) than I can at present have recourse to those Writings.

'Tis this. He is telling 'em that their Continuance in their Sins hindred their Prayers from being heard. But besides, says he, *What sort of Prayer is it that we make? The grown Men, all but a few, follow their Trades, &c. a very few are left to join with me in the Prayers; and those lazy and yawning, and staring about, &c.* οἱ ὃ παῖδες οἱ σμικροτάτοι ἔσσι, οἱ τὰς βιβλίας ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις σποθόμενοι καὶ συμβαῖντες ἡμῖν, ὡς ἀνεσις μᾶλλον καὶ τέρψιν τὸ πρᾶγμα μετέρχονται, &c. ἀνάδηντα ὃ καὶ ἀμάμπτα βρέοντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ἐπείγεται καὶ ἀθεορίζεται, ἔτε τὴν ἀγορὴν ἢ λυπέντων, ἔτε αὖ συνήθως προσευξάσθαι γνώσιν ἢ δύναμιν ἔχοντα. σὺ μοι παρέλθε εἰς μέσον, &c. *And these little Boys that have left their Books at School, and do make the Responses together [or, Sing together] with us, do it as a piece of Pleasure, and the Work of a Play-day, &c. And the Infants that have no Sense, nor any Guilt, they also are brought thick and in Crowds to the Publick Confession, who neither understand the Occasion of the Grief, nor are capable of Praying accordingly. Come your selves to the Office, you that have the Load of Sins upon you. 'Tis you that ought to prostrate your selves, to mourn and weep, &c.* ἔδει ὃ παρῆναι κατεῖναι, μετὰ σὺ πάντως, ἔ μόνον. *They [the Infants] ought to be present indeed, but to come along with you, and not alone by themselves.*

If the Catechumens did not use to be admitted before their Baptism to those Parts of the Office, that consisted in Psalmody and making the Responses; then it is a Sign that these little Boys had been baptized. But if they did, it is only my Labor lost in reciting it here. P. S. I am since certified by a very learned Man, that these Children must have been Baptized.

§. 10. But a more material Evidence than any that can be found in St. Basil's Writings, is taken from his Practice: Of which there is an Authentical Record given by Theodoret and other Historians that lived but a little after St. Basil, in reference to the Baptizing of a Child of Valens the Emperor. This Emperor being an Arian, and having been prevailed on by the Arians to take an (3) Oath that he would always maintain that Faith, and persecute the contrary, viz. that of the Catholics; did accordingly; and raised great Persecution against all the Catholic Bishops in his Dominion, and particularly against St. Basil, who was Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. But having great Afflictions in his Family at the same time, which looked like Judgments; and among the rest, his only Child sick and at the Point of Death; he was wrought on partly



partly by the Guilt of his Conscience, and partly by his Wife's Entreaty, to abate of the Rigor which he was then using against St. Basil, who was by all lookt on as a Pious and Good Man. And he also sent for him to come and pray for his Child. And then (as (4) Theodoret proceeds to relate the Matter) ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος καὶ λαλῶν τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὸν τὸ βασιλέως υἱὸν παρ' αὐτὴν ὄντα τὴν τελευτὴν θεασάμενος, πρὸς τὴν ζῶντα τὸν ὑποτρέχειν ἐπέχετο, εἰ τὴν παναγίαν βαπτίσματα διὰ τῶν εὐσεβέων ἀξιωθείν. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξελήλυθεν. Ὁ δ' ὅν ἔρκον κατὰ τὸν ἀνόητον μεμνημένον Ἡρώδην, τοῖς συμπάροισιν ἀντὶ ἐκ τῆς συμμορίας Ἀρεῖα βαπτίσαι τὸ παιδίον προσέταξεν. The great Basil coming into the Palace, and seeing the Emperor's Son at the Point of Death, undertook that he would recover if he had Baptism given him by the Hands of the Godly [meaning the Catholics;] and having said this he went away. But he [the Emperor] remembring, like foolish Herod, his Oath, gave Order to some that were present of the Faction of Arius, to baptize the Child, &c.

The Issue was; the Child died, and Valens for the present Repented both of his Oath and Cruelty, and went to St. Basil's Church, and made his Oblations: But afterward he Revolted to his former Temper.

All that is doubtful in this Passage, is, whether this Child were so young as that his Baptism deserves to be called Infant-Baptism; or whether he were of such Age as to be capable to be Baptiz'd on his own Profession. Theodoret, we see, calls him παιδίον, which properly signifies a little Child or Infant: And is the same Word that is used, Mark 10. 13. προσέφερον παιδιά, They brought young Children, and Matt. 2. 11. εὗρον τὸ παιδίον. They found the young Child wrapped in Swadling Cloaths. Gregory Nazianzen (5) says that he was there present with St. Basil at that time: And he compares the Emperor's Afflicting himself for his Child to David's, for his in the like Case, but mentions not the Age. Socrates (6) calls him νήπιον υἱὸν τοῦ Οὐδέλεντος, the Infant Son of Valens.

But there is among the Works of Ephraem Syrus publish'd in Latin, a Sermon on St. Basil, in which he mentions this Story; but speaks so of the Child, as if he had some Understanding of Religion; For he makes Basil covenant with Valens; If you will so deliver him to me, that I may bring him to the true Faith, and free him from the Impiety of the Arian Doctrine, &c. And again, They [the Arians] Baptized him with Water, but not with the Spirit, for they taught him to reject the Son of God, &c. But the Works of this Father which we have, are of such doubtful Credit (they must first have been Translated out of Syriac: For he understood no other Language, and they abound with very frivolous Stories) that a Quotation out of 'em cannot come in Competition with the received Historians.

§. II. Valensius (7) has gone about to find out by Chronological Characters the Age of this Child when he died: Not in any Enquiry about Infant-Baptism, but to set some Passages right in Chronology. He makes him

(4) Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 17. (5) Orat. in Basilium. (6) Hist. lib. 4. c. 26. (7) Annot. in Socrat. l. 4. c. 10, it. 26.

Year after the Apostles 250. him to be six Years old. The Proofs of it are something forc'd, and are too nice and far from our Purpose to be repeated here. He judges that it was he that was Consul *Anno Dom.* 369. with *Victor*, (tho' the Name there be *Valentinian*. and the Historians call this Child's Name *Galates*) and that *Socrates* mistook *Valentinian* the younger for this Child: And that it was on him that *Themistius* made that *Consular Oration* (for the Flattery of that time was to make Emperor's Infant Children, *Consuls*, and speak Orations to 'em) where he says, *Even while you are carried in Peoples Arms, you make War together with your Father.*

But suppose it were so; he must yet be baptiz'd with the Form of Infant-Baptism: For a Child of six Years old is capable of no other. And if he were so old as six Years, he must be born before his Father was Baptized into the Christian Religion himself. For by this Account this Child was born to *Valens* before the Victory over *Procopius* the Usurper, and so *Valesius* owns. Now that Victory was before the Beginning of *Valens* his War against the *Goths*: And it was in that War that he being minded to go to Battel in Person, (8) *thought not fit to go unprovided of the Divine Grace, but to guard himself with the Armour of Baptism.* And if the Child were born before his Father was Baptized, that might be the Reason that he was not Baptiz'd quickly after his Birth.

## C H A P. XIII.

### Quotations out of St. Ambrose.

*Ambrosius Comment. l. I. in St. Lucæ c. I.*

Year after the Apostles 274. §. I. **H**E is there Commenting on those Words, *Luke* 1. 17. where the Angel Prophesies of *John* the Baptist, *He shall go before him in the Spirit and Power of Elias.* And after having shewn in several particulars how *John* in his Office did resemble *Elias*, and having mentioned that Miracle of *Elias* of dividing the River *Jordan*, he adds these Words,

*Sed fortasse hoc supra nos & supra Apostolos videatur expletum. Nam ille sub Eliâ diviso amne fluvialium recursus undarum in originem fluminis (sicut dicit Scriptura; Jordanes conversus est retrorsum) significavit salutaris lavacri futura Mysteria; per que in primordia natura suæ qui baptizati fuerint parvuli à Malitiâ reformatur.*

But perhaps this may seem to be fulfilled in our time and in the Apostle's time. For that returning of the River Waters backward to- ward

(8) Theodoret. H. E. l. 4. c. 11, 12.



ward the Spring Head, which was caused by *Elias* when the River was divided (as the Scripture says, *Jordan was driven back*) signified the Sacrament of the laver of Salvation, which was afterward to be instituted; by which those *Infants* that are Baptized, are reformed back again from Wickedness [or, a wicked State] to the Primitive State of their Nature. Year after the Apostles 274.

He means, they are freed from the Guilt of original Sin, and in some Sense reduced back to the Primitive State, in which Man was before that happened. He plainly speaks here of Infants as baptized in the *Apostle's time*, as well as in his own: and makes St. *John* in baptizing Infants for the Reformation of their Nature back again to the primitive Purity of it, to resemble *Elias* in turning Back the Waters to their Spring head.

This Passage of St. *Ambrose* is Quoted by St. *Austin*, lib. 1. contra *Julian*. c. 2.

*Ambrosius l. 2. de Abraham. patriarchâ. c. 11.*

§. 2. He is here speaking of that part of the History of *Abraham*, where he is commanded to be Circumcised, and to Circumcise his Infants, and of the Severity of the Penalty on an Infant that is not Circumcised: And has these Words in Relation to Circumcision, *For a very good Reason does the Law command the Males to be Circumcised in the Beginning of Infancy, even the Bondslave born in the House: Because as Circumcision is from Infancy, so is the Disease. No time ought to be void of the Remedy, because none is void of Guilt, &c.* And a little after, *Neither a Profelyte that is old, nor an Infant born in the House is excepted; because every Age is obnoxious to Sin, and therefore every Age is proper for the Sacrament.* He also applies this to Spiritual Circumcision and Baptism; and says, *The Meaning of the Mystery is plain. Those born in the House are the Jews, those bought with Money are the Gentiles that believed: For the Church is bought with the Price of Christ's Blood. Therefore both Jew and Gentile and all that believe must learn to Circumcise themselves from Sin, that they may be saved. Both the Home-born and the Foreigner, the Just and the Sinful, must be Circumcised by the Forgiveness of Sins, so as not to practise Sin any more: For no Person comes to the Kingdom of Heaven but by the Sacrament of Baptism: And at the End of that Paragraph cites these Words of our Savior, giving his Note on 'em.*

*Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ & spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Utique nullum excipit: Non infantem, non aliqui præventum necessitate. Habeant tamen illam optatam panarum immunitatem, nescio an habeant regni honorem.*

For unless any Person be born again of Water, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. You see he excepts no Person, not an Infant, not one that is hindered by any unavoidable Accident.

But suppose that such have that Freedom from Punishment which is not clear, yet I Question whether they shall have the Honor of the Kingdom.

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This as to the need of Baptizing Infants is plain: But I know not what to make of the Word [*opertam*] in this Sentence, unless it be to be render'd as I have render'd it [*which is not clear: or, of which we have no certain Knowledge.*]

Many Writers of the *Greek Church* do speak of a certain middle State in the Life to come, in which Infants that die unbaptized, and also other Persons that miss of Baptism, not by their own Fault, but by some Accidental Hindrance, shall be placed; which Place or State, shall not, as they think, partake, or not much partake either of Happiness or Torment. *Gregory Nazianzen's* Words to that Purpose are in the (1) Passages I cited of his, and I shall have Occasion hereafter (2) to mention more. But this Opinion of a middle State seems not to have taken any footing in the *Latin Church* at this time; tho' it be since embraced by the Papists, under the Name of *limbus Puerorum*.

St. *Ambrose*, who was conversant in the *Greek Writers*, and, as St. *Hierom* (3) observes, borrow'd much out of their Works, had met with it there; and here mentions it, but calls it *opertam*, a thing not certainly revealed or known, but *hidden* and uncertain. His Meaning is, that since our Savior's Sentence of the Necessity of Baptism for entering the Kingdom of God, is general, and does not except Infants. It is very Questionable, whether an Infant unbaptiz'd can have the said Kingdom? And as for the middle State between Heaven and Hell, which some do suppose, it is to us a thing hidden or unknown whether there be any such State.

St. *Austin*, a little after these times, does earnestly labor to shew that there is no such State, tho' he had once so spoken as if he thought there might. I shall have Occasion to produce his Sayings on (4) one side and the (5) other. He is the more earnest at this latter Place against the middle State, because *Pelagius* had serv'd himself of this Notion to evade the Argument which is taken from the need that Infants have of Baptism, to prove that they have original Sin. For *Pelagius* said, they have no Sin; and if they dye unbaptized, they will not be punish'd, but be in that middle State.

The Quotations out of the Book *de Vocatione Gentium*, and *Epist. ad Demetriadem*, I have not, as many do, set down to St. *Ambrose*, because they are not his, but *Prosper's*, or Pope *Leo's*; who yet lived both of them but a little after our Period. Every body has read how largely *Prosper* there disputes against those that would maintain, that all the Grace of God depends upon our Use of Free-Will; shewing that they that use that Method of explaining the Events that happen, can never solve that Difficulty, *How it comes to pass that so great a Multitude of Infants dying unbaptized* [or, as he styles it, unregenerated] *do perish*. On which Argument he has a whole Chapter, pretending to shew that all must be attributed to God's free giving or refusing his Grace.

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(1) CH. XI. §. 6. (2) Patt 2. CH. VI. §. 4. (3) Præfat in lib. Didymi. (4) CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 1, 2. (5) CH. XIX. §. 10



## C H A P. XIV.

## Quotations out of St. John Chrysostom.

§. 1. **S**T. Chrysostom has had more of his Works published than any Year after the A-  
of the foregoing, because every thing that he preach'd or dicta-  
ted was thought fit to be publish'd; not that he had any greater Skill  
in Divinity than ordinary, but because of his Golden Tongue, from  
which he had this Name, and which made the People that us'd to hear  
him say, *They had rather the Sun should not shine, than that John should not*  
*Preach.* But of the Multitude that were publish'd a great many are lost;  
and, to make up the Defect, a great many spurious ones have been set  
out under his Name. The Industry and Skill of the latter Ages, and par-  
ticularly of Sir. Henry Savile, has in a good Degree fann'd and distin-  
guish'd the one from the other.

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Therefore I shall omit the Quotations about this Subject, that are found  
in those Books that are either plainly spurious, or suspected; tho' they  
are probably very Ancient, and of Men that lived at, or about the same  
time. Of the first sort is the *Homily* concerning *Adam* and *Eve*, in  
which is a Passage mentioning Infant Baptism; but it is plainly the  
Work of some later Author. Of the second is the *Homily* on *Psal. 14.*  
in which is a Passage of the same Subject, which is Quoted in this Con-  
troversie, by many learned Men, *Cassander*, &c. and even by Bp. (1)  
*Stillingsfleet*.

As for the Passages in his genuin Works, he has not many on this  
Subject: for Orators love only such Subjects as may be adorned with  
Flowers of Rhetoric, of which so plain a thing as the Baptizing of In-  
fants is not so capable; and for those which he has, I am not very con-  
fident that I have all that are in so many Voluminous Books: But  
those which I shall produce do plainly shew his Sense, and the Practice  
of the Churches where he liv'd, which were *Antioch* and *Constantinople*.

*Hom. 40. in Genesis, Edit. Savil. T. 1.*

He had been speaking of Circumcision, and observes how much more  
favorable and bountiful God is to the Christians in the Baptism which  
he has appointed to them in lieu thereof, and says,

*There was Pain and Trouble in the Practice of that, and no other Advantage*  
*accruing from the Circumcision, than this only; that by this Sign they were known*  
*and distinguish'd from other Nations, ἡ δὲ ὑμετέων βαπτισματὶ, λέ-*  
*γω, ἡδεὺς ἀνάδυστον ἔχει τὴν ἰσπεύαν καὶ μετὰν ἀγαθῶν ἐστέον ὁ γινέσθαι ὑμῶν, καὶ τῆς*  
N 2

(1) Unreasonableness of Sep. Part 3. ch. 36.

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τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁ ἡμᾶς ἐμπύλησι χάριτι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ αἰσχροῦν ἔχει καὶ ἐν καθάρᾳ ἐκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἔξεστ' ἢ ἐν ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἢ ἐν μέσῳ, ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γῆρα γνώμενον πνεύματι δέξασθαι τὴν ἀχειροποιήσιν δωρομένην· ὡς ἢ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πόνον ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἀμαρτημάτων ὀφθία σπυρίδαται ἢ τῶν ἐν παντὶ χρεῶν πλημμελημάτων συγχώρησιν ἐυρέσθαι. But our Circumcision, I mean the Grace of Baptism, gives Cure without Pain, and procures to us a thousand Benefits, and fills us with the Grace of the Spirit: And it has no determinate time, as that had; but one that is in the very Beginning of his Age, or one that is in the middle of it, or one that is in his old Age may receive this Circumcision made without Hands. In which there is no Trouble to be undergone, but to throw off the Load of Sins, and receive Pardon for all foregoing Offences.

That ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ signifies here, as I have render'd it, the Beginning of Age, or Infancy, appears both by the Sense, and also by his Use of the same Word in the (2) Homily before, where giving the Reasons why Circumcision was appointed the 8th Day, he makes this to be one:

1. Because the cutting of the Flesh is more easily born ἐν ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ in the Beginning of the Age, or Infancy.
2. And his other Reason is, That they might understand by the thing it self that it signified nothing to the Soul, but was given for a Mark of Distinction; and then he there again uses the same Word, τὸ ὅδ' αὖτον παιδίον τὸ μὴ γινώσκον τὰ γινόμενα, μηδὲ αἰσθάνειν πρᾶξιν, &c. For a New-born Child, that knows not what is done to him, nor has any Sense, what Profit for his Soul can he receive thereby, &c. The Word ἀσπρῇ which in some Authors signifies, unreasonable, or, out of Time, signifies with him newly begun, or that has had no time pass over it.

'Tis a very singular Notion in Divinity of this Father, to say that Circumcision had no spiritual Import, but was only a Badge of National Distinction. The Scripture, and the Fathers too, generally speak of it as the Seal (3) of the Righteousness of the Faith that Abraham had, and the (4) Covenant, or, Seal of the Covenant that God made with him and his Seed. And that contains something more than that they should be known from other Nations. It was that he (5) would be their God, and they his People.

Also to argue, that Circumcision could signify nothing to the Soul, because it was given ἐν ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ in Infancy, at the same Place where one is to shew that Baptism (which, as he himself grants, may also be given ἐν ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ in Infancy) does convey so many spiritual Benefits, betray's some Inadvertency or Forgetfulness of what he had said before.

§. 2. But it is more to our present Purpose to observe the other Difference that he makes. Circumcision was to be given on the 8th Day: But Baptism has no determinate time, but it is lawful that one in Infancy, or one in middle Age, or one in old Age do receive it. Was it not the same in Circumcision? If Circumcision had been omitted in Infancy, or if it were a Heathen



Heathen who came over to the Jewish Religion in middle Age, or old Age, Circumcision was given then, rather than not at all.

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Or is his Meaning this, that a Jew was obliged to Circumcise his Child in Infancy, but a Christian Parent may baptize his Child in Infancy, if he please; or he may, if he please, let it alone to be done at middle, or at old Age? His Words, as they stand here, might be capable of such a Sense; but this is not reconcileable with what he says in other Places of the Necessity of Baptism, and the Danger in Case a Person die without it, which would often happen to Children, if it were so deferred. He often speaks to this Purpose, as *Hom. 1. de pœnitentiâ*: *Περὶ τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν οὗτοι πατράων λαβάν ἢ δεῖσθαι κληρονομίαν*. And again *Οὐδεὶς τῷ ὑπὸ βαπτίσματι ἀνκληθεὶς χρεὶς*. *There is no receiving or having the bequeathed Inheritance before one is baptized; and none can be called a Son till he is baptized.* And I have Occasion to Quote more of his to this Purpose at (6) another Place. St. *Austin* Quotes a Saying of his to this purpose (7) in his Disputes with *Julian* (if he do not mistake an Oration of St. *Basil's* for one of St. *Chrysostom's*; for the Words are the same which I recited of St. *Basil's*) St. *Austin* is there proving that *Chrysostom*, as well as the other Catholic Doctors, owned original Sin; which *Julian* denied, tho' he owned Infant Baptism.

The same Holy John, even he as well as the Martyr Cyprian, teaches that the Circumcision of the Flesh was commanded in Way of a Type of Baptism. Then he recites these Words, as from *Chrysostom*, *A Jew does not delay Circumcision because of the Threatning, &c. and dost thou delay the Circumcision made without Hands, &c.* as they stand recited (8) above. Then St. *Austin* adds, *You see how this Man establish'd in the Ecclesiastical Doctrin compares Circumcision to Circumcision, and Threat to Threat: That which it is not to be Circumcised on the 8th Day; that it is not to be Baptized in Christ: and what it is to be cut off from his People; that it is not to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And yet you [Pelagians] say that in the Baptism of Infants there is no putting off the Flesh, i. e. No Circumcision made without Hands; when you affirm that they have nothing which needs to be put off: For you do not confess them to be dead in the (9) Uncircumcision of the Flesh, by which is meant Sin, especially that Sin which is derived originally: for by reason of this, our Body is the Body (10) of Sin, which the Apostles says is destroyed by the Cross of Christ.*

§. 3. There is another passage in a Homily of St. *Chrysostom ad Baptizatos*, which is not now extant in Greek; but is cited by *Julian* in Latin, and by St. *Austin* in Greek, which is full to this Purpose of Infant Baptism. The Citations are in St. *Austin's* l. 1. *contra Julianum*; where *Julian* says thus.

Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople, denies that there is any original Sin in Infants; for in that Homily which he preache concerning Baptized Persons, he says,

'Blessed

(6) Part 2. ch. 6. (7) L. 2. contra Julianum c. 9. (8) CH. XII. §. 5. (9) Col. 2. 13. (10) Rom. 6. 6.

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'Blessed be God, who only does Wonders, who has Created and Or-  
der'd all Things: Loe! they do enjoy the Serenity of Freedom, who  
'but even now were held in Captivity: They are become Citizens of  
'the Church, who were in the Vagabond State of Aliens; and they  
'are enter'd into the Lot of the Righteous, who were under the Con-  
'fusion of Sin. For they are not only Free, but Saints; nor Saints  
'only, but Justified; and not only Justified, but Sons; and not only  
'Sons, but Heirs; not Heirs only, but Brothers of Christ; not only his  
'Brethren, but Coheirs; not Coheirs only, but Members of him; not  
'Members only, but his Temple; and not his Temple only, but Organs  
'of his Spirit. You see how many are the Benefits of Baptism. And  
'yet some think that the Heavenly Grace consists only in Forgiveness of  
'Sins: but I have reckon'd up ten Advantages of it. *For this Cause we*  
'*baptize Infants also, tho' they are not defiled with Sin*; that there may be  
'superadded to them Saintship, Righteousness, Adoption, Inheritance,  
'a Brotherhood with Christ, and to be made Members of him.

§. 4. This Sentence *Julian* brought to shew that *Chrysostom's* Sense  
was; that Infants are Baptiz'd, not for Forgiveness of Sins, from which  
they are free; but only that they might have a Right to Christ's King-  
dom: Which was exactly what *Julian* and his Party, who denied Ori-  
ginal Sin, would have.

And indeed it was a shrewd Place; and St. *Austin* has much ado to  
reconcile it to any good and catholic Sense; he uses three Ways to do  
it.

1. He shews how improbable it was that *John*, living in the Catho-  
lic Church, and being a renowned Bishop in it, should really hold a  
Doctrin so contrary to that which he had shewn by Instances to be the  
general Sense of all Catholic Doctors.

2. He produces other Passages out of his Writings, which do plainly  
own the Orthodox Doctrin of the Guilt of Original Sin; however in-  
congruously he may seem to speak in this Place.

3. As to the Place it self, he shews that *Julian* had not translated the  
Words exactly true, but had given the Expression a Turn to his own  
Advantage: for whereas the Words are in the Greek, *tho' they have not*  
*any Sins*; *Julian* had made use of a faulty Latin Translation, in which  
some Copies read, *not defiled with Sins*, others, *with Sin*, in the singular  
Number. Of which last Copy St. *Austin* says, *I doubt some of your Par-  
ty have chosen to express it in the singular Number, that it might be taken*  
*for that one Sin, of which the Apostle speaks: (11) Judgment came by one*  
*[Sin] to Condemnation; but the free Gift is of many Offences unto Ju-  
stification.—You choose to word it; not defiled with Sin: that that one Sin*  
*of the first Man might come into the Reader's Mind.*

*But not to go by Suspensions; and supposing this to be the Mistake of the Scribe,  
or the Variety of the Interpreter: I will set down the Greek Words themselves*  
*which*



which John spoke, Διδόντες ὅτι τὰ παιδία βαπτίζομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἁμαρτίας. *Year after the Apostles*  
 Which is, For this Reason we Baptize Infants also, tho' they have not any Sins. You see, he did not say that Infants are not defiled with Sin, or Sins; but that they have not any Sins: Understand it, of their own, and there is no Dispute. But you will say, Why did he not say, of their own? Why do you think, but for this Reason, because he, discoursing in the Catholic Church, suppos'd that he could be understood in no other Sense? No Body was puzzled about that Matter. You [Pelagians] not having then rais'd any Controversie, he spoke with less Caution. 280.

Perhaps there might have been added to St. Austin's Answer this, that the Greek Writers, tho' they own this natural Corruption, yet do not generally by the Property of their Language call it by the Name of Sin; but they express by the Name of natural Defilement, Pollution, Disease, and the like, that which the Latins call Original Sin. The Word ἁμαρτία, and especially ἀνομία do properly with them signify an Actual Sin or Transgression. So Theodoret who liv'd a little after these Times, and consequently ought to speak with more Caution, and was no Favourer of Pelagianism (for that was a Time when Pelagius and his Opinions having been lately condemned by Canons and Edicts in all Parts of the World, it was no Time for a Bishop of the Catholic Church to own them) yet speaks thus; (12) Baptism is not (as the silly Messalians say,) a Razor only to cut off Sins that are past, which it does over and above. For if it had no other Effect but that; What need we baptize Infants, that have not tasted of Sin? The Sacrament promises not this only, but greater and higher Things; for it is a Pledge of future Blessings, a Type of the Resurrection, a Commemoration of Christ's Passion, &c. 320.

And this is made more plain by the Phrase used by Isidorus Pelusiota (who as well as Theodoret was a Disciple of St. Chrysostom, and both of 'em Followers of his Doctrin, and Imitators, as far as they could, of his Expression.) For he, at the same Place, speaks of Infants as not having any Sin, and yet being defiled with the Corruption caused by Adam's Transgression. His Words are, (13)

Whereas your Excellency wrote to me, desiring to know for what Reason ἀνευ ἁμαρτίας ὄντα βαπτίζονται, Infants that have no Sin are baptized. I have thought it needful to give you my Answer. Some that speak below the Dignity of the Subject, say it is, that they may wash off that Pollution, ρύπον, which is transmitted on human Nature by the Transgression of Adam. I also do believe that that is done; but not that only (for that were not so great a Matter) but that a great many other Graces far transcending our Nature, are thereby given. And so he goes on to reckon up Redemption, Regeneration, Adoption, &c. much to the same Purpose as St. Chrysostom does.

This shews that in their way of Speaking, Infants (tho' acknowledged to have a Pollution of Nature from Adam which needed washing off) yet

(12) Hæretic. Fabular. l. 5. c. de Baptismo, (13) Lib. 3. Epist. 195. ad Hermipum Comitem.

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yet were said not to have *ἀμαρτίας* or *ἀμαρτήματα*, Sins. And even those Commendations of Baptism, and the Effects of it in Infants, that it is Redemption, Regeneration, &c. do suppose an evil State from which they are Redeemed, Regenerated, &c. which State is the same that the *Latins* call Original Sin.

But be that how it will; St. Chrysostom speaks plainly of the Practice of Infant-Baptism. And our present Inquiry is to know the Practice of the Churches, and not whether he had a Right Apprehension of all the Grounds of it. If any in these Times used it, and did not well apprehend the Grounds of it; it is the greater Sign that they were satisfied that it had ever been done.

*Chrysost. Hom. 23. in Acta Apost.*

§. 5. He is there bemoaning that evil Inclination, and that Aversion to a godly Life, that is universally found in Men; which keeps from receiving of Baptism those that are not yet baptiz'd, and perverts from a godly Course of Life even those that have received it. And on that Head says thus; Οἱ μὲν ἐν κατηχούμενοι τῷ σπασσάζοντες ἐδεμίαν ποιῆσαι ἀπαιτείαν ὁρθῆ βίης. Οἱ δὲ ἢ ἥδη φαρμακύντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπεὶ παῖδες ὄντες τὸτο ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀρρώστῳ καὶ ἀνενεγκόμενοι ἐπειδὴ μὴ εἶχον σθεθυμίαν πρὸς ζῆσαι διὰ Θεόν, ἐδὲ ἔπειτα σπασθὲν πῆθειναι. Οἱ δὲ ἐν υἰαίᾳ λαβόντες, ἐλίγην ταύτην καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνδύκνουσαι, καὶ ὥς τὸ πλεον διατεθύντες θερμαὶ, μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἔπει τὸ πῶρ ἔσβεσαν. *The Catechumens being of this Mind [i. e. having this Aversion] take no Care of a godly Life. And those that are baptiz'd, some of 'em forasmuch as they were Children when they received it, and some for that they received it in a Fit of Sicknes, having no Mind to live godly, shew no good Inclination. And they that received it in their Health shew but very little: having been for the present zealously affected, afterward even they let this Fire of Zeal go out.*

Here it plainly appears that Part of the People he speaks to (*viz.* those that had been born of Christian baptized Parents) had been baptiz'd in Infancy: and Part of 'em (*viz.* those that had turn'd Christians in their adult Age) had been baptized since: and some of the last sort were not yet baptized.

§. 6. Another Passage of St. Chrysostom does not mention Baptism by Name; but yet it plainly refers to the Custom of making on the Infant's Forehead the Sign of the Cross at his Baptism. It is this,

*Hom. 12. in 1. Epist. ad Corinthios. (14)*

He is there blaming the Women for several superstitious and heathenish Rites, which they practis'd upon their new-born Infants; one was, a Custom that they had of rubbing the Forehead of the Child with a sort of Dirt, prepared with some Magical Tricks, which was to preserve it from



from being bewitch'd. He tells 'em that such a Practice, instead of guarding and purifying the Infant makes it abominable: The Words are,

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Ὁ βερβέρου χεῖραν πῶς ἐχέει βδελυκτὸν πιεῖ τὸ παιδίον; πῶς δὲ αὐτὸ προσάγει ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ ἱερέως; εἰπέ μοι, πῶς ἀξιοῖς ὅτι τὸ μετώπῳ σφραγίσαι ὅτι τεθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου χεῖρὸς ἴδου τὸν βέρβερὸν ἐπέχειαι.

'He that anoints an Infant so with that Dirt, How can he think but that he makes it abominable? How can he bring it to the Hands of the Priest? Tell me, How can you think it fitting for the Minister to make the Sign on its Forehead, where you have besmear'd it with the Dirt?

## CHAP. XV.

Quotations out of St. *Hierom* and St. *Austin*, before the Rise of the *Pelagian* Controversie.

Sett. 1. out of St. *Hierom's* Letter to *Leta*.

THERE was never nigh so much Occasion given to mention the Baptism of Infants in Books and Writings, before *Pelagius* vented his Heresie against the Doctrin of Original Sin, as there was after that Heresie was started: For as the Disputes about that Matter fill'd all the World, so the Arguments which the Catholics drew from the Baptism of Infants for Original Sin, and the *Pelagians* Answer to 'em, made a considerable Part of those Disputes.

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These two Fathers liv'd to see, and to bear a great Part in the said Disputes; but they had each of 'em wrote several Books before that Controversie began. The Quotations out of their Tracts against the *Pelagians* will be best understood if put in a Chapter by themselves, together with some others out of *Pelagius* himself, and other Managers of the same Party, and ranked according to the Order of Time in which they were written; for they were mostly written by way of Impleading and Answering one another. I have therefore in this Chapter selected some Passages out of such Writings of theirs as were before the said Controversie, or did not at all relate to it: That the mixing of them may not disturb the Order of the other.

*Hieronymus Epist. ad Letam de Institutione filie. Epist. 7.*

He is there admonishing that Lady of the Charge that lay on her Conscience to take Care of the Education of her Child, and that God does require of Parents an Account of the Child's Miscarriage, if it happen by their Fault, and says,

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Eli the Priest brought on himself the Anger of God for the Faults of his Children. He must not be a Bishop that has Children riotous or unruly. On the other side it is (1) written of a Woman, that she shall be saved in [or, by] the Procreating of Children, if they shall continue in Faith, and Charity, and Holiness with Modesty. If their adult Age, when they are at their own Dispose, be imputed to their Parents; how much more the Time of their Infancy and tender Years, which, as the Scripture says, is not able to distinguish the right Hand from the Left, i. e. knows not the Difference of Good and Evil? Then follows this Objection.

*Et quomodo, inquires, peccata parentum filiis non redduntur, nec filiorum parentibus, sed anima que peccaverit ipsa morietur?*

*Hoc de his dicitur qui possunt sapere, de quibus in Evangelio scriptum est; Etatem habet, loquatur pro se. Qui autem parvulus est & sapit ut parvulus, donec ad annos sapientie veniat, & Pythagora litera Y eum perducit ad bivium; tam bona ejus quam mala parentibus imputantur. Nisi forte existimas Christianorum filios, si baptismum non receperint, ipsos tantum reos esse peccati; & non etiam scelus referri ad eos qui dare noluerint: maxime eo tempore quo contradicere non poterant qui accepturi erant. Sicut e regione [alius, sic in regione vite] salus infantium majorum lucrum est.*

‘And how then is it true, you’ll say, that the Sins of the Fathers are not imputed to the Children, nor those of the Children to the Fathers, but the Soul that sinneth, it shall die?’

‘This is said of those that have Understanding; of such as he was of whom it is written in the Gospel, *He is of Age, let him speak for himself.* But he that is a Child, and thinks as a Child (till such time as he comes to Years of Discretion, and Pythagoras’s Letter Y do bring him to the Place where the Road parts into two) his good Deeds, as well as his evil Deeds, are imputed to his Parents. Unless you will think that the Children of Christians are themselves only under the Guilt of the Sin, if they do not receive Baptism: And that the Wickedness is not imputed to those also who would not give it ’em; especially at that time when they that were to receive it could make no Opposition against the Receiving it. As also on the other side [or, as also in the Kingdom of Life] the Salvation of Infants is the Advantage of their Parents.

278 Tho’ St. Hierom calls himself an Old Man in one Part of this Epistle; yet it was written a great while (30 Years at least) before his Death, and consequently 20 Years before Pelagius vented his new Opinion. For he speaks here of *Eustochium*, who was this Lady’s Husband’s Sister, as a young Girl; and yet his Epistle to the said *Eustochium*, *de virginitate servandâ*, was written 30 Years before his Epistle to *Demetrias* on the same Subject, as he himself observes in the latter.

His mentioning how great a Sin it would be in Christian Parents to neglect the Baptizing of their Infants, renders that improbable (which yet



yet some learned Men of late have supposed to be true) that his own Parents (who, as it seems, were Christians) had neglected the Baptizing of him in Infancy: and that he was not Baptized till he came to Rome. Of which Opinion, and the Mistake on which it is grounded, I must say something, as also of some other such Instances, in a (2) Chapter on that Subject.

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*Sect. 2. Out of St. Austin's Book de Sermone Domini in Monte.*

St. Austin was a Man of Note in the Church, and continued Writing of Books for 40 Years and more. There never was any one Man whose Pains were so successful in healing the Wounds of the Church, caused by Schisms and Heresies. His moderate and popular way of Arguing had a great Effect. Beside his writing against the *Manichees*, of whom he had been one, and some *Arians* that were then yet left; he had a main hand in reducing the *Donatists*, and confuting the *Pelagians*. These later began but 20 Years before he died, viz. Anno Dom. 410. and he had wrote several Books before they appeared. The Quotations that I shall produce at present are out of those former Books. One is that which I briefly mention'd (3) before, viz. in his

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*Lib. 1. de Sermone Domini in Monte, c. 27.*

He being there to explain that Part of our Savior's Sermon which forbids Divorce, takes Occasion to cite that Advice of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 12. that a Christian should not put away his Wife, tho' she as yet continued in Heathenism or Unbelief. And repeats the Words that follow in the Text, and gives his Paraphrase upon 'em, thus,

Sanctificatus est enim, inquit, vir infidelis in uxore fideli: Et Sanctificata est mulier infidelis in fratre fideli.

*Credo jam provenerat ut nonnulla famina per viros fideles, & viri per uxores fideles in fidem venirent: Et quamvis non dicens nomina, exemplis tamen exhortatus est ad confirmandum consilium suum. Deinde sequitur,*

*Alioquin filii vestri immundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt.*

*Jam enim erant parvuli Christiani, qui sive authore uno ex parentibus, sive utroque consentiente sanctificati erant: Quod non fieret si uno credente dissociaretur conjugium, & non toleraretur infidelitas conjugum usque ad opportunitatem credendi.*

'For, says he, (4) an unbelieving Husband has been sanctified by his believing Wife; and an unbelieving Wife by her believing Husband.

I suppose it had then happen'd that several Wives had been brought to the Faith by their believing Husbands; and Husbands by their believing Wives. And tho' he does not mention their Names, yet he makes use of their Example to confirm his Advice. Then it follows,

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Else were your Children unclean, but now are they Holy.  
For there were then Christian Infants that were Sanctified [or, made Holy,  
i. e. that were Baptized] some by the Authority of one of their Parents, some  
by the Consent of both: Which would not be, if as soon as one Party believed,  
the Marriage were dissolved, and the Infidelity of the Parties were not born  
with till there were an Opportunity of Believing.

Here we see St. *Austin's* Sense of that Expression of St. *Paul*, which  
has been of late the Subject of so much Debate. He judges St. *Paul's*  
Meaning to be this; It is advisable for a Christian Husband, whose  
Wife will not as yet own the Faith of Christ, not to put her away;  
because it is probable that he may in time gain her to the true Religion:  
Such Examples are by God's Grace very frequent. You commonly see  
the unbelieving Party Sanctified, or brought to Faith and Baptism, by  
the Believing one. Were it not so, that the Faith of the one did ge-  
nerally prevail against the Infidelity of the other; the Children of such  
would be generally left in their unclean State, and be brought up to  
Heathenism: whereas we see now on the contrary that those of you that  
live in a State of Marriage with Unbelievers, do generally so far pre-  
vail by God's Grace, that your Children are made Holy, or Sanctified and  
Dedicated to the true God by Baptism.

If this Explication do seem remote to us now; it is because we do not  
so frequently as they did, use the Word Sanctification and Sanctified for  
Baptism and Baptized. I believe it is not so little as a hundred times,  
that St. *Austin* for one, when he is to speak of Infants or other Persons,  
Baptized or to be Baptized, expresses it Sanctified, as we see he does  
here. If the Reader pleases, he may turn back to CH. XI. §. 9. where  
there is more said of that Matter. And by what I shall produce (5) here-  
after, it will appear that most of the Ancients understood this Text as  
St. *Austin* does.

### SECT. 3. out of St. *Austin's* Books of *Free-will*.

#### *Augustinus de libero arbitrio lib. 3. c. 23.*

§. 1. This Treatise St. *Austin* wrote when he was a (6) young Man, a-  
gainst the *Manichees* who maintain, that as there is one eternal Principle  
or God that made the Soul and all good Things, so there is another  
that has Created the Body, and is the Author of all Wickedness, and  
other Evils and Calamities; and that one of these comes from a neces-  
sary Principle as well as the other.

St. *Austin* shews that God created Man with a Free-will, and that all  
Sin comes from the ill Use of that Free-will: And that all other Evils  
are Punishments for Sin; and that every one shall be judged according as  
he

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(5) CH. XIX. §. 19. (6) Aug. *Retractat.* l. 1. c. 9.



he has either used that Freedom of Will to Good or abused it to Evil: Year after the Apostles 258.

Some ignorant People make a slanderous Objection against this Doctrin, on Account of Infants dying, and of the bodily Pains we often see them suffer: For they say, 'To what Purpose was such a one born, since he died before he merited any thing? Or what Place shall he have in the future Judgment, who can't be among the Righteous because he never did any Good, nor among the Wicked, since he never Sinned? To which we answer, That in the Constitution of the Universe, and the fit Connexion of all the Creation in its Places and Times, no human Person can have been Created without Reason, where not so much as the Leaf of a Tree is superfluously made. But that that is a superfluous Question which they put of the Merits of one that never merited any thing: For they need not fear that it should so happen, that there can be a Life in a middle State between Good and Bad, and not a Sentence of the Judge in a middle Way between Reward and Punishment.

*Quo loco etiam illud perscrutari homines solent, Sacramentum Baptismi Christi quid parvulis prosit; cum eo accepto plerunque moriuntur priusquam ex eo quidquam cognoscere potuerunt. Qui in re satis pie recteque creditur prodesse parvulo eorum fidem à quibus consecrandus offertur. Et hoc Ecclesiæ commendat saluberrima autoritas, ut ex eo quisque sentiat quid sibi prosit fides sua, quando in aliorum quoque beneficium qui propriam nondum habent, potest aliena commodari. Quid enim proffit filio viduæ fides sua, quam utique mortuus non habebat? Cui tamen proffit matris, ut resurgetur.*

On which Head Men are wont to ask this Question also, 'What Good the Sacrament of Christ's Baptism does to Infants? Whereas after they have received it, they often die before they are able to understand any thing of it. As to which Matter it is piously and truly believed, that the Faith of those by whom the Child is offer'd to be Consecrated, profits the Child. And this the most sound Authority of the Church does commend, that hence every one may judge how profitable his own Faith will be to himself, when even another Person's Faith is useful for the Advantage of those that have as yet none of their own. For how could the Widow's Son (7) be holpen by his own Faith, whereof being dead he could have none? And yet his Mother's Faith was useful for his being rais'd to Life again.

§. 2. About 40 Years after the Writing of this Book (when Pelagianism had in the mean time arisen and sunk again) some Semipelagians in France, who held still that Opinion of Pelagius, that Infants dying unbaptized shall, tho' they miss of the Kingdom of Heaven, yet live eternally without Punishment, made use of these Words of St Austin to uphold their Tenet; as if he had therein express'd himself in Favor of the Opinion of such a middle State.

Of this, and of other their Objections, one Hilary gives him Notice by Letter. (8) They plead, says he, that the Case of Infants is not to be made

(7) Luke 7. 12. (8) Epistolâ libro de prædestinatione Sanctorum prælati.

Year af- made an Example for that of grown Persons. And even as to the Case of Infants :  
 ter the A. They say your Holiness so spoke of it as if you would have it counted an uncertain  
 p 4es thing whether there be any Punishment for them : And the Negative to be more  
 286. probable. And you may remember that in your third Book concerning Free-  
 Will your Words are such as might give them this Occasion.

But St. Austin in Answer, (9) shews that they mistook what he spoke Hypothetically, and *ad Hominem* against the Manichees, for a positive Speech. Suppose, says he, that at that Time when I began my Books of Free-will, being then but a Layman at Rome, or when I made an end of 'em, being then but a Presbyter in Africa, I had been unresolved of that Point, that Infants not Regenerated are under Condemnation, and that those that are Regenerated are thereby freed from it. I hope there is no Man so unjust or envious as to be against my learning better.

But whereas the Truth is, that I ought not therefore to be thought to make any Question of that Matter, because I judg'd it fit to confute those against whom I disputed, in such a manner, that whether there be any Punishment for Original Sin in Infants, as the Truth is ; or there be not, as some mistaken People think : Yet still that Mixture of the Natures of Good and Evil, which the Manichees fondly maintain, would have no reason to be believed. God forbid that I should leave the Matter of Infants so, as to say it is uncertain whether those that are Regenerated in Christ, if they die in Infancy, do come to eternal Salvation ; and those who are not Regenerated do fall into the second Death. Whereas that which is written, By (10) one Man Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and so it past upon all Mankind, can no otherwise be understood.

This Answer which he gives to the Reflections which the Semipelagians made upon these his first Writings may serve now for an Answer to that which Grotius has reflected on 'em in like Manner : He says, (11) That St. Austin before he was heated with the Pelagian Disputes, never Wrote any thing of the Condemnation of unbaptiz'd Infants, not even to those lesser Pains in the World to come : Intimating that he was not of that Opinion before. But supposing that were true that he did not in his former Writings mention that Matter ; yet if we may believe him for his own Sense, it was not but that he understood the thing to be so at the time of Writing this Book : But he had not the same Occasion to speak of it that he had afterward.

This he more plainly expresses in a Letter (12) to St. Hierom Written in the Heat of the Pelagian Controversie, where having made Mention of this Book and this Place ; he says, for in that Book I did make Answer concerning the Baptism of Infants, non sufficienter, sed quantum illi operi fatis videbatur ; not handling it fully, but as far as was needful in that Work ; that it does profit even those that are not sensible of it, and have as yet no Faith of their own. But I thought it not needful at that time to say any thing concerning the Condemnation of those Infants that depart this Life without it : Quia non quod nunc agitur agebatur : Because there was none of that Dispute raised then, which is now.

But

(9) Lib. de bono perseverantiæ. c. 12. (10) Rom. 5. 12. (11) Annot in Mat. 19. 14. (12) Epist. 28.



But I shall by and by (13) have Occasion to shew that in other Pieces Written before the *Pelagian* times, he speaks of their Condemnation.

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## Sect. 4. out of St. *Austin's* Books against the *Donatists*.

*Augustinus de Baptismo contra Donatistas. lib. 4. c. 15.*

§. 1. **S**T. *Austin* wrote this Treatise, and many others, against the *Do-*  
*natists*; a Party of Christians in *Africa*, who had made a Schism  
from the Church sometime before he was born, on the Account of one  
*Cecilian* a Bishop; who, as they said, had in times of Persecution, under  
the Heathen Emperors, denied his Religion by giving up the Bible to be  
burnt; and yet afterward was suffer'd to continue and do the Office of  
a Bishop in the Church.

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*Cecilian* denied the matter of Fact, and it could not be plainly prov'd:  
But these Men were so peremptory and so fierce against him, as not on-  
ly to renounce him, but also to renounce the Communion of the Church,  
which suffer'd him to continue among them in his Office. And it came  
to such a Height, that in St. *Austin's* time their Party, which was ve-  
ry numerous, did so abhor the settled Church; that if any one who had  
been Baptized in the Church, came over to them, they told him, the Ba-  
ptism which he had received in so impure and defiled a Church, and from  
the Hands of such wicked Men, was null and void; and so they Baptiz-  
ed him anew. The Church did not so with them; but if any that had  
been Baptized by them came over to the Church, he was received as one  
whose Baptism was valid, tho' given by Schismatics.

St. *Austin* manages thus: He shews the Want of Proof of the Accu-  
sation, by producing the Acts of Court and Records by which *Cecilian*  
had been acquitted. But besides, shews that suppose it were true, one  
is not to forsake a Church because of one or more wicked Men that are  
suffer'd in it. And particularly in this Treatise sets forth the Impiety of  
their Practice in re-batizing. He shews that Baptism once given in the  
right Form, *viz.* in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is valid:  
How Heretical or Impure soever the Church be in which, or how Wicked  
soever the Man be, from whose Hands he receives it. [One may  
here note by the By, that this Rule of St. *Austin* does by the Consent  
of most Ancients hold good, except in the Case of the *Paulianists*, who  
seem to have kept the Words of the Form (tho' St. *Austin* had been  
inform'd otherwise) and yet their Opinion concerning Christ was so ab-  
horr'd

Year after Year as horrid by the Christians that the Council of *Nice* order'd them to be re-baptiz'd, as I shall shew (14) hereafter]. He shews that the Baptism is Christ's and not the Minister's. And the Validity thereof depends on God's Authority, not on the Goodness or Sincerity of the Person that Officiates. And consequently that those who had been Baptized by *Cecilian*, or any other wicked Bishop, were to be accounted to have their Baptism valid: And the Priests ordained by him, were capable of giving Baptism to others.

§. 2. He goes on to shew by the Example of *Simon Magus*, that Baptism received with a wicked Heart and Purpose (which is a worse Circumstance) is yet valid: And that such a Man is to repent of his Wickedness, but not to be baptized again. And if a Man that is baptized in the Name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, have at that time some unsound Opinion concerning the Trinity or any Person thereof; he is to reform his Opinion, but not to renew his Baptism.

And he proves this by the Example of those who are Baptized young, when they have but an uncouth Sense; or Infants, when they have no Sense at all, of the Articles of Faith, in these Words,

*Unde multi post baptismum proficientes, & maxime qui infantes vel pueri baptizati sunt, quanto magis intellectus eorum serenatur & illuminatur, dum interior homo renovatur de die in diem, priores suas opiniones quas de Deo habebant, cum suis phantasmatibus ludifcarentur, irrident, & detestantes atque confutantes abjiciunt. Nec tamen ideo non accepisse baptismum existimantur, aut talem accepisse baptismum qualis fuit error ipsorum. Sed in eis & Sacramenti integritas honoratur, & mentis vanitas emendatur.*

So that many Persons encreasing in Knowledge after their Baptism, and especially those who have been Baptized either when they were Infants, or when they were Youths; as their Understanding is cleared and enlightned, and their inward Man renewed Day by Day, do themselves deride, and with Abhorrence and Confession renounce the former Opinions which they had of God, when they were imposed on by their own Imaginations. And yet they are not therefore accounted either not to have received Baptism, or to have received a Baptism of that Nature that their Error was. But in their Case both the Validity of the Sacrament is acknowledg'd, and the Vanity of their Understanding rectified.

§. 3. And a little after, c. 23. He having had Occasion to speak of the Penitent Thief, who obtained Salvation without Baptism, shews that that is no more an Argument against the Necessity of Baptism, where it may be had, than the Example of baptized Infants obtaining Salvation without Faith, is an Argument against the Necessity of Faith, where the Subject is capable of it. But that it is an Argument that one of these may be without the other; and so that Heretics, who neither have nor do teach the right Faith, yet may give true Baptism (if they give it in the



the right Form) which ought not to be reiterated when the Party comes to the true Faith.

For that was one thing with which the *Donatists* upbraided the Catholics, that they received Heretics that came over to them, without giving 'em a new Baptism.

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He concludes this Fourth Book with these Words,

*Sicut autem in latrone, quia per necessitatem baptismus defuit, perfecta salus est; quia per pietatem spiritualiter affuit: Sic & cum ipse præsto est, si per necessitatem desit quod latroni affuit, perficitur salus. Quod traditum tenet universitas ecclesie cum parvuli infantes baptizantur; qui certè nondum possunt corde credere ad justitiam & ore confiteri ad salutem, quod latro potuit: Quinetiam flendo & vagiendo cum in eis Mysterium celebratur; ipsis mysticis vocibus obstrepunt. Et tamen nullus Christianorum dixerit eos inaniter baptizari.*

Et si quisquam in hâc re Divinam autoritatem querat: Quanquam quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec Conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi autoritate Apostolicâ traditum rectissime creditur: Tamen veraciter conjicere possumus quid valeat in parvulis baptismi Sacramentum ex Circumcisione carnis quam prior populus accepit. Quam priusquam acciperet justificatus est Abraham, sicut Cornelius etiam dono spiritûs sancti priusquam baptizaretur ditatus est: Dicit tamen Apostolus de ipso Abraham; signum accepit Circumcisionis, signaculum fidei justitiæ quâ jam corde crediderat & deputatum ei erat ad justitiæ. Cur ergo ei præceptum est ut omnem deinceps infantem masculum octavo die circumcideret, qui nondum poterat corde credere ut ei deputaretur ad Justitiæ, nisi quia & ipsum per seipsum Sacramentum multum valebat?

— Sicut ergo in Abraham præcessit fidei justitiæ, & accessit circumcisio signaculum justitiæ fidei: Ita in Cornelio præcessit sanctificatio spiritalis in dono spiritûs sancti, & accessit sacramentum regenerationis in lavacro baptismi. Et sicut in Isaac qui octavo sue nativitatis die circumcisus est, præcessit signaculum justitiæ fidei: Et (quoniam patris fidem imitatus est) secuta est in crescente ipsa justitiæ cujus signaculum in infante præcesserat. Ita & in baptizatis infantibus præcedit regenerationis sacramentum, & (si Christianam tenuerint pietatem) sequitur in corde conversio, cujus Mysterium præcessit in corpore. Et sicut in illo latrone quod ex baptismi Sacramento defuerat complevit Omnipotentis benignitas, quia non superbiâ vel contemptu sed necessitate defuerat: Sic in infantibus qui baptizati moriuntur eadem gratia Omnipotentis implere credenda est, quod non ex impiâ voluntate sed ex ætatis indigentia nec credere ad justitiæ possunt nec ore confiteri ad salutem. Ideo cum alii pro eis respondeant, ut impleatur erga eos celebratio sacramenti; valet utique ad eorum consecrationem: Quia ipsi respondere non possunt. At si pro eo qui respondere potest alius respondeat, non itidem valet. — Quibus rebus omnibus ostenditur aliud esse sacramentum baptismi, aliud conversionem cordis; sed salutem hominis ex utroque compieri: Nec si unum horum defuerit, idcirco putare debemus consequens esse ut alterum desit; quia & illud sine isto potest esse in infantibus, & hoc sine illo potuit esse in latrone: Compleat Deo sive in illo sive in isto quod non ex voluntate defuerat. Cum vero ex voluntate alterum horum defuerit, reatu hominem involvi.

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*Et baptismus quidem potest inesse ubi conversio cordis defuerit : Conversio autem cordis potest quidem inesse non percepto baptismo ; sed contempto baptismo non potest : Neque enim ullo modo dicenda est conversio cordis ad Deum, cum Dei Sacramentum contemnitur.*

*Iuste igitur reprehendimus, anathematizamus, detestamur, abominamur perverſitatem cordis hereticorum : Sacramentum tamen Evangelicum non ideo non habent, quia per quod utile est non habent. Quapropter cum ad fidem & veritatem veniunt, & agentes penitentiam remitti sibi peccata deſcunt ; non eos decipimus, neque fallimus, cum correctos a nobis ac reformatos in eo quo depravati atque perversi ſunt, ad regnum cælorum ſic diſciplinis caeleſtibus erudimus, ut quod in eis integrum eſt nullo modo violemus : Nec propter hominis vitium, ſi quid in homine Dei eſt, vel nullum vel vitioſum eſſe dicamus.*

‘ And as the Thief, who by Neceſſity went without Baptiſm, was ſaved ; becauſe by his Piety he had it ſpiritually : So where Baptiſm is had, tho’ the Party by Neceſſity go without that [*Faith*] which the Thief had, yet he is ſaved.

‘ Which the whole Body of the Church holds, as deliver’d to ’em, in the Caſe of little Infants baptized : Who certainly cannot yet believe with the Heart to Righteouſneſs, or confeſs with the Mouth to Salvation, as the Thief could ; nay, by their crying and Noiſe while the Sacrament is adminiſtring, they diſturb the Holy Myſteries : And yet no Chriſtian Man will ſay they are baptized to no Purpoſe.

‘ And if any one do aſk for Divine Authority in this Matter : Tho’ that which the whole Church praſtiſes, and which has not been inſtituted by Councils, but was ever in uſe, is very reaſonably believed to be no other than a thing deliver’d [*or order’d*] by Authority of the Apoſtles : Yet we may beſides take a true eſtimate, how much the Sacrament of Baptiſm does avail Infants, by the Circumciſion which God’s former People received.

‘ For Abraham was juſtified before he received that ; as Cornelius was endued with the Holy Spirit before he was baptiz’d : and yet the Apoſtle ſays of Abraham, That he received the Sign of Circumciſion, a Seal of the Righteouſneſs of the Faith, by which he had in Heart believed, and it had been counted to him for Righteouſneſs. Why then was he Commanded thenceforward to circumciſe all his male Infants on the eighth Day, when they could not yet believe with the Heart that it might be counted to them for Righteouſneſs, but for this Reaſon becauſe the Sacrament it ſelf is of it ſelf of great Import ? — Therefore as in Abraham the Righteouſneſs of Faith went before, and Circumciſion the Seal of the Righteouſneſs of Faith came after ; ſo in Cornelius the ſpiritual Sanctification by the Gift of the Holy Spirit went before, and the Sacrament of Regeneration by the laver of Baptiſm came after. And as in Iſaac who was Circumciſed the eighth Day, the Seal of the Righteouſneſs of Faith went before, and (as he was a Follower of his Father’s Faith) the Righteouſneſs it ſelf, the Seal whereof had gone before in his Infancy, came after : So in Infants baptized the Sacrament

‘ of



‘of Regeneration goes before, and (if they put in Practice the Christian Religion) Conversion of the Heart, the Mystery whereof went before in their Body, comes after.

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‘And as in that Thief’s Case, what was wanting of the Sacrament of Baptism the Mercy of the Almighty made up; because it was not out of Pride or Contempt but of Necessity that it was wanting: So in Infants that die after they are baptiz’d, it is to be believ’d that the same Grace of the Almighty does make up that Defect, that by Reason, not of a wicked Will, but of Want of Age, they can neither believe with the Heart to Righteousness, nor confess with the Mouth unto Salvation. So that when others answer for them, that they may have this Sacrament given ’em; it is valid for their Consecration, because they cannot answer for themselves: But if for one that is able to answer himself, another should answer, it would not be valid. — By all which it appears that the Sacrament of Baptism is one thing, and Conversion of the Heart another: But that the Salvation of a Person is compleated by both of ’em. And if one of these be wanting, we are not to think that it follows, that the other is wanting; since one may be without the other in an Infant, and the other was without that in the Thief: God Almighty making up both in one and the other Case that which was not wilfully wanting.

‘But when either of these is wilfully wanting, it involves the Person in Guilt. And Baptism indeed may be had where Conversion of the Heart is wanting; but Conversion of the Heart, tho’ it may be where Baptism is not had, cannot be where it is contemned: For that is by no means to be called Conversion of the Heart to God, where the Sacrament of God is contemned.

‘Well may we therefore reprehend, anathematize, detest and abhor the Perversion of Heart that is in Heretics: But yet we must not say that they therefore have not the Gospel-Sacrament, because they have not that which should make it useful to ’em.

‘Therefore when they come to the true Faith, and being Penitent, do desire that their Faults may be pardoned; we do not deceive or cheat ’em, when correcting and reforming in them that wherein they were depraved and perverted, we do instruct ’em with Holy Discipline for the Kingdom of Heaven in such a Manner, as that we do by no means violate that in them which is valid: Nor for the Fault of the Man say that that which is of God in the Man is either null or faulty.

§. 4. I have Transcribed this Passage the larger, because Mr. *Danvers*, who had set up a Pretence that the *Donatists* found Fault with the *Catholics* for baptizing Infants, would prove it from this Place. He had (15) said, *That Austin’s third and fourth Books against the Donatists do demonstrate that they denied Infants Baptism: Wherein he manages the Ar-*

Year after the Apostles 283. *gument for Infants Baptism against them with great Zeal, enforcing it by several Arguments, but especially from Apostolical Tradition; and cursing with great Bitterness they that would not embrace it.* And when his Answerers jog'd him, and told him, That in the third Book there was never a Word about it; he said the fourth Book did however shew it. And yet in the fourth Book there is nothing but what I here produce. And any one that can give any tolerable Guess at the Sense of what he reads, sees by this and the rest of the Book, that St. *Austin* does not here argue against the *Donatists*, as if they denied Infant Baptism: But proves that Baptism received from the Hands of heretical or depraved Priests is valid, tho' they give the baptized Person a wrong Account of the Faith, by this Reason, that Infants Baptism is valid, tho' they have as yet no Account of the Faith at all. And I have already (16) shewn from *Optatus*, that the *Catholics* and *Donatists* had no difference about the Nature of Baptism, or Way of administering it; but only about the Purity or Orthodoxy of the Persons that gave it: And shall by and by (17) have Occasion to shew particularly that they baptized Infants as well as the Catholics.

But what does he mean by saying, *That St. Austin Curst, &c?*

The *Donatists* reproach'd the Catholics for receiving to their Communion such as had been baptized among Heretics, as *Arians*, *Appollinarists*, &c. without giving them, upon their Coming to the Communion of the Church, a new Baptism: As if they thereby owned Communion with such Heretics, or approved their Doctrin. St. *Austin* answers, as we see, *We do [as well as you] reprehend, anathematize, &c. the Perversion of heart, [or, false Doctrin] of the Heretics: But yet we must not therefore say, that they have not the Sacrament, &c.* This is what this Man, who could find Antipædobaptism in every Latin Book that he look'd into, calls, *Cursing they that would not embrace Infant Baptism.*

Mr. *Baxter* says on this Occasion, (18) *Either this Man had seen and read these Books of St. Austin, or he had not. If not, does he use God's Church, and the Souls of poor ignorant People with any Tenderness, &c? If he understand not Latin, how unfit is he to give us the History of these Antiquities, &c? But if he have read 'em, then I can scarce match him among all the Falsifiers I know in the World. I dare not be so uncharitable to him as to think that he ever read 'em.* But to leave him, and go on;

Tho' St. *Austin* speak of Infant Baptism in this Place but by the By; his Words are, we see, a full Evidence that it was then universally practis'd, and had been so beyond the Memory of any Man, or of any Record: That they took it to be a thing that had not been enacted by any Council, but had ever been in Use from the Beginning of Christianity. And they had then but 300 Years to look back to the times of the Apostles, whereas we now have 1600. And the Writings and Records which are now lost, were then extant, and easily known.

More-

(16) CH. IX. §. 1. (17) CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. (18) Confutation of the strange Forgeries of Mr. H. D. Sect. 2. CH. IV. §. 7.



Moreover, for the Sorts or Sects of Christians that were then; he says that *nullus Christianorum, none of all the Christians* (and then certainly not the *Donatists* with whom he was talking) had any other Opinion but that it was useful or necessary. Year after the Apostles 288.

This is to be understood with a Limitation, which I shall shew (19) that he expresses elsewhere, provided they were such as made use of any Baptism at all: For there were some Sects that called themselves Christians, (but they were hardly allowed that Name by any others) who utterly refused the Use of any Baptism at all. Of whom I shall give some Account at a Place (19) convenient.

### SECT. 5. Out of St. Austin's Letter to Boniface.

*Augustini Epistola ad Bonifacium Episcopum Epist. 23.*

§. 1. **B**oniface, a Bishop of St. Austin's Acquaintance, had wrote to him to desire his Explication of two Matters that appeared to him difficult to resolve. They do both relate to Infants Baptism. 308.

One was, *Whether such Parents do their Infants that are baptized any hurt, who carry 'em to the Heathen Temples and Sacrifices to be cured by those impious Rites of some Infirmary they have. And if they hereby do 'em no hurt, then how it comes to pass, that the Faith of the Parents stands 'em in stead when they are baptized, and yet the Apostacy of their Parents does 'em no hurt?*

The other was, How that can be reconcil'd to Truth which the God-father answers in the Child's Name at Baptism: *viz. That he does believe; does renounce; will obey, &c.* when he at present has no Sense at all, and what he will have hereafter, no Body knows.

A Part of what St. Austin answers to the first of these, I have already recited in the (20) Chapter of St. Cyprian's Sayings: Because he does in this Answer cite and explain one of the Passages of Cyprian, which I had there cited. And another Part of it in CH. III. §. 4. because it gives a full Proof that the Ancients took the Word *Regeneration* for Baptism exclusively of all other Senses.

The Substance of the Answer is, That Original Sin is at first derived from the Parents to the Child, because the Child is at first a Part of the Parents: That after he is become a separate living Person, the Faith of the Parents, or others that bring him to Baptism is available to him, because

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because ' the Regenerating Spirit is *One* in the grown Persons that bring the Child, and in the Child that is brought : But when the same grown Persons commit that Wickedness on the Child, offering him, and endeavouring to engage him in the sacrilegious Bonds of Devils ; there ' is not then *one Soul* in both of 'em, that the Crime should be Communicated. For Sin is not so Communicated by the Will of another which ' is distinct, as Grace is Communicated by the holy Spirit which is one ' and the same. For the same holy Spirit may be in this and in that Person, altho' they mutually know it not one of another, and so the Grace ' may be common : But the Spirit of a human Person cannot be in this ' and in that Person ; so that one sinning and the other not sinning the ' Guilt should be common.

Some remaining Parts of the Answer relating to some particular Things that *Boniface* had said, do here follow.

*Nec illud te moveat, quod quidam non eâ fide ad baptismum percipiendum parvulos ferunt ut gratiâ spiritali ad vitam regenerentur eternam, sed quod eos putant hoc remedio temporalem retinere vel recipere sanitatem. Non enim propterea illi non regenerantur quia non ab istis hâc intentione offeruntur. Celebrantur enim per eos necessaria ministeria, &c. — Spiritus autem ille sanctus qui habitat in sanctis, ex quibus una illa columba deargentata Charitatis igne conflatur, agit quod agit etiam per servitutem aliquando non solum simpliciter ignorantium, verum etiam damnabiliter indignorum. Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritalem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis & ab ipsis si & ipsi boni fideles sunt, quam ab universâ societate sanctorum atque fidelium. Ab omnibus namque offerri rectè intelliguntur quibus placet quod offerantur, & quorum sanctâ atque individuâ charitate ad communicationem sancti spiritus adjuvantur. Tota hoc ergo mater Ecclesia que in sanctis est, facit ; quia tota omnes, tota singulos parit. Nam si Christiani baptismi sacramentum quod unum atque idipsum est, etiam apud hereticos valet ad consecrationem, quamvis ad vitæ eterne participationem non sufficiat : Que consecratio reum quidem facit hereticum extra Domini gregem habentem Dominicum characterem ; corrigendum tamen admonet sana Doctrina, non iterum similiter consecrandum : Quanto potius in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ etiam per stipule ministerium frumenta purganda portantur, ut ad massæ societatem mediante arâ perducantur ?*

*Illud autem nolo te fallat, ut existimes reatâs virculum ex Adam tractum aliter non posse dirumpi nisi parvuli ad percipiendam Christi gratiam à parentibus offerantur. Sic enim scribens dicis ; ut sicut parentes autores fuerunt ad eorum penam, per fidem parentum identidem iustificentur. Cum videas multos non offerri à parentibus, sed etiam à quibuscumque extraneis : Sicut à dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur ; & nonnunquam mortuis parentibus suis parvuli baptizantur ab eis oblatis qui in illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt nutriendos à quibuscumque nonnunquam*



*nunquam à sacris virginibus colliguntur, & ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum quæ certe proprios filios non habuerunt allos nec habere disponunt.*

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§. 2. 'Let not that disturb you, that some People do not bring their Infants to Baptism with that Faith [or Purpose] that they may by spiritual Grace be regenerated to eternal Life, but because they think they do procure or preserve their bodily Health by this Remedy. For the Children do not therefore fail of being Regenerated because they are not brought by the others with this Intention. For the necessary Offices are performed by them, &c.—— And the holy Spirit that dwells in the Saints, out of whom that silver Dove that is but one, is by the Fire of Charity compacted, does what he does sometimes by the Means of Men not only simply ignorant, but also damnably unworthy. For Infants are offer'd for the Receiving of the spiritual Grace, not so much by those in whose Hands they are brought, (tho' by those too if they be good faithful Christians) as by the whole Congregation of Saints, and faithful Men. For they are rightly said to be offer'd by all those whose Desire it is that they should be offer'd, and by whose holy and united Charity they are assisted towards the Communication of the Holy Spirit.

'So that the whole Church of the Saints does this Office as a Mother. For the whole Church brings forth all her Children, and the whole brings forth each Particular.

'For if the Sacrament of Christian Baptism, which is one and the same, be available even among Heretics for the Consecration of a Person, tho' it be not sufficient for his obtaining of eternal Life (which Consecration involves the Heretic in the Guilt of Sin for using the Lord's Mark without the Compass of the Lord's Flock: And yet the Orthodox Doctrin teaches that such a Person is to be reformed, but not to be Consecrated anew). How much more in the Catholic Church may the Corn that is to be cleaned, be brought in by the Means of the Straw, that by the Help of the Floor, it may be gathered to the rest of the Heap?

§. 3. But I would not have you mistake so as to think that the Bond of Guilt deriv'd from Adam cannot be broken, unless the Children be offer'd for receiving the Grace of Christ by their own Parents. For so you speak in your Letter, *That as the Parents were Authors of their Punishment, so they may also by the Faith of their Parents be justified.*

'Whereas you see that a great many are offer'd not by their Parents, but by any other Persons. As the Infant Slaves are sometimes offer'd by their Masters: And sometimes when the Parents are dead, the Infants are baptiz'd, being offer'd by any that can afford to shew this Compassion on 'em. And sometimes Infants whom their Parents have cruelly expos'd, to be brought up by those that light on 'em, are now and then taken up by the holy Virgins, and offer'd to Baptism by them who have no Children of their own, nor design to have any. And in all this there is nothing else done than what is written in the Gospel, when our Lord

Year af- ' Lord ask'd who was Neighbour to him that was wounded by Thieves,  
 ter the A- ' and left half dead in the Road? And it was answer'd, *He that shew'd*  
 postles ' *Mercy on him.*  
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Here we see (beside the Resolution of the main Question, both *Bo-niface* and *St. Austin* taking it for granted that Infants are to be baptiz'd) that the ordinary Use then was for the Parents to answer for their Children: But yet that this was not counted so necessary as that a Child could not be baptiz'd without that Circumstance. Any one that was on any equitable Account Owner of the Child might bring it to Baptism.

Neither did the Baptism depend on the Holiness, or right Faith or Intention of those that brought the Child. It was suppos'd to be done by the Order and at the Desire of the Church, and particularly of those that assisted with their Prayers at the Office.

§. 4. He next proceeds to speak of the other Question put by *Bo-niface*.

*Difficillimam sanè questionem tibi proposuisse visus es in extremo inquisitionis tue; eà videlicet intentione quâ soles vehementer cavere mendacium. Si constituam, inquis, ante te parvulum, & interrogem utrùm cum creverit, futurus sit castus, vel fur non sit futurus: Sine dubio respondebis; nescio. Et utrùm in eadem parvulâ etate constitutus cogitet aliquid boni vel mali; dices, Nescio. Si itaque de moribus ejus futuris nihil audes certi promittere, & de presenti ejus cogitatione: Quid est illud quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur, pro eis parentes tanquam fide d'ctores respondent & dicunt illos facere quod illa etas cogitare non potest; & si potest, occultum est? Interrogamus enim eos à quibus offeruntur, & dicimus; Credit in Deum? de illa etate quæ utrùm sit Deus ignorat. Respondet, Credit: Et ad cetera sic respondetur singula quæ geruntur. Unde miror parentes in istis rebus tam sidenter pro parvulo respondere, ut dicant eum tanta bona facere quæ ad horam quâ baptizatur, baptizator interrogat: Tamen eâdem horâ si subjiciam; erit castus qui baptizatur? Aut, non erit fur? Nescio utrùm audeat dicere aliquis, Aliquid horum erit, vel, non erit; sicut mihi sine dubitatione respondet quod Credat in Deum, & quod se convertat ad Deum.*

Deinde scripta tua concludens adjungis & dicis; ad istas ergo questiones pecto breviter respondere digneris, ita ut non mihi de consuetudine præscribas, sed rationem reddas.

*His literis tuis lectis & relectis, & quantum temporis angustia sinebant consideratis, recordatus sum Nebridium amicum meum: Qui cum esset rerum obscurarum, ad doctrinam pietatis maximè pertinentium, diligentissimus & acerrimus inquisitor, valde oderat de questione magnâ responsum brevem: Et quisquis hoc poposcisset, agerrimè ferebat: Eumque, si ejus persona pateretur, vultu indignabundus & voce cohibebat: Indignum deputans qui talia quereretur, cum de re tantâ quam multa dici possent deberentque nesciret. Sed ego tibi non similiter ut sol'ebat ille, succenseo. Es enim Episcopus multis curis occupatus, ut ego: Unde nec tibi facile vacat prolixum aliquid legere nec mihi scribere. Nam ille tunc adolescens, qui talia breviter volebat audire, & multa in nostrâ*  
*sermo-*



sermocinatione quarebat, & ab ocioso quarebat ociosus. Tu vero cogitans nunc quis & à quo ista flagites, breviter de re tant. respondere me jubes. Ego facio quantum possum: Dominus adjuvet, ut quod postulas possim.

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Nempe sape ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquantē dicamus crastinam vel perendinam esse Domini Passionem; cū ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel ista passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die Dominico dicimus; Hodie Dominus resurrexit: Cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur nemo tam ineptus est ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nuncupamus? Ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus: Et dicatur illo die fieri propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die sed jam olim factum est. Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Pascha solennitates, sed omni die populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt.

Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum; respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, & convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum: Quia & ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus; Consepulti, inquit, sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem: Non ait, sepulturam significamus: Sed prorsus ait; Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit.

Itaque parvulum etsi nondum fides illa quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondetur, sic etiam fidelis vocatur, non [ad] rem ipsam Mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo. Cum autem homo sapere caperit, non illud sacramentum repetit, sed intelligit: ejusque veritati consona etiam voluntate coaptabitur. Hoc quamdiu non potest, valebit sacramentum ad ejusdem tutelam adversus contrarias potestates: Et tantum valebit, ut si ante rationis usum ex hac vitæ emigraverit, per ipsum sacramentum, commendante ecclesiæ charitate, ab illius condemnatione quæ per unum hominem intravit in mundum, Christi ano adiutorio liberetur. Hoc qui non credit, & fieri non posse arbitratur, propterea infidelis est, etsi habeat fidei sacramentum: longèque melior est ille parvulus qui etiamsi fidem nondum habeat in cogitatione, non ei tamen obicem contraria cogitationis opponit; unde sacramentum ejus salubriter percipit.

Respondi sicut existimo questionibus tuis quantum attinet ad minores capaces & contentiosos non satis, quantum autem ad pacatos & intelligentes plus fortè quam sat est. Nec tibi ad excusationem meam obicci firmissimam consuetudinem, sed saluberrima consuetudinis reddidi quam potui rationem.

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You reckon you have propos'd a very hard Question in the latter Part of your Letter, according to that Temper of yours by which you are wont to be exceeding cautious of any thing that looks like a Lie. You say thus;

' Suppose I set before you an Infant, and ask you whether, when he grows up, he will be a Chast Man, or, whether he will be no Thief? Your Answer doubtless will be, *I cannot tell*. And, whether he in that Infant Age have any good or evil Thought: You will say, *I know not*. Since therefore you dare not say any thing either concerning his future Behaviour, or his present Thoughts: What is the Meaning that when they are brought to Baptism, their Parents, as Sponsors for them, make answer and say, That they do that which that Age can have no Thoughts of; or if they have, no Body knows what they are? For we ask those by whom they are brought, and say, *Does he believe in God?* Concerning that Age which has no Knowledge whether there be a God or not: They answer, *He does believe*. And so in like manner Answer is made to all the rest. So that I wonder how the Parents do in those Matters answer so confidently for the Child that he does this or that good Thing, which the Baptizer demands at the Time of his Baptism: And yet if at the same Time I ask, *Will this baptized Person prove Chaste, or, not prove a Thief?* I question whether any one dare so answer, *He will, or, will not be such or such a one*; as they answer without any Hesitation that *he does believe in God: He does turn to God*.

*And then you conclude your Letter with these Words,*

' I entreat you to give me a short Answer to these Questions in such a Manner as that you do not urge to me the Prescription of the Customariness of the Thing, but give me the Reason of it.

' *When I had read your Letter over and over, and had consider'd it as far as my short time would allow; it made me call to mind my Friend Nebridius, who being a very diligent and sagacious inquirer into Matters that were obscure especially such as concern'd Religion, could not endure a short answer to a weighty question, and took it very ill if any one desir'd such a thing; and would with an angry voice and look reprimand him, if he were a Person that might be so us'd, as counting him unfit to ask such questions; who did not consider how much might and ought to be said on so great a Matter.*

' *But, I do not pretend to be angry with you in such manner as he was wont to be: For you are a Bishop that have a great many cares upon you, as well as I: So that neither have you the leisure to read a long Discourse, nor I to write one. For he being then a young Man that would not be answer'd in brief to such things, but spent a great deal of talk with me, inquired as one at leisure from one that was so too. But you, considering now your own Circumstances that ask, and mine that am asked, bid me answer briefly about so great a Matter. And that I here do as well as I can: I pray God to assist me that I may be able to satisfy your demand.*

' *You know we often express our selves so, as that when Good Friday is nigh, we say, To-morrow, or, next day is our Lord's passion: Tho' it be a great many*



' many years ago that he suffer'd, and his Passion was never performed but once. Year af-  
 ' So on the Lord's day we say, This day our Lord arose, tho' since he arose it ter the A-  
 ' be so many years. Why is there nobody so silly as to say we lie when we speak pistles  
 ' so, but for this reason, because we give names to those days, from the Repre- 283.  
 ' sentation they make us of those on which the things were indeed done: So as  
 ' that is call'd the very day, which is not the very day, but answers to it in the  
 ' Revolution of time: And that which is not done on that day, but was done a  
 ' long time ago, is spoken of as done on that day, because the Sacrament of it is  
 ' then celebrated. Was not Christ in his own Person offer'd up (or, sacrificed)  
 ' once for all? And yet in the Sacrament he is offer'd in the Church (or, in, or,  
 ' to, or among the People) not only every Easter, but every day; nor does he  
 ' lie, who being asked, says, He is offer'd. For Sacraments would not be Sa-  
 ' craments, if they had not a resemblance of those things whereof they are the  
 ' Sacraments: And from this resemblance they commonly have the names of the  
 ' things themselves.

' As therefore the Sacrament of Christ's body is after a certain fashion Christ's  
 ' body, and the Sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood: So the Sacrament  
 ' of Faith is Faith, and to believe is nothing else but to have Faith. And so when  
 ' an Infant that has not yet the faculty of Faith, is said to believe; he is said  
 ' to have Faith, because of the Sacrament of Faith; and to turn to God, because  
 ' of the Sacrament of Conversion: Because that answer belongs to the Celebration  
 ' of the Sacrament. So the Apostle on this same Subject of Baptism says, (21)  
 ' We are buried together with Christ by Baptism unto Death: He does not  
 ' say, We signify a burial, but he uses the word it self, We are buried. So  
 ' that he calls the Sacrament of so great a thing by the name of the thing  
 ' it self.

' And so an Infant, tho' he be not yet Constituted a Fidel (a faithful Christian)  
 ' by that Faith which consists in the will of believers; yet he is by the Sacrament  
 ' of that Faith: For as he is said to believe so he is called a Fidel, not from his  
 ' having the thing it self in his mind, but from his receiving the Sacrament of  
 ' it.

' And when a Person begins to have a Sense of things he does not repeat that  
 ' Sacrament, but understands the force of it, and by consent of Will squares him-  
 ' self to the true meaning of it. And till he can do this, the Sacrament will a-  
 'vail to his preservation against all contrary powers: And so far it will avail;  
 ' that if he depart this Life before the use of reason, he will by this Christian Re-  
 ' medy of the Sacrament it self (the Charity of the Church recommending him)  
 ' be made free from that Condemnation (22) which by one Man enter'd into  
 ' the World.

' He that does not believe this, and thinks it cannot be done, is indeed an Infi-  
 ' del, tho' he have the Sacrament of Faith. And that Infant is much better,  
 ' who tho' he have not Faith in his Mind, yet puts no bar of a contrary Mind  
 ' against it, and so receives the Sacrament to his Soul's health.

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‘ I have given such an answer to your questions, as I suppose is, to ignorant or contentious People not enough, and to understanding and quiet People perhaps more than enough. Neither have I, to spare my Pains, urged to you the Custom’s being so firmly grounded: But I have, as well as I could, explained to you the reason of that wholesome Custom.

How skilful or judicious the Reader will judge this Explication of the Reason of the Custom to be, I know not. Nor is it much material, since we are not now inquiring how acute St. *Austin* was, but what it was that he and the rest knew to be true in point of Fact. And hereby we perceive plainly these Matters following.

§. 5. 1. That that was the Practice, for the Godfathers (who were, as I said, usually the Parents) to make these Answers in the Child’s Name. The Use of Godfathers appeared before (23) from the Words of *Tertullian*; but here it is set forth more particularly: and St. *Austin* says, that these Answers, do belong to, [or, are a necessary Appertinence of] the Sacrament, and he had said in the former Part of the Letter, (which I omitted because of the Length) that they are *verba Sacramentorum, sine quibus parvulus consecrari non potest: Words of the Sacrament, without which an Infant cannot be baptized.* Whether he would not have excepted the Case of Necessity in Danger of sudden Death (as the Church of *England* does) if there had been Occasion of speaking of that, I know not: But it is plain he would have been against those that either decry this Practice, or count it a Thing of no Moment. The Church of Christ has always taken Care that the Blessings of God promised in this Sacrament may be understood as conveyed conditionally or by way of Covenant; which these Questions and Answers do most lively express.

§. 6. 2. We see that they then held as certain, that Children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly saved: For St. *Austin* here says in these last Words that he that does not believe this is an Infidel: Which he would not say, if it had been counted at all doubtful. The same thing might have been observ’d from what he says above, Sect. 3. §. 2. God forbid that I should make any Question whether Infants regenerated and dying in Infancy do come to eternal Salvation.

3. If those Learned *Benedictines* who have managed the last Edition of this Father’s Works, to set his Books and Epistles in their Chronological Order, have placed this Epistle right; then we see here another Proof of the Mistake of *Grotius*, who maintains, (24) as I said, that St. *Austin*, before he was heated with the *Pelagian* Controversie, did never assert the Condemnation of Infants dying unbaptized, no not to those lesser or milder Sufferings in the World to come. For they place this Epistle, (which is in their Edition the 98th) Anno Dom. 408. which was before *Pelagius* vented his Heresie: And yet here St. *Austin* in saying, They will, if they die before the Use of Reason, be freed by this Christian Remedy of the Sacrament from that Condemnation which by one Man enter’d into the



the World, plainly supposes that they would otherwise have been liable to it.

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§. 7. 4. There are two other Things observable from his Words here, which are well worth the Noting, tho' they do not relate to our Subject. One is, that he speaks so as that we may be sure he had no Notion of Transubstantiation. For to say, that *Sacraments have a Likeness [or Resemblance] of those Things whereof they are the Sacraments; and from this Resemblance they commonly have the Names of the Things themselves; and to exemplify this by saying, The Sacrament of Christ's Body is Christ's Body, and the Sacrament of his Blood is his Blood after a certain manner [or Fashion]* and to speak of this as a Thing so understood by all, is Proof enough that he neither believed, nor had conceived or heard of any such Doctrine as makes the Body and Blood of Christ to be there in a proper Sense.

§. 8. 5. Another is, that it was then the common Custom for Christians in some Churches, and probably in that where he lived, to receive the Communion of Christ's Body every Day. For so he says, *Christ in himself [or, in his own Person] was offer'd [or, sacrificed] but once: but yet in the Sacrament [or, in a Sacramental way] he is offer'd up every Day.* 'Tis certain this was the Custom then of the Christians at Rome: And that in many of the *Eastern Churches*, and some of the *Western* the Custom was not to receive so often. For *St. Hierom* and *St. Austin* have each of 'em written Letters on this Subject in answer to some that had desir'd their Opinion in relation to this Difference, as *Aug. Epist. 118. ad Januarium. Hieronym. Epist. 28. ad Lucinum Baticum.* See also *Aug. de sermone Domini in Monte. l. 2. c. 12.* and *Gennad. de Eccl. dogm. c. 63.* Their Opinion is, that in that and all such like *Matters that are not determined by Scripture, nor by the Authority of the Universal Church, one should follow the Usage of that Church in which one lives.* And *St. Austin* there says, that he had by long Experience found this Rule (which had been given him by *St. Ambrose*) to be of unspeakable Use for the quieting Mens Minds, and for the Peace of the Church.

This they say of receiving *every Day*: But no Person then would have spoken with such Indifference of the Custom of any People (if there had then been any such) that used to receive so seldom as many among the Protestants now a-days do. For *Gennadius loc. citat.* says, *Those that Communicate every Day I do neither commend nor blame: But I would advise and persuade People to Communicate every Lord's-Day; provided they have a Purpose of forsaking Sin.*—— But this I speak of those who have not any capital or mortal Crimes lying on their Consciences, &c. Those he advises to do Penance first.

§. 9. 6. He does both in this Letter, and also in the Passage last before rehearsed, and in many other Places, so speak as plainly to shew that he did not think nor pretend that Infants that are Baptized have in any proper Sense, Faith or Repentance, or Conversion of the Heart, &c. How much sorer he is here press'd with the Difficulty of explaining

Year after the Reason why the Godfather answers in the Child's Name, *He does believe*: He does not for all that fly to the justifying of so great a Paradox, as to say that the Child does indeed in a proper Sense understand, believe, or disbelieve any thing. He shews the Words are true in a Sacramental Sense, but does not maintain they are so in a proper one. Nay he plainly yields they are not: He grants that Infants cannot as yet either believe with the Heart, or confess with the Mouth.

And when at other Places (25) he argues that Infants after they are baptiz'd, are no longer to be counted either among the *Infideles* or *Catechumeni*, but among the *Fideles* or *Credientes*; yet still he means and explains himself, as he does here, *That they are constituted Fideles not by that Faith which consists in the Will of Believers, but by the Sacrament of that Faith.*

He does indeed hold that the holy Spirit does do Offices for the Infant, and is in the Infant: You see here his Words, *The regenerating Spirit is one in those that bring the Child, and in the Child that is brought.* And in that Part of the Epistle which I left out because of the Length, he says, *Aqua exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratie, & spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratie, solvens vinculum culpæ, &c.* 'The Water affording outwardly the Sacrament of the Grace, and the Spirit operating inwardly the Benefit of the Grace, loosing the Bond of Guilt, &c. do regenerate. But he supposes the Infants to be merely passive, and not to know, understand, or co-operate any thing themselves.

In his Epistle to (26) *Dardanus* he says, *It is a wonderful thing to consider how God dwells in some that know him not, and in some that do know him he does not dwell. For they who when they know God, glorify him not as God, nor are thankful, do not belong to his Temple; And Infants sanctified by the Sacrament of Christ, regenerated by the holy Spirit, do belong to his Temple; who tho' they be regenerated, cannot yet by reason of their Age know God. And afterward, We affirm therefore that the holy Spirit dwells in baptized Infants, tho' they know it not; for after the same manner they know him not, tho' he be in 'em, as they know not their own Soul: The Reason whereof which they cannot yet make use of, is in them as a Spark raked up, which will kindle as they grow in Years.*

Some modern Divines, especially of the *Lutherans*, have gone farther, and do (27) maintain that Infants have Faith, and do believe after a certain Manner; but not in the same Way or Manner that adult People do, whose Faith comes by Hearing, Thought, Meditation, Understanding, &c. for they grant that Infants have none of these: And what sort of Faith is it that they have, cannot, as they confess, be explained.

But a late Philosophical Divine of the Church of *Rome*, has outdone all. He has (28) acquainted us with the Mechanism by which Original Sin

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(25) De peccatorum meritis l. i. c. 25, 33, &c. (26) Epist. 57. (27) Chemnitzii Examen. Part 2. de baptismo, can. 13. (28) Malbranch. Search. Illustrations on Ch. 7. of the 1st. Part of the second Book.



Sin is formed in the Brain of an Infant before he is Born, and also how at Baptism it is rectified: It is worth knowing. Year after the Apostles 288.

'Tis thus; The Mother has a sinful Inclination and Love to the World, Pleasure, &c. There are Tracks or Traces in her Brain running all this Way. The Child in her Womb has by Sympathy the same Traces bred in his Brain; so he has, *before he is born, corrupt Inclinations and is a Sinner.* The Difficulty is, how this is rectified at Baptism.

For this, he supposes the Child to have at the time of Baptism one strong *actual Motion of Love to God*; and says, *One single instant is sufficient for the Exercise of that Act of Love.* And, *Concupiscence is as it were mortified that Moment.* And the strangest Thing that he says, is, *It should not be thought strange, that I suppose it possible for Children to love God with a Love of Choice at the time of their Baptism.* For since, &c.

I think this Learned Author does somewhere (29) observe in his Book, that *Men of Learning are most subject to error: And, that those who are most hot in the search of Truth are the Men that lead us into infinite Errors.* He gives several Reasons for this, why such Men do sometimes fall into greater Mistakes than vulgar People. One more may perhaps be added to them; Vulgar People having no Assistance from Learning or Philosophy, have nothing but *Common Sense* to trust to; so they generally keep close to that: They seldom allow themselves to maintain any Opinion that is very remote from it. It was not these Men that adventur'd first to teach the World, that that is in a proper Sense the Body of a Man, which we see, when we have it in our Hands, to be a Piece of Bread. On the contrary, they can hardly believe it, tho' the Learned have taught 'em so. Neither was it for one of them to have found with all their Search this Truth, that an Infant at the time of Baptism loves God with a Love of Choice. They will hardly believe it of any Infant at any time: Much less when they see the Child fast asleep at the time of Baptism, or (as St. Austin observes (30) they often are) in a Fit of Crying and Fretfulness all the while; which, as he remarks, would be very sinful, if they had any Understanding.

The foresaid Author says indeed, *We ought not positively to affirm this, that Children are justified by formal Acts of their Will.* And he had Reason, for the Council of Trent suppose the contrary, when they say, (31) *If any one shall say that baptized Infants, because they have not the Act of believing, are not to be accounted Fideles, &c. let him be anathema.* I suppose that Church have at last learned not to hang any more Mill-stones on the Neck of their Religion.

He says also, *They that have treated of the Effect of Baptism in the Ages past, have omitted the explaining the Regeneration of Infants by the actual Motions of their Heart; not that they were induced by strong Reasons to judge it impossible; for their Works do not shew they have ever so much as examined*

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*ned it.* But St. *Austin* thought the Evidence of Sense to be a strong Reason, when he says in the foresaid Epistle (32) to *Dardanus*; *If we should go about to prove by Discourse, that Infants, which as yet have no Knowledge of human things, have Knowledge of Divine things; I am afraid we should seem to offer an Affront to our Senses; when, let us say what we will, the Evidence of the Truth overpowers all the Force of our Talk.* He was not so hardy as either in this or the other Sacrament, or in any other Point to tack any thing to our Faith that is contrary to our Sense. And he goes on there to observe that Infants, even then when they begin to talk, have so little Sense or Understanding, that if they should always keep to that Pitch, they would be Idiots.

Most of the Pædobaptists go no farther than St. *Austin* does; they hold that God, by his Spirit, does at the time of Baptism, seal and apply to the Infant that is there dedicated to him, the Promises of the Covenant of which he is capable, viz. Adoption, Pardon of Sin, Translation from the State of Nature to that of Grace, &c. On which Account the Infant is said to be *regenerated of* [or, by] *the Spirit*. Not that God does by any Miracle at that time illuminate or convert the Mind of the Child. And for original Sin, or the Corruption of Nature, they hold that God by his Covenant, does abolish the Guilt of it, receives the Child to his Mercy in Christ, and consigns to him by Promise such Grace as shall afterward, by the Use of means, if he live, be sufficient to keep it under, but not wholly to extirpate it in this Life. It is left as the Subject of Trial and of a continual Christian Warfare. And this is the Opinion of St. *Austin* (33) and of the Ancients in general.

The *Pelagians* on the other Side set their Brains to work to find some *actual Sin* in an Infant. It was to their Purpose: for since they took on 'em to deny *original Sin*, and were prest with that Argument most of all; that the Reason why Infants are Baptiz'd, is for Forgiveness of Sin: They, for an Evasion, would sometimes say, that their Peevishness and fretful Crying as soon as they are born, is a (34) Sin: And they may be Baptized for the Forgiveness of that or such like Sins. St. *Austin* explodes that rather more than the other: As being a thing that no body would ever say but to serve an Hypothesis: That *if they would calmly think of it, they would change their Opinion; and if they will not,* says he, *we shall not have so ill an Opinion of human Sense, as to fear that any Body will be perswaded by 'em.* He takes nothing to be plainer than this, that a Child before the Use of Reason can have neither *actual Sin* nor *actual Faith*.

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(32) Epist. 57. (33) Contra Julianum, l. 6. c. 5, 6, 7. (34) August. de Peccatorum Meritis, l. 1.



Sect. 6. Out of St. *Austin's* Books *de Genesi ad literam*.*De Genesi ad literam lib. 10.*

**S**T. *Austin* began and made a good Progress in these Books on *Genesis* long before *Pelagius* began to stir; but other Work intervening he did not finish and publish 'em till some time after. I do not observe any thing in 'em that seems to have any Respect to the Dispute with him. In this tenth Book he handles the Point of the origin of the Human Soul; whether every Person's Soul be by immediate Creation; or whether, as the Body of a Man is deriv'd from the Body of his Parents, so his Soul also be derived from their Soul. He recites the Arguments on both sides.

He observes (35) that the Derivation of original Sin from our first Parents upon all their Posterity is made by many an Argument for the Propagation of Souls as well as Bodies. They instanc'd in Infants, concerning whom they argued thus, If we say they be derived from *Adam*, in Respect of their Bodies only, and not in respect of their Souls; we must have a Care that we do not, either make God to be the Author of Sin, (if he put the Soul into a Body in which it must needs Sin) or else suffer it to be believed that there may be some Soul, beside our Savior Christ's, which has no need of the Christian Grace to free it from Sin. Which last is, say they, *so contrary to the Belief of the Church; that Parents run with their Infants and little Ones, to procure the Grace of Holy Baptism. In whom if that Bond of Sin be loosed, which is of the Body only, and not that which is of the Soul too, it may well be askt what Hurt it would do 'em, if at that Age they should die without Baptism; for if this Sacrament be for the Good of their Body, and not of their Soul too, they might be Baptized after they were dead. But when as we see that the Church universally observes this, to run with 'em while they are alive, and to help 'em while they are alive, lest when they are dead there be Nothing to be done that can do 'em any Good; we see not what else can be made of it, but that every Infant is of Adam both as to his Body and as to his Soul.*

And afterward, (36) this Argument is carried on thus, *What has the Soul of an Infant deserv'd, that it should be ruin'd in Case it go out of the Body without the Sacrament of Christian Baptism, if it has neither committed any Sin of its own, nor be from that Soul which first sinned in Adam?*

The Answer to that is (37) attempted to this Purpose.

God puts the Soul into an ill dispos'd Body, that by ruling and keeping under the Concupiscence thereof by the Help of God's Grace, it may procure the Advantage of being together with the Body chang'd in-

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to a better State at the Resurrection than ever it could have had otherwise, viz. of living for ever with Christ. And to comply with the Steps which the Body makes by its gradual Growth, the Soul is at first possessed with a *torpor*, or Incapacity of acting rationally; which does not do it much hurt, because it wears off by Degrees as the Body grows to Perfection, and the Soul recovers from it, and arrives by God's Help at a good Degree of spiritual Life. Now before the time that it can live according to the Spirit it has need of the Sacrament of the Mediator, &c. For the Punishment of original Sin is taken away even in Infancy by his Sacrament; and without his Help even a grown Man will not keep under the Concupiscence of the Flesh, &c. — And the Infant must be baptized while he is alive: Otherwise it will prove a Prejudice to his Soul that it was linked with sinful Flesh; for the Soul of an Infant having participated with that, cannot be addicted to the things of the Spirit: For that Affection does weigh it down even after it is parted from the Body, unless while it is in the Body it be expiated by the one Sacrifice of the true Priest.

Reply. (38) But how, says one, if the Parents take no Care to have this done either thro' Infidelity or Negligence?

Answer. That may be said as well of grown Persons; for they may die suddenly, or they may fall sick in a Place where no Body will help 'em to Baptism.

Reply. But they have Sins of their own that need Forgiveness; and if they be not forgiven, a Man cannot truly say they are punish'd undeservedly for the things they have by their own Will committed in their Life time. But why shall that Soul be depriv'd of eternal Life (in case no body help the Infant to Baptism) to which the Contagion it has received from sinful Flesh cannot be imputed, if it be not propagated from the first sinful Soul? For it was placed in the Body, not by any Sin, but by Nature that order'd it so, and by God that placed it there. And if we say that the Want of Baptism will do it no hurt, then what Good does it do to one that is helped to it, if there be no hurt to one that is not helped?

Here, says St. Austin, I confess that I never heard or read what they can answer for their side, who endeavour to maintain by Scripture (as being for their Opinion, or as not being against it) that new Souls, and not such as are derived from the Parents, are put into Bodies.

Yet he attempts in the following Chapters another Answer or two for those that held that Opinion of the new Creation of Souls (for himself, it is plain that he inclin'd most to the Opinion of the Propagation of 'em; only he was so modest as not to determine any thing) but they are long, and, as he shews, insufficient.

One is, that God does not, in his Providence, suffer any Infant to die unbaptiz'd, but such as he foresaw would have been Wicked and Impenitent, if they had liv'd. He shews how absurd it is to think that  
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‘ God condemns Persons for Sins, which they never did, or thought of; Year af-  
 ‘ only he foresees they would have done ’em if they had lived. ter the A-

§. 2. At last he comes to this End of his Discourse on that Subject. postles  
 Having recited many Arguments and Answers on each side, he says. 288.

(39) *Having treated of this as largely as I could for the time, I should judge the Force of the Reasons, and of the Authorities to be equal, or almost equal on both sides; were it not that the Opinion of those that think the Souls to be deriv'd from the Parents has the Advantage on the Account of the Baptiz'm of Infants: On which Point what Answer can be given them, I do not at present conceive. If God shall hereafter teach me any thing, and shall grant me an Opportunity to write it, I shall not grudge it to those that are studious of such things. But I now declare beforehand that the Proof concerning Infants must not be disregarded, so as that if the Truth be on the other side, that should be pass'd over without answering. Aut enim de hac re nihil querendum est, ut sufficiat fidei nostræ scire nos quo pie vivendo venturi sumus, etsi nesciamus unde venerimus: Aut si non impudenter asinat anima rationalis et am hoc nosse de seipsa; absit perveracia contendendi, assit diligentia requirendi, humilitas petendi, perseverantia pulsandi: Ut si nobis hoc expedire novit qui melius quam nos quid nobis expediat utique novit, det etiam hoc qui novit dare bona data filiis suis: Consuetudo tamen matris ecclesie in baptizandis parvulis nequaquam spernenda est, neque ullo modo superflua deputanda, nec omnino credenda nisi Apostolica esse traditio.* ‘ For either nothing at all is to be enquir'd  
 ‘ of this Matter [the Origin of the Soul] and it must suffice our Faith  
 ‘ that we know whether we shall go, if we live well, without knowing  
 ‘ whence we are sprung: or if it be no immodest Ambition for a rea-  
 ‘ sonable Soul to desire to know this also concerning her self; putting  
 ‘ away all Obstinacy of contending, we must use Diligence in inquiring,  
 ‘ Humility in asking, Perseverance in knocking, that if he who knows  
 ‘ better than we what is fit for us, do judge this expedient, he would  
 ‘ grant this also, as he grants good Gifts to his Children. But the Cu-  
 ‘ stom of our Mother the Church in Baptizing Infants must not be  
 ‘ disregarded, nor be accounted needless, nor believed to be other than  
 ‘ a Tradition [or order] of the Apostles.

The late Bishop of Worcester has restor'd (40) the true reading of this Place out of three ancient Manuscripts at Oxford: For in those last Words, *Apostolica esse traditio*, the Word *esse* was in the Printed Editions *esse*; which addition of one Letter had wonderfully perverted the Sense: for as it stood so, it was to be Translated, *is not to be disregarded, nor to be accounted needless, nor to be believ'd at all, if it were not a Tradition of the Apostles.* Which makes St. Austin go forward, and backward, and forward again in the same Breath. But this Amendment makes it a coherent Sentence, agreeable to the Scope of the Place, and conformable to what St. Austin says in several other Places: For Ex-

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ample,

(39) Cap. 23. (40) Vindication of Bp. Laud's Conference, Part 1. CH. IV.  
 §. 10.

Year af- ample, 'tis the same Phrase with that which I recited, Sect. 4 §. 3. of  
 ter the A- this Chapter, *Non nisi autoritate Apostolicâ traditum rectissimè creditur*, 'is  
 postles 'most reasonably believed to be no other than a thing deliver'd [or or-  
 288. der'd] by the Authority of the Apostles. So that tho' it was not fit-  
 ting to alter the Reading without the Authority of some Manuscripts;  
 yet as soon as the Alteration is propos'd, it presently appears to be the  
 true reading.

The Papists made great Use of this Place as it stood so Printed, to  
 shew that some Points of Faith (for they make this Difference about  
 the time of Baptism to concern a Point of Faith) can be proved only  
 by Tradition, and not by Scripture; and consequently that the Scrip-  
 ture is no compleat Rule of Faith. *Archbishop Laud* managing the De-  
 fense of the Protestant Doctrine to the contrary, says, (41) 'Tis true,  
*Bellarmino pressés a main Place out of St. Austin, and he urges it hard;*  
 meaning this Place. But it might have been observed, even before the  
 true reading was discovered, that the Words so put together are Non-  
 sense. For if *St. Austin* had said, *The Doctrine of Infant Baptism were*  
*not to be believed if it were not a Tradition of the Apostles*, it had been Sense  
 indeed, and something to their Purpose, tho' not true. But to say, *The*  
*Custom of the Church in baptizing Infants were not to be believed unless*  
*it were a Tradition of the Apostles*, is not Sense; because the Custom was  
 seen and not believed. Which is another Proof that the Print was  
 Erroneous, and that the foresaid Amendment is the true Reading.

The Antipædobaptists on the contrary served themselves of this Place  
 to prove, as by *St. Austin's* Confession, that the Practice of Infant Ba-  
 ptism depended only on Tradition: From whence they concluded that  
 it was not to be received at all. But whosoever reads these two Pas-  
 sages of *St. Austin* that I have been comparing, will see, that he does  
 not by the Words *Traditum* and *Traditio*, mean a Doctrine that had  
 been taught by Word of Mouth only, and had no Foundation in the  
 written Word. He plainly expresses the contrary in the former Place:  
 For he speaks to this Purpose, If any one, beside the Practice of the  
 universal Church, do require Divine Authority in this Matter: First,  
 that Practice having not been order'd by any Council, but having been  
 ever in Use in the Church, it is most reasonable to believe that it must  
 have been order'd by the Apostles themselves. And, Secondly, it may  
 be prov'd from Scripture also, by the Analogy that Baptism bears to  
 Circumcision, &c.

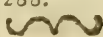
And whereas the *Latin* Phrase runs, *Non nisi autoritate Apostolicâ tra-*  
*ditum*; that does not signifie that it was establish'd *no other Way* than by  
 a verbal Order; but that it came not in by any lesser or later Autho-  
 rity than that of the Apostles; not by any general Council, &c.

'Tis true, his arguing in that Place does suppose, that tho' it could  
 not have been prov'd from Scripture, yet if it could be prov'd to have  
 been



been ordered by the Apostles by Word in their Life time, that ought to have satisfied any one. And so no doubt it ought, provided the Proof were clear. But this does not help the Argument of the Papists, who would have the Consent of the Church *at present* to be a sufficient Proof of a Doctrin. For how hard or how easie soever it was at that time for the Church to know certainly the Practice of the Apostles, by a Tradition which needed to be traced back but for 300 Years; it is utterly impossible now to trace back a Tradition for 1600 Years, unless it be recorded in Scripture, or in those Ancient Writings nigh the time of the Apostles; which, I am sure, the Pope's Supremacy and Worship of Images, &c. are not; whatever this, that I am writing of, be.

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## Sect. 7. Out of St. Austin's Letter to St. Hierom.

### *Augustini Epist. 28.*

§. 1. **T**HIS Letter was written after the *Pelagian* Opinions began to be talk'd of. He mentions 'em there. For you are, says he, none of those who now begin to prate new things, and say, there is no Guilt deriv'd from Adam, which is by Baptism forgiven in an Infant. Therefore the Quotations out of it ought not to be plac'd in this Chapter, were it not that here they may be dispatch'd more briefly; as being exactly to the same Purpose as those I last Quoted.

St. Austin having, as we see, in his Books on *Genesis* so treated of the origin of the Soul, as to leave it in Suspense how it is that we came by our Souls; and being still thoughtful of that Matter, and coming to know that St. Hierom had wrote something on this Subject in his Epistle to *Marcellinus*, and in a Piece of his against *Rufinus's Apology*; wherein he had spoke in Favor of that Opinion which makes new Souls to be created every Day by God for every new Infant, calling that the *Opinion of the Church*; and of the other Opinion which supposes the Soul to be propagated from the Parent, had said, That it was the Opinion of Tertullian and Apollinaris and most of the Western Christians, that as the Body is generated of the Body, so the Soul is of the Soul, and subsists in a Way much like to that of brute Creatures: He had a Mind to see how St. Hierom could free that Opinion (which he seemed to embrace) of the new Creation of Souls, from the Objection that lay against it from the Propagation of original Sin from Father to Son. And therefore he writes to him, tho' he liv'd above a thousand Miles off, to desire him to explain that Difficulty.

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And for fear of Provoking him (for he was a hasty Man, and St. *Austin* had felt the Sharpness of his Style in an angry Fit before) he writes in a most humble Strain, and with great Deference to his Learning and Judgment, condescending in his Letter to such a Degree, even of submission, as never was usual, and may seem indecent in a Bishop writing to a Presbyter, intreating him to instruct and satisfy him in such Things as he was ignorant of, that he might be able to instruct others.

He first sets down some Things which he knew of himself, that St. *Hierom* might have the less Trouble in satisfying him of the other in which he was to seek. The Things that he took for certain concerning the Nature of Man's Soul, were,

1. That the Soul is Immortal, and does not die when it goes out of the Body. This he speaks of as a Thing universally known, and agreed: so that it must be an unfair Attempt in any learned Man to represent the contrary as the general Sense of the ancient Christians.

2. That it is not a Part of God. Some Philosophers had taught that. But it was rejected by all Christians, except some *Priscillianists*, *Manichees*, and I know not who.

3. That the Soul is immaterial, he says, is a thing not easily to be prov'd to some People; but for his Part he is satisfied that it is. This, I suppose, he says, that he may not seem to come too near *Tertullian*, whom St. *Hierom* had mention'd, and who had held that not the Soul only, but God also has a Body.

4. That the Soul is fallen into Sin, not by any Fault of God, not by any Necessity either from God, or from its own Primitive Nature, but by its own Will; and that it cannot recover it self but by the Grace of *Jesus Christ*. That there is in all Mankind no Soul but wants his Redemption.

5. That every Soul that departs the Body, at what Age soever, without the Grace of the Mediator, and the Sacrament thereof, will be in Punishment, and will at the last Judgment receive its Body to Punishment: But if after the human Generation which is from Adam it be regenerated in Christ and belong to his Communion; it will have after the Death of the Body, Rest, and also will receive its Body again to Glory.

These are, says he, Things that I stedfastly believe concerning the Soul. Now I entreat you, hear the Things that I want to know; and do not despise me, lest he despise you, who for our Sakes vouchsafed to be despised.

*Quæro ubi contraxerit anima reatum quo trahitur in condemnationem, etiam infantis morte præventi, si ei per sacramentum quo etiam parvuli baptizantur, Christi gratia non subvenerit.* 'I ask where the Soul contracted that Guilt, by which it is brought to Condemnation (even the Soul of an Infant surprized with Death) if the Grace of Christ do not relieve it 'by the Sacrament whereby Infants are baptiz'd.

In the Process of the Letter he takes for granted, that St. *Hierom's* Opinion is, that a Soul is new Created for every Infant, and says, *I am very*



very willing to be of that Opinion too, but I am not as yet of it. — There- Year af-  
fore I entreat you, teach me what I shall teach and hold, and tell me; if ter the A-  
particular Souls be made for every particular Infant born, when it is that they postles  
do Sin in the Infant so as to need Forgiveness, &c. — Since we must nei- 288.  
ther say of God, that he either forces the Souls to become sinful, or punishes  
them being innocent; nor can deny that those Souls even of Infants which de-  
part the Body without Christ's Sacrament do go to any other than Condemna-  
tion: I beseech you how can that Opinion be defended which holds that the  
Souls do not come all of 'em from that one Soul of the first Man; but that as  
he had one made for him, so there is a particular one made for each Infant?

He then recites some other Objections that some People made against  
this Opinion: As, that God rested the seventh Day from making any  
new Thing. And, that God, when he saw an Infant begotten in Whore-  
dom, would never create a Soul for that, &c. And he says, That he  
himself could easily answer all those Objections; and adds,

*But when I come to the Pains suffer'd by Infants, I am, I assure you, brought  
to great Streights, and cannot find any thing at all to answer: I mean, not  
only those Pains which after this Life do attend that Condemnation to which  
they must go if they die without the Sacrament of the Christian Grace, but  
those which in this Life we see with our Eyes, and it grieves us to see; which  
if I should go to count, I should sooner want Time than Instances. They lan-  
guish with Sickness, they are tortur'd with Pains, they are afflicted with Hun-  
ger and Thirst, maim'd in their Limbs, depriv'd of their Senses, tormented  
with unclean Spirits. He afterwards asks, Whether we are to think that as the  
Herd of Swine was given to the Devils to do their Pleasure with 'em, so God  
hath left Infants to their Will without a just Cause:*

Afterward in trying every side of this Argument, to see if there be any  
escaping the Force of it, he speaks of the Necessity there was to believe  
that Infants cannot be saved without Christ, and that they have not the  
Benefits of Christ consign'd to 'em but by Baptism: And having men-  
tion'd that Saying of the Apostle, *As in Adam, all die; so in Christ*  
*shall all be quickned*, and some other Texts, he says,

*And therefore whosoever shall tell us that any one can be quickned in the  
Resurrection of the Dead except by Christ, is to be abhorred as the Bane of  
our common Faith. And whosoever shall say that Infants shall be quickned in  
Christ, which die without partaking of his Sacrament, does both contradict the  
Apostle's Preaching, and also totam condemnat Ecclesiam, condemns the  
whole Church, in which Men do hasten and run with their Infants to be ba-  
ptized, doubtless for that Reason because they believe that otherwise they cannot  
be quickned in Christ. And he that is not quickned in Christ, must remain in  
that Condemnation of which the Apostle speaks, By one Man's Offence Judg-  
ment came on all to Condemnation. To which Condemnation that Infants  
are born liable, Et on his credit Ecclesia, both all the Church believes, and  
you, in your Books against Julian, and in your Exposition on the Pro-  
phet Jonah, have most orthodoxly proved, as I said before; and I suppose in  
other*

Year af-*other Places of your Works, which I have not read, or do not at present re-*  
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Now I would know what is the Cause of this Condemnation. For if new Souls be made for every Infant, I can't see any Sin of the Souls at that Age, and I don't believe that God will condemn any which he sees to have no Sin.

After another Paragraph in which he quotes a Passage out of the Letter of St. Cyprian, which I produced above, (42) he says, *There must be a Reason given why Souls that are new created in all that are born are condemned; for that they are condemned if they so die both the holy Scripture, and the holy Church is Witness. Therefore this Opinion of the Creation of new Souls, if it do not oppose this most established Faith, shall be mine; and if it do, don't let it be yours.*

Then he shews the Absurdity of those who answer all this by saying that the Soul sinned in some former State before it came into the Body.

He concludes with protesting that he could wish that that Opinion of St. Hierom might be shewn to be true: He lik'd it so well in other Respects, were it not for this Objection. He mentions his Prayers to God that the Doubt in which he was of this Matter, might, if it were God's Will, be clear'd to him by St. Hierom's Means: But owns he must have Patience if God refuse him this Request. And of the several Ways of clearing it, says,

*Antequam sciam quam potius eligenda sit, hoc me non temerè sentire profiteor, eam qua vera est non adversari robustissima ac fundatissima fidei, quâ Christi Ecclesia nec parvulos homines recentissime natos a damnatione credit, nisi per gratiam nominis Christi quam in suis sacramentis commendavit, posse liberari.*

' Before I know which of 'em is to be chosen, this I know; that that ' of 'em which is the true, does not oppose that most firm and established Faith, by which the Church of Christ believes that even the new ' Born little Ones of Mankind cannot be freed from Condemnation, but ' by the Grace of the Name of Christ, which he has commended to us ' in his Sacraments.

St. Hierom in his Answer (43) to this Letter did not think fit to enter upon a Discussion of this Question of the Origin of the Soul; but answer'd in short, that it was better for each to abound in his own Sense, than by their Disputes of this Matter, to give Advantage to their common Enemies the Pelagians, who said there was no Original Sin at all. We, says he, do indeed argue this Matter for Instruction's sake; but our Adversaries, and especially the Heretics, when they see us of different Opinion, will slander us as if we did it out of Envy. — Let us rather do our Endeavor that that most pernicious Heresie may be extinguish'd, which always pretends Repentance, that it may have Opportunity of Teaching in the Church, lest if it should declare it self openly, it should be expell'd from thence, and so die.

And



And St. *Austin*, tho' he reckon'd that in the other way of explaining the Origin of the Soul, which was embraced in the *Western Church*, viz. That it as well as the Body, is Begotten by the Parents, it was much more easie to account for the Guilt of Original Sin, yet never was positive. Neither did he publish this Letter, as he (44) says himself, so long as St. *Hierom* liv'd: *Because if he had written any Answer, they might be better publish'd together. But when he was dead, I publish'd it, says he, that he that reads it may take Advice, either not to make any Inquiry at all how the Soul is given to those that are born; or else in so very obscure a Matter to admit of such a Solution of the Question as is not contrary to those plain Points which the Catholic Faith owns concerning Infants, that they will doubtless be condemn'd if they be not Regenerated in Christ.*

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The Opinion of St. *Hierom*, that the Soul is by immediate Creation, has since prevailed to be almost the universal Opinion in the *West* as well as the *East*.

§. 2. But the Mechanic Philosophy that is lately come in vogue, has set some Men upon an Attempt to frame an Hypothesis about the Nature of the Soul, which I cannot say is of St. *Austin's* side, because it carries the Matter a great deal farther than he would have it. It makes the Soul not to be any thing really distinct from the Body: But only such a Disposition of the Parts of the Body, as makes it fit to live, move, remember, think, &c. all which they think may be done by a System of Matter, provided there be Skill enough in the Contriver; and they refer us to the infinite Art of God. So the old Definition of *Aristotle* is come in Request again, that it is nothing but *Actus Corporis organici*.

One may explain their Meaning best by a Thing that is more obviously apprehended. The Disposition of the Wheels in a Clock, such as will make it go, may, for Explication sake, be called the Soul of the Clock. And when the Wheels are so rusty or broken that it will no longer go, the Soul of it is gone; and a skilful Artificer that can mend it, and make it go better than before, gives it a Resurrection.

But there is in this Sense no Notion of a Soul existing in a separate Condition; and accordingly these Men believe no such Thing.

The Antipædobaptists have been much inclin'd to an Opinion of Man's Soul, that it either dies with the Body, and has no Existence; or falls asleep, as some term it, and has no Sense, till the Resurrection. It is an Opinion that took Footing early among them in *Germany*. For *Calvin*, in his Work called *Psychopannychia*, written 1534. says, (45) *Some People in Arabia were the first Authors of this Opinion, who said the Soul died with the Body, and rose again at the Day of Judgment: And afterward John Bishop of Rome held it; whom the School [or Academy] of Paris forced to recant. And after it had been laid to sleep for some Ages, it was lately revived by some of the Anabaptist sort. And in his Instructio adversus Anabaptistas* (46) written 1544. he says, *They all commonly hold that Soul is se-*

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parate

(44) *Retract. l. 2. c. 45.* (45) *In præfatione.* (46) *Art. 7.*

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*parate from the Body do sleep without any Sense or Understanding till the Day of Judgment: Or, that the Soul of a Man is his Life, which ceases when he dies, till he be rais'd again.*

Some of the Antipædobaptists do still hold the same Opinion; but not all.

'Tis a Wonder how they, of all People, came to fall into this Opinion. For since they do, most of 'em, deny Original Sin; the other Opinion, which the Generality of Christians do now embrace, (*viz.* That the Soul of each Infant is a spiritual Substance, anew created by God, capable of existing without a Body, but put by him into the Body) is much fitter for their Purpose. For, as St. *Austin* here shews, the Opinion of Original Sin deriv'd to us all in our Infancy from *Adam* our first Parent, is much more easie to conceive on a Supposal that we have nothing in us but what is propagated from the Seed of *Adam*, than it is upon a Supposal that God creates a Soul out of nothing, which can subsist of it self, and puts it into the Body for a Time. For how comes that Soul to have a Guilt, deriv'd to it from the Sin of *Adam*, which has no Succession at all from *Adam*, but is now lately created by God? It is indeed put into a Body deriv'd from *Adam*. But Sin is of the Soul rather than of the Body. And besides, it was not its own Fault or Choice that it was put into a sinful Body.

So that the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists holding these Opinions thus cross wise, do make a Controversie which in this Particular looks something like a Dispute (47) mention'd by St. *Chrysostom*, that was manag'd in his Time between a *Christian* and a *Greek*; but so unskilfully, that he says, *The Greek said what the Christian should have said; and the Christian said what the Greek should have said.*

It is however a requisite Property of Sincerity, to declare and profess in any Point what we think truest, tho' the other side do seem to suit better with our other Tenets. The contrary, is to serve, not the Truth, but our Hypothesis.

I am afraid we must all sit down in our Disquisition concerning the Origin of our Souls, content with the Comfort, with which St. *Austin* here supports himself; that we know, if we live well, whither we shall go after this State, without knowing how we came into it. For the Explication that the Schools have since added to this Matter, with their *creando infunditur & infundendo creatur*, has put some new Words into our Mouths, but no new Sense into our Heads.

I shall here so far trespass upon the proposed Method of quoting the Passages, wherein the *Pelagians* were concern'd, by themselves; as to rehearse here what St. *Austin* said a great while after on this Subject. The *Pelagians* in a Letter which 18 Bishops of their Party wrote and publish'd by common Consent, pick'd out several things that seem'd absurd in the Doctrin of the Catholics; and among the rest, this; that they

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(47) In 1. ad. Corinth. Hom. 3.



they prov'd the Propagation of Sin by the Propagation of Souls, or held 'em as Points that would stand or fall together. St. *Austin*, in his Answer to that Part of their Letter (48) says,

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*They add here, to cloud or confound the Matter, an unnecessary Question of the Origin of Souls: To the end that by disturbing things that are plain by the Obscurity of other Matters, they may seek an Opportunity of lying hid. For they say that we maintain the Propagation of Sin together with the Propagation of Souls; which, where or when they have heard in the Speeches, or read in the Books of those that defend the Catholic Faith, I know not. For tho' I do meet with some things written by Catholics on this Subject; yet that was before the Defence of the Truth was undertaken against these Men, and not in answer to any thing of theirs.*

*But this I say, That Original Sin is so plain by the Scriptures, and that it is forgiven to Infants in the Laver of Regeneration, is so confirm'd by the Antiquity and Authority of the Catholic Faith, so notorious by the Practice of the Church; that whatsoever is disputed, inquir'd or affirm'd of the Origin of the Soul, if it be contrary to this, cannot be true.*

This was his constant Tenet, that tho' he inclin'd to one side of the Question concerning the Origin of the Soul, yet he would not have the Doctrin of original Sin to depend upon that.

§. 3. There is one thing more observable from these two last Passages of St. *Austin*, viz. That there was no such thing then us'd, as privat Baptism of Children in Houses, except in Cases of the greatest Extremity; and that even sick Children were carried to the Church, if it were possible. For it is of such that he says, *Men do hasten and run with 'em to be Baptiz'd while they are alive, lest when they are dead there be nothing to be done, &c.* It was to the Church that they ran, where there were large Fonts or Baptisteries, in which Infants or grown Persons might be put into the Water. And it has since been decreed in a General Council in *Trullo*, *Can. 59.* That Baptisms shall not be in Privat Chapels, but in the Public Church.

This was so generally observed from the Time that Churches were built, till of late Days, that we read of many Kings Sons, and Kings themselves, converted to the Christian Faith, that received their Baptism in the Church. Whereas now a Days Persons of much lower Rank take the State upon 'em to expect it to be brought home to their Children, tho' they are well. And there they put a great Contempt upon it, by making it a formal Ceremony, subservient to their Belly Chear, and a Drinking Feast; little Regard being given to the holy Sacrament, or the Prayers used thereat.

In Cases of urgent Extremity the Ancients did indeed Baptize any where; in the House, in the Bed, &c. rather than the Party should die without it. I mean to give by and by (49) several Proofs of that. But they never did so but in such Cases.

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The Church of *England* allows of Baptism by a Minister in Privat Houses in Cases of Necessity; but gives positive Order, that it be not used except in Case of Danger of the Child's Death; and that such a Child, if it live, be brought to the Church, and his Baptism declared there. And some Bishops and Curats of the said Church do shew a Zeal to have this Order, which has of late been much neglected, put again in due Execution. But others of 'em seem more indifferent about it. And in most Places it is found a difficult thing to overcome that lazy and irreverent Custom, which took such deep Footing among the People in the late disorderly Times.

There never was a more capricious Change made by any sort of People in any Matter of Religion than the *English Presbyterians* have made in this Point. No longer ago than Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, they made it one of their Objections against the *English Common-Prayer Book*, that it gave any Allowance for this *Privat Baptism* at all. They pleaded, *That it is not lawful either to Preach the Word, nor to Minister the Sacraments in Privat Corners: That they ought not to be but where the Church is; and that the Church ought not to assemble (if it be not letted by Persecution) but in open Places: That John baptized openly: That Austin, although he were of that Mind, that Children could not be saved without Baptism, yet in the Time of Necessity (as it is called) he does not allow either of Baptism in Privat Houses, or by Women; but when there was Danger, the Women hastened to carry the Children unto the Church.*

These, and more such like Pleas, *Cartwright* us'd in his Disputation with Archbishop *Whitgift*. (50) And so you see, says he, those whom you charge slanderously with Conventicles, are join to glaze up the Windows that you open to Secret and Privat Conventicles. And having mentioned the Orders that God has set, that it should be done in the Congregation, and by the Minister of the Gospel. He adds this Rigid and Presbyterian Expression. *And I will farther say, That altho' that the Infants which die without Baptizing should be assuredly damn'd (which is most false) yet ought not the Orders which God has set in his Church be broken after this sort. For as the Salvation of Men ought to be dear unto us; so the Glory of God, which consisteth in that his Orders be kept, ought to be much more dear.*

*Whitgift*, on the other side, shews that the Book did not say any thing of Baptism by Women or by Laymen; he pleads for no more than this, *That upon extreme Necessity of Sicknes, Peril of Death, and such like, the Curat may be sent for, or some other Minister that may sooner be come by, to do it in the House. But he is not allowed that.*

And yet how strangely have these Men since ran into the other extreme? When they came to have the ordering of Matters in the Church, they (tho' contrary to the Rules of their own *Directory*) gratified the Humor of the People in this Matter far more than ever the Church of *England*.

(50) See *Whitgift's* Defence of Answer to Admonition. Tr. 9. ch. 3, 4, 5. It. Tr. 2. ch. 1. div. 8.



*England* had done. If their Religion had been Parliamentary, as the Papiſts ſlander all our Religion to be; they could not have taken a more violent Swing from one ſide to the other.

At preſent they and their People make this Houſe-Baptiſm the moſt ordinary Way of adminiſtring that Sacrament, be the Child ſick or well: and in *London*, and other Places, where any of them are, a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, cannot if he would bring his People to the Obſervation of the foreſaid Order of the Church; becauſe if any humorſome Man or Woman of his Pariſh have a Mind to have their Child, tho' in never ſo good Health, Baptized in the Houſe, and he deny 'em; the next thing is, they in a Pet ſend for one of theſe Men, who are always ready to do it.

There are no Orders of the Church that do come in Proceſs of time to be more groſſy and univerſally abus'd, than thoſe that begin firſt to be diſpens'd with for the State and Character of the Perſons concern'd in 'em. This was firſt granted as a Privilege of Kings, or Kings Sons, as appears by the Decretals of *Clement* the Fifth; and by the Council of *Cologne*, where it is ordain'd that none but they ſhould be Baptiz'd at Home. Afterward it came, I ſuppoſe, to be allow'd to Noble Men, and ſo to other Rich Men. And as every Body affects the Name and State of Gentility; they think themſelves hardly dealt with, if they be accounted in this Matter inferior to ſuch or ſuch of their Neighbours.

This, and many other Inſtances of like Nature that might be given, ſhould teach the Clergy to take Care how they make any Beginning of breaking that Rule of Scripture given by *St. James* (51) againſt any Reſpect of Perſons to be ſhewn in Church-Matters; for if you once begin there is no Stop to be made afterward. Therefore the Synod of *Aix*, (52) determin'd, *That no Curat or other Priest ſhould, under Pain of Excommunication, go to any Houſe, nor even of a Nobleman, to adminiſter Baptiſm, except in Caſe of Neceſſity; and that no Caſe ſhould be taken to be of Neceſſity, but when the Child's Life is in Danger.*

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## CHAP. XVI.

### *Quotations out of ſome Councils of Carthage, before the Pelagian Controverſie.*

§. I. **T**HE moſt Ancient Councils of *Carthage*, as well as of other Churches, are not recorded in the Volumes of Councils. The Cuſtom of regiſtring the Acts of Councils, and bringing them into Volumes begun later. One of the firſt of all the Councils of *Carthage*, and (except one or two) of the moſt Ancient in all Chriſtendom, ſince the times

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(51) Ch. 2. V. 1, 2, 3. (52) Boechell. Decret. Eccl. Gall. de Baptiſmo. cap. 77.

Year of times of the Apostles, of which we have any Remains, was that of 66 Bishops under St. *Cyprian* in the Year after the Apostles 150. which resolved the Question whether Infant Baptism might be administered on the first or second Day after the Birth, or must be deferred till the eighth. But the Account of that is given before at large in *Chap. VI.* Those that I mean to recite here, are of such as are set down in the common Volumes, and were about the latter End of the fourth Century.

And of these Dr *Cave* (1) and others have observ'd that there is great Obscurity and Difficulty in assigning the very Year on which they were held; and some Confusion by Reason of the Carelessness or Mistakes of the Collectors, who have sometimes inserted into one Council some of the Canons that have been made in another. I shall not in these nice Matters pretend to be wiser than other Men. But the first Canon that I shall quote, carries in it self a plain and undoubted Indication of the Year in which it was Enacted.

It is the 48th Canon of that Council of *Carthage* which is generally call'd the *Third*. About the time when this Council was held, the Schism of the *Donatists* began to break apace; and those who had been brought up in it came over in great Numbers to the Communion of the Church. This Party of Men, as I shew'd (2) before, differ'd nothing from the Catholics in any Point either of Doctrine, or of Ceremonies, or of Sacraments; but only they accounted that Party in *Africa* which was call'd the Catholic Church, impure, by Reason of some ill Men that were among 'em, or by Reason that some of the Ministers thereof deriv'd their Ordination from Bishops that had, as was said, been guilty of Apostacy in the former times of Persecution: and all that came over to them from the Catholics they had been wont to Baptize anew, as coming out of an impure Church.

Now the Bishops of this Council debated among themselves how far it was expedient to admit any that return'd from this Schism to the Church, into holy Orders. And as for those who having been once baptiz'd in the Catholic Church, did, after they came to Years, revolt to the *Donatists*, and were Baptiz'd by them; they agreed that such, upon their Return to the Church, might be admitted to Lay-Communion, but never to bear any Office in the Church. But the Case of those that had been born among the *Donatists*, and had been in their Infancy Baptized by them, and after they came to Years of Discretion disliked the Schism, and came over to the Church, seem'd very different.

Concerning these they could not come to any Resolution at the present: And therefore they agreed that the Advice of two of the most noted Neighbouring Churches should be askt in that Matter; and they made a Canon in these Words.

*Concilio*

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(1) Hist. lit. Part. 2. pag. 132. (2) CH. IX.



*Concilii Carthag. tertii Can. 48.*

De Donatistis, placuit ut consulamus fratres & consacerdotes nostros Siricius & Simplicianum, de solis infantibus qui baptizantur penes eosdem, ne [leg. an.] quod suo non fecerunt iudicio, cum ad Ecclesiam Dei salubri proposito fuerint conversi, parentum illos error impediatur, ne provehantur sacri altaris ministri.

In Reference to the Donatists, it is resolved that we do ask the Advice of our Brethren and Fellow-Bishops Siricius and Simplicianus, concerning those only who are in Infancy Baptiz'd among them; whether in that which they have not done by their own Judgment, the Error of their Parents shall hinder 'em, that when they by a whole-some Purpose shall be converted to the Church of God, they may not be promoted to be Ministers of the Holy Altar.

The Collection that is called *Concilium Africanum*, has this same Canon capitulo 14. Siricius was at this time Bishop of Rome, and Simplicianus of Milan. So that, as I said, this Canon gives us from it self a clear Proof of the Year when it was made, viz. Anno Dom. 397. for Simplicianus was not made Bishop of Milan, till the Beginning of this Year, when he came into the Room of St. Ambrose, who died then: and in the Beginning of the next Year Siricius Bishop of Rome died.

§. 2. The Answer of these two Bishops seems to have been in Favor of those, concerning whom their Opinion was asked; for four Years after, the Council of Carthage determines the Point absolutely, that such Persons may, if there be Occasion, be promoted to the Ministry. The Canon, leaving out the Digressions, is this.

*Codex Canonum Ecclesie Africanae, Can. 57.*

Aurelius Bishop of Carthage speaks in the Council, and says,

Superiori Consilio Statutum esse mecum recognoscit unanimitas vestra ut hi qui apud Donatistas parvuli baptizati sunt nondum scire valentes erroris eorum interitum, & posteaquam ad statum rationis capacem pervenerant, agnita veritate, &c. — recepti sunt — Sine dubio ad officium clericatus tales esse applicandos, & maxime in tantâ rerum necessitate nullus est qui non concedat.

Quaquam nonnulli ejusdem sectæ clerici cum plebibus atque honoribus suis ad nos transire desiderant, &c. — Sed hoc majori fratrum supradictorum considerationi dimittendum censeo. — Tantum de his qui Infantes baptizati sunt satagimus, ut nostræ, si placet, in iisdem ordinandis consentiant voluntati, &c.

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' You remember that in a former Council it was resolved that they who were, in their Infancy, before they were able to understand the Mischief of that Error, Baptized among the *Donatists*, and when they came to Age of Understanding, acknowledging the Truth, &c.— they were received by us. — All will grant that such may undoubtedly be promoted to Church Offices, especially in times of so great need.

' Some that have been *Teachers* in that Sect would come over with their Congregations, if they might have the same Places among us, &c. — But this I leave to a farther Consideration of our Brethren, &c. — Only that they will consent to our Determination, that such as were Baptized by them in Infancy, may be admitted to Orders.

This shews plainly that the *Donatists* as well as *Catholics* Baptized in Infancy: Only those that had been Baptized by the Church Party, whether in Infancy, or at full Age, they would not receive into their Sect without giving them a new Baptism; because they judged Baptism given in an impure Church was void, tho' it were given in the right Form, and to a Subject never so capable: for which the Church charged them with the Crime of *Anabaptism*, or Rebaptization. And they were about this Time reduced, and came over to the Church.

§. 3. There are added in the old Copies of the said *Third Council of Carthage*, *Anno Dom.* 397 some Canons of which it is said, *It is not certain whether they belong properly to the first, or second, or third Council.* One of 'em (3) is for abating to poor People the Fees that were usually paid to the Minister at the Baptizing of a Child. But it being accounted by the most learned Critics to be of a later Date, and to have been crowded in here by *Mercator*, I shall omit the Recital of it.

§. 4. The next of the Councils of *Carthage*, in which we find any Mention of Infant Baptism, is that which is vulgarly called the *Fifth*, and was celebrated three Years after, *viz.* *Anno Dom.* 400. In which there is a Canon that makes Provision for the Case of such as had been carried away captive in their Infancy, into the Country of the *Barbarians*, and when they were ransom'd, there was none of their Friends left alive that could certainly tell whether they had been Baptiz'd before their Carrying away or not. Such Persons, or their surviving Friends for them, were in great Perplexity and Doubt, whether it were fit that they should be Baptiz'd after their Ransom. For if they were Baptiz'd before their Captivity, then this would be to Baptize 'em twice; which was look'd on by all Christians, except the *Marcionites*, to be a great Prophanation of the Sacrament. And if they were not Baptiz'd before; then not to do it now, were to let them die without any Baptism at all. The Words of the Canon are these:

*Concilia*

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(3) Labbei Concil. It. Carranza summa Concil. concil. Carthag. Tertium. It. Gratian. q. 1.



*Concilii Carthaginienfis Quinti Canon 6.*

*Placuit de infantibus quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sunt per aetatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere; absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos: Ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari. Hinc enim legati Maurorum fratres nostri consuluerunt, &c.*

‘It is resolved concerning Infants of whose having been Baptiz’d  
‘there are no positive Witnesses that can give certain Evidence, and  
‘they themselves are not capable to give any Account of that Sacra-  
‘ment having been administred to ’em, by reason of their Age; that  
‘such be without any Scruple Baptized: lest that Scruple do cause ’em  
‘to go without the Cleansing of the Sacrament. For our Brethren that  
‘come from the *Mauritanians* have asked our Advice on this Question,  
‘who do ransom many such from the *Barbarians*, &c.

I set this Council at *Anno* 400. that is the Year after the Apostles 300. And so do all late Writers that speak of it, set it then, or within a Year or two of that Time. Which I note because *Binus* and some other old Copies give it a Date that may seem at first sight very absurd and inconsistent, worded thus, *Circa tempora Anastasii Papae, post consulatum Caesarii & Attici, sexto Kalendas Junii habitum, era* 438. ‘Held about the Time of Pope *Anastasius*, after the Consulship of *Cesarinus* and *Atticus*, six Days before the Kalends of June, in the Year 438. But the Consulship of *Cesarinus* and *Atticus* was in the Year 397. And *Anastasius* came into the See *Anno* 398. and liv’d but four Years. And *Aurelius*, whose Name is among the Bishops that subscribed this Council, could not live to 438. But all this is reconcil’d by taking that *Era* 438 not for the Year of Christ, but for the Year of that *Era* which the Spaniards call *Era Augusti*, reckon’d from the Time of the Senate’s confirming the Acts of the Triumvirate, which was (as *Petavius Rat. Temp. Pr. 2. c. 24.* shews) just 38 Years before the Christian *Era*. So that this, instead of disturbing, does confirm the Date of *Anno Dom. 400.*

So that *Baronius*, *Spondanus*, *Dr. Cave*, &c. place it *Anno* 398. *Iustellus* and Cardinal *Perron*, *Anno* 401. *Schellstratus* this Year 400. All in the Time of *Anastasius*. And another Thing which confirms its being on one of these Years, is the Matter of the last Canon of it: And yet the different understanding of some Words of that Canon, cause the Difference in placing it of a Year or two. The Canon is this, *Resolved, That a Petition be made to the most Renowned Emperors, that all Reliques of Idolatry, not only in Images, but in all Places, whether Groves or Trees, be altogether destroyed.*

Now all agree, that on the Year 399. was the most general Overthrow of the Heathen Temples, in all the Empire, but especially at

Year after the Apostles 300. *Carthage*, and in all *Africa*. *St. Austin* gives (4) the Account of it, which is very remarkable.

The Heathens had had a Tradition very rife among 'em, that the Christian Religion should last but 365 Years, to be reckon'd from the Beginning of it. They depended upon an Oracle for this: The Oracle had said, that *Peter* the Apostle being a skilful Magician, had, by killing and cutting in Pieces a Child of a Year old, and burying the Limbs of it with certain Magical Rites, raised so strong a Charm for the Success of the Christian Religion, that it must now last for so many Years as the Child was Days old: But when that Time was expir'd, they should see it presently come to an end. And one may perceive by *St. Austin's* Words, that the Heathens at that Time expected the Extirpation of *Christianity* as confidently as the Papists do now the Extirpation of the *Northern Heresie*.

*St. Austin* allows them the latest Time they could suppose for the Beginning of Christian Religion, viz. the *Pentecost* that was next after *Christ's* Death. He shews that 365 Years reckon'd from that *Pentecost*, do end in the Consulship of *Honorius* and *Eutychianus*, which is in our way of reckoning, the Year 398. Now, says he, the next Year to that, being the Consulship of *Honorius* and *Manlius Theodorus*, when, according to that Oracle of Devils, or Figment of Men, there should have been no such thing as Christian Religion in the World, what was done in other Countries I had not occasion to enquire; but this I know, that in *Carthage*, the most noted and eminent City of all *Africa*, *Gaudentius* and *Jovius*, the Emperor *Honorius's* Lieutenants, did, on the 19th of March, pull down the Temples of the false Gods, and break in pieces their Idols. From which Time to this present, being almost 30 Years, who does not see how much the Worship of *Christ's* Name has encreased? Especially since many of those are become Christians, who were before kept back from the Faith, by that Prophecy, which, now the Time is past, they perceive to have been a foolish and idle one.

*Baronius* thinks that this Order of *Honorius*, for razing the Heathen Temples, was given by him in Compliance with that Petition made by this Council of *Carthage*; and, if so, the razing being Anno 399, the Council must have been the Year before. But others think that the Style of the Petition supposes the Temples and such public Places of Idolatry at *Carthage* to be destroyed already; and that the Bishops desire the Emperor to compleat that good Work, by extirpating all the Remains of Idolatry practis'd with Images plac'd in Groves, Trees, &c.

This latter seems the more probable by the Words of the Petition. So the Council may be suppos'd to be the Year after the Emperor's first Order, viz. Anno Christi 400. but however, it appears to have been about this Time.

§ 5. There had been, as it seems, in some Council at *Hippo* before that Time, a Resolution to the same Purpose, viz. That those who had

no



no certain Proof of their Baptism in Infancy should be, for Certainty, Baptized now. For there is in *Labbe's Collection*, and in the *Magde-burgenses* (5) at the Year 397. set down a Copy of a Synodical Letter dated *Casario* and *Autico Ciss.* wherein they complain, *That those things which had been long ago Enacted in the Council of Hippo had not been so duly put in Execution as they ought.* They enjoin better Execution of them for the future, and to that purpose give a Breviate of 'em, being 41 in Number: The 40th of which is given thus, *De his qui nullo testimonio se baptizatos noverunt, ut baptizentur.* 'For those that are not sure by any Evidence that they have been baptized: That they be now Baptized.

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ter the A-  
postles  
290.

§. 6. It was not long after these Times that *Leo* the First, Bishop of *Rome*, had occasion to consider of the same Case in a Synod at *Rome*; and he has left an Epistle on that Subject: Which, tho' it be something later than the Period of Time which I have propos'd to search, *Leo* being made Bishop of that See in the Year of Christ 440, yet it being so particularly relating to this Matter, I shall here transcribe so much of it as is to this Purpose. It is directed to *Neon*, Bishop of *Ravenna*, and is the 37th among his Epistles.

340.

'We have been given to understand by the Relation of some Brethren, that several Captives, who were carried into Captivity at that Age which has no firm Knowledge of any thing, do, now they are restor'd to their Liberty and their Home, desire the Remedy of Baptism. But by reason of the Ignorance of their Infancy, they cannot remember whether or no they have received the Sacrament of that Mystery before. And that by reason of this uncertain State of Remembrance, their Souls are brought into Danger; for that under Pretense of Caution the Grace is denied them, *Quæ ideo non impenditur quia putatur impensa*, being therefore not given them, because it is suppos'd that they have had it already.

'When therefore the Scrupulousness of some Brethren did, not without Cause, make a Doubt of Administring to such Persons the Sacrament of our Lord's Mystery; We did, as I said at a Synodical Meeting take this sort of Case into our Consideration, and set our selves to discuss the Point with a careful Diligence, according to the Opinion of every one: That by the Judgment of many considering the Matter together, we might more certainly fix on the Truth. And that which by God's Guidance came into my Mind, the numerous Consent of the Brethren confirmed.

'We ought then, above all Things, to beware that while we shew a sort of Caution, we do not fall into a Failure of regenerating their Souls. For who would be so addicted to his Suspicions, as to define a thing to be true, which without any full Proof, he by an uncertain Opinion surmises to be so? Therefore whenas neither he that desires the Regeneration does remember that he was ever Baptiz'd,

T 2

'nor

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

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'nor any one else can testify of his Consecration [or, *Sanctification*]  
'there is no Reason to think there is any Sin in doing this, when neither  
'he that is consecrated, nor he that consecrates him, acts any thing a-  
'gainst his Knowledge [or *Conscience*].

'I know indeed that it is an inexcusable Fault, when, according to the  
'Fashion of the *Heretics*, which is condemn'd by the holy Fathers, any one  
'is compell'd to reiterate his Baptism, which is once for all given to  
'those that are to be regenerated: The Apostolic Doctrin being against  
'such a Practice, and teaching us that there is but one *Godhead* in the  
'*Trinity*, one *Confession* in the *Faith*, and one *Sacrament* of *Baptism*. But  
'there is nothing like that to be feared in this case; for that cannot  
'be brought within compass of the Crime of Reiteration, of which we  
'are not sure that it has been done once.

'And therefore when any such Case comes before you, first examin-  
'the Matter narrowly; and continue your Search for a great while (un-  
'less the Party seems to be nigh his end) whether there be no Body at  
'all to be found that can help out the Ignorance of such a Person that  
'knows not his own Condition. And if it appear that he that wants  
'the Sacrament, is kept off only by a vain Surmise, let him come with-  
'out Fear to the obtaining of the Grace, of which he does not find any  
'Evidence that he has had it before. And let us not be afraid to open  
'the Gate of Salvation to him, who cannot be prov'd as yet to have  
'entred into it.

'But if it can be prov'd that any such Person has been Baptized,  
'tho' by the *Heretics*; let the Sacrament of Regeneration be by no  
'Means reiterated on him: but let that only which was wanting there,  
'be now added; that he have the Imposition of Hands by the Bishop,  
'for the obtaining the Grace of the holy Spirit.

'These Things, dear Brother, I was willing should come to the Know-  
'ledge of you all; lest while you allow too much to your Scruples,  
'the Mercy of God be denied to those that desire to be saved.

'Dated the ninth before the Kalends of *November*, in the Consulship  
'of *Martian* the Emperor.

490.  
391. The same Question being put to him by *Rusticus*, Bishop of *Narbon*,  
he resolves it to the (6) same Effect; and so does *Gregory* the Great, in  
the next Age; (7) and so does the Council in *Trullo*, *Can. 84. Anno*

The *Heretics* that *Leo* talks of, as reiterating Baptism, were either  
the *Marcionites* who gave to some People a second or third Baptism,  
tho' they own'd the first to have been true Baptism; or else the *Dona-*  
*tists*, who thinking no Baptism to be true, that was not given by such  
Holy and Pure Men as themselves, gave a new Baptism to all that came  
from any other Party to theirs.

The



The Church of *England* is very careful, as not to let any one go without Baptism, so also not to Baptize again those that have been Baptiz'd already. And therefore when any Person is brought to Baptism, concerning whom they cannot be sure whether he is already Baptized or not, they order him to be Baptiz'd with these conditional Words preceding the Form of Baptism, *If thou art not already Baptiz'd, N. I Baptize thee in the Name, &c.*

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ter the A-  
postles  
340.

It had been usual to do so for many hundred Years (8) before. But *Luther* found great Fault with this Custom; and *Vossius* dislikes it, but gives no other Reason against it than that there is no Example of such conditional Baptism in Scripture, nor in the Records of the first Ages. Which in a Case that so seldom happens, is no wonder; for in the Church of *England*, where it is appointed in a certain Case, yet that Case being rare, very few have ever had occasion to practise it. But it is certain that all that do Baptize in such a Case, do understand that Condition, tho' they do not express it; for they do it on a Supposal that the Party is not Baptized already.

1059<sup>1</sup>

The next Council of *Carthage* that I know of, that had any Occasion to mention Infant Baptism, was that *Anno* 411 or the Beginning of 412, where *Celestius* was challeng'd for denying Original Sin, and thought to escape the Brand of Heresie by declaring, that whatever he thought of Sin in Infants, yet he own'd their Baptism. This Council is not in the Volumes, but *St. Austin* has preserv'd some of the Acts of it, by quoting them in his Writings; and I had occasion to recite out of him what is material to this Purpose in a Chapter (9) before.

311<sup>2</sup>

316<sup>2</sup>

And the next to that was that *Anno* 416. A Synodical Letter whereof I shall recite hereafter (10)

## CHAP. XVII.

*Out of the Decretal Epistles of Siricius and Innocentius,  
Bishops of Rome.*

§. 1. **T**HERE never was a greater Cheat and Abuse put upon the Church, and the Learned World, than that Piece of Forgery of the most ancient *Decretal Epistles*. The Papists themselves are now ashamed to hear 'em mentioned, except some few, whose Want of all Shame makes amends for their Want of Learning.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
284.

The

(8) Vide Vossium de baptismo Disp. 15. Art. 11. & lib. 6. caput. Car. Magni.  
(9) CH. V. §. 8 (10) CH. XIX. §. 28.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
r. Dies  
284.

The History of 'em in ſhort is this; The ancient Biſhops of *Rome* were frequently conſulted by the Country Biſhops, and the Biſhops of the neighbouring Churches in Caſes of Conſcience, Faith, or Diſcipline. They wrote Letters in answer to ſuch Queſtions as were put to 'em. Toward the latter End of the fourth Century there began a Cuſtom of Regiſtring and Preſerving theſe Letters in the Archives of that Church. This was in the following Times found to be of great Uſe; for theſe Letters ſerved the ſucceeding Biſhops for Precedents, when their Judgment was deſired in the like Caſes.

After many Ages it came into the Mind of ſome of that Church, to think how great Pity it was that that Cuſtom of Regiſtring thoſe Letters had not begun ſooner, for there were none extant in the Regiſters that were earlier than about the Time I mention'd.

The Way that they took to make up that Deficiency was ſuch, as that the Mention thereof muſt make a Chriſtian bluſh, whenever the Credit of his Religion is attacked by a Heathen. Some among 'em that had no Regard to true or falſe, put in Practice that foul Artifice that is uſed by Faithleſs and Fabulous Hiſtorians; who, when they would ſet forth the Antiquities of their Nation, and find no Records nor Race of Kings ſo ancient as they could wiſh, do make out of their own Brain Hiſtories of Times, Names of Kings, Accounts of Wars and Succeſſions, as far back as they pleaſe to feign. Of which we ſee Inſtances in the Fabulous Hiſtories of the *Romans*, *Britons*, *Scots*, *Agyptians*, *Chineſe*, &c. This is ſcandalous and hateful enough in Secular Hiſtories: But in the Concerns of Religion, is the higheſt Pitch of Impiety and Miſchief.

Finding that their Biſhops of the firſt Ages had none of theſe *Decretal Epistles* upon Record, as many of the following ones had, they made ſome for 'em, and put 'em out under their Names. And as there was a very corrupt State of that Church at the Time when theſe Acts were forged, the Authors of 'em fail'd not to make the ancient Popes ſay all that they had a Mind they ſhould have ſaid. So that you ſhall there frequently find ſome Biſhop of *Rome* of the Primitive Times, who was, in Reality, an Humble, Poor and Perſecuted Biſhop, ſtrutting and vaunting about the Supremacy of his See, and talking of the Worſhip due to Holy Images, &c.

When any Thing is diſcover'd and made plain, we are apt to wonder that it was not diſcover'd ſooner. It was a Time of great Ignorance and Barbarity, when theſe forged Epistles were put upon the World. And in the Beginning of the Reformation the Proteſtants were much puzzled with 'em. They ſaw plain enough that the corrupt Doctrines and Practices then receiv'd, had no Foundation in the Scripture, nor in the Writings of the ancient Chriſtians for ſeveral Ages; but they knew not what to ſay to theſe Epistles, many of which were dated in and nigh the Times of the Apoſtles, and yet had in 'em rank Popery. Thoſe firſt Biſhops of all, *Clement*, *Anaclet*, *Evarcſt*, *Alexander*, *Xyſtus*, and the holy Martyr *Telephorus*, &c. did there all ſpeak the Language of *Gregory* the VII.

'Tis.



'Tis true that here and there one of the best learned and most free Men among the Papists themselves, had before that Time declar'd their Objections against some of these Epistles. For Example, Cardinal *Cusanus*, after he had shewn by plain Proofs that the Charter of *Constantin's* Donation was a Forgery, adds, (11) *As perhaps are some other of the large Writings attributed to St. Clement and Anaclet.* For the Letters themselves examin'd by the Circumstances of the Times of those Men do bewray themselves. But these Exceptions of one or two Men avail'd nothing against the general Vote; they were universally receiv'd, the Canonists made constant Use of 'em, and the Canon Law of that Time was in great Measure made out of 'em.

*Luther* exclaim'd against 'em after his Way, and caused them and the whole Body of the *Decretals* to be publicly burnt; but he had not Learning enough to trace and descry the Forgery of 'em. But Bishop *Jewel* being to answer his Adversary *Harding*, who had press'd him with Authorities out of them, made use of his Skill in Ecclesiastical History to disclose plain Proofs of Forgery in several of 'em. And the Critics since, both those of the Romish and Reformed Church, have, by a particular Examination put it out of doubt, that all of 'em, beyond the Times I spoke of, are spurious.

They are never mentioned by any Writer of any Antiquity; they are written, not in the Style that was in use in the Time of the *Roman* Empire, but in that of the barbarous Age. The Dates of almost all of 'em are inconsistent with History. The ignorant Forger has made most of 'em speak of Men and Things, Customs and Forms that were not in being at that Time. Beside, that each Epistle has in it self some particular Proof of its being forged.

§. 2. Now that which the Critics and Learned Men are agreed on, is, that the Epistles of Pope *Siricius*, who was made Bishop *Anno* 384, are the first of all the *Decretal* Epistles that are genuin, i. e. that were really written by the Men whose Name they bear. 'Tis true, that there are Epistles extant, one of *Clement*, out of which I gave a Quotation, CH. I. §. 1. and some of *Cornelius*, and one or two more, which are undoubted, and are mention'd and valued by all the Ancients: but the Forger of the *Decretals* took no notice of them; either because they were nothing for his Turn, or perhaps he was so ignorant as not to know of 'em. Those which he has made, are of more Use to the Design of the Court of *Rome*, but otherwise of no worth.

But indeed the Church of *Rome* affords in all but a very few Writers of any Antiquity. And if she be the Mother, she was in those Times outdone by many of her Daughters, for Number of Learned Men. Since *Clement* and *Hermas*, who liv'd in the Apostles Time, and *St. Hierom*, who had his Education in that Church, there has been none that I have had occasion to mention in this Tract till this *Siricius*.

§. 3. He

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postles.  
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§. 3. He has several Epistles extant that are genuin, and are mention'd by Writers so Ancient and so Learned as not to be impos'd on by the forementioned Forgery. And the Marks of Popish Worship that are so frequent in the elder forged Epistles, are all vanish'd again in those of *Siricius* and *Innocent*, and of several Popes that succeeded them. That which I have occasion to quote is the first of 'em, which is written to *Himerius*, Bishop of *Arragon* in *Spain*.

He gives him several Directions about Ecclesiastical Matters, and finds fault with many Things that by his Information he understood to be manag'd disorderly in that Church. It is divided into 15 Chapters or Paragraphs; whereof the second is this:

*Siricii Episcopi Decretalis Epistola prima. Capitulo secundo.*

*Sequitur de diversis baptizandorum temporibus, prout unicuique libitum fuerit, improbabilis & emendanda confusio; quæ à nostris sacerdotibus (quod commoti dicimus) non ratione auctoritatis alicujus, sed solè temeritate præsumitur. Ut passim ac liberè natalitiis Christi, seu Apparitionis nec non & Apostolorum seu Martyrum festivitatis, innumera (ut asseris) plebes baptismi mysterium consequantur. Cum hoc sibi privilegium & apud nos & apud omnes Ecclesias Dominicum specialiter cum Pentecoste suâ Pascha defendat. Quibus solis per annum diebus ad fidem confluentibus generalia baptismatis tradi convenit sacramenta. His duntaxat electis qui ante quadraginta vel eo amplius dies nomen dederint, & exorcismis quotidianisque orationibus atque jejuniis fuerint expiati, quatenus Apostolica illa impleatur præceptio, ut expurgato fermento veteri nova incipiat esse conspersio.*

*Sicut ergo Pascalem reverentiam in nullo dicimus esse minuendam, ita infantibus qui necdum loqui potuerint per atatem, vel his quibus in qualibet necessitate opus fuerit sacrâ undâ baptismatis omni volumus celeritate succurri: Ne ad nostrarum perniciem tendat animarum, si negato desiderantibus fonte saluari exiens unusquisque de seculo & regnum perdat & vitam.*

*Quicumque etiam discrimen naufragii, hostilitatis incursum, obsidionis ambiguum, vel cujuscumque corporalis ægritudinis desperationes inciderint, & sibi unico credulitatis auxilio poposcerint subveniri, eodem quo poscunt momento temporis expetita regenerationis præmia consequantur.*

‘ There is also a blameable Disorder which ought to be amended, in  
‘ Baptizing at various Times as every one fancies; which our fellow  
‘ Bishops among you do venture to practise, as I am something vext to  
‘ hear, not by the Rule of any Authority, but by meer Rashness. So  
‘ that great Numbers of People do, as you say, receive their Baptism,  
‘ some at *Christmas*, some at the *Epiphany*, and some on the holy Days of  
‘ the Apostles and Martyrs. Whereas not only in our Church, but in all  
‘ Churches, our Lord’s *Passover* [*viz. Easter*] together with its *Pentecost*,  
‘ does peculiarly challenge this Privilege to it self. On which Days of  
‘ the Year alone it is fitting that the common Sacraments of Baptism  
‘ should be given to those that come to the Faith. And that those only  
‘ should



‘ should be admitted who have given in their Names forty Days or Year af-  
 ‘ more before, and have been cleansed by Exorcisms [*or Renunciations of* ter the A-  
 ‘ *the Devil and Wickedness*] and daily Prayers and Fastings, to the end that postles  
 ‘ that Precept of the Apostle may be fulfilled of *purging out the old Lea-* 284.  
 ‘ *ven, that there may be a new Lump.*

‘ As therefore I affirm that the Respect due to the Feast of *Easter*,  
 ‘ ought by no means to be diminished; so my Meaning is, that as for  
 ‘ Infants, who by reason of their Age, are not yet able to speak, and o-  
 ‘ thers that are in any Case of Necessity, they ought to be reliev’d with  
 ‘ all speed possible; lest it turn to the Perdition of our own Souls,  
 ‘ if we deny the Water of Salvation to any one that stands in need,  
 ‘ and they departing this Life, do lose their Kingdom and their Life.

‘ Whoever also shall be in Danger of Shipwrack, or of the Assaults of  
 ‘ Enemies, or of a Siege, or shall be likely to Die of any bodily Sick-  
 ‘ ness, and shall desire to be assisted with that which is the only Ar-  
 ‘ mour of our Faith [*or, Religion*] that they have the Gift of Regenera-  
 ‘ tion which they desire, the same Moment that they desire it.

I have set down this the more at large, because we see by it, that  
 at the same time when they insist upon those Preparations, and personal  
 Qualifications of the Adult, they do except the Case of Infants.  
 ’Tis common for some Antipædobaptist Writers to quote such Passages  
 as the Forepart of this, taken by it self, would be, as Testimonies, that  
 such Authors allow’d no Baptism of Infants, because they require those  
 preparatory Exercises of all that are to be Baptized. This I have seen  
 done a hundred Times, when the same Author that is quoted does,  
 sometimes in the same Treatise, as here; and sometimes in other Parts  
 of his Works, shew that Infants are to be Baptiz’d, as being in a Case  
 that is exempt from the general Rule that requires Faith, Prayer, Re-  
 pentance, and other personal Preparation. ’Tis no wonder that they do  
 thus with other Books, when they can hardly forbear doing it with the  
*Catechism* of the Church of *England*, which requires *Repentance* and *Faith*  
 of Persons to be Baptiz’d; but shews by the next Words, that the Case  
 of *Infants* is an exempt Case. This Practice, tho’ not always so pal-  
 pable, yet is in effect always as unfair as that with which *Wills* charges *Dan-*  
*vers*, (12) viz. for quoting the Canon of a certain Council as Enacting,  
 that *none should receive Baptism without rehearsing the Creed and Lord’s*  
*Prayer*, and stopping there; when the next Words are, *Except those, who*  
*by reason of Age, cannot yet speak.*

That which *Siricius* here says, that it was the Custom of the Church  
 of *Rome*, and of all other Churches to give Baptism only at *Easter* and  
*Whitsontide*, excepting Infants, sick People, and other such extraordinary  
 Cases may be prov’d from a great many other Authors. I shall mention no  
 more but *Tertullian*, for his Antiquity. He says (13) *The most solemn*  
*Time for Baptism is Easter, at which Time the Passion of our Lord, into which*

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Year after the Apostles 284. we are Baptized, was performed—— After that the Pentecost affords a large Time for ordering the Lavers.—— But yet every Day is the Lord's. Any Hour, any Time whatever is capable to be made use of for Baptism. Tho' there be some Difference as to the Solemnity, there is none as to the Grace given.

735. §. 4. I said that this Epistle appears to be genuin and not forged, among the others of the foregoing Popes, by the Mention that is made of it, by Authors so Ancient and so Learned, as not to be impos'd on by that Forgery. This very Passage of it is quoted by *Hincmarus Rhemensis* (14) *Anno* 835. and by the Council of *Tribur* (15) *Anno* 895. And I suppose other Parts of it may have been quoted by earlier Writers, which I have not had occasion to observe. The pretended *Isidore*, out of whose Shop the forged Collection of Epistles is supposed first to have come, liv'd about these Times, and seems to have been Contemporary with *Hincmarus*, but something the Elder: But as all forged Works do require some Time after their first Hatching, to be known, or at least to gain any Authority; there is no likelihood that so Learned Men (as *Hincmarus* especially was) should quote any Thing upon a Dependance on so fresh an Imposture. Especially when neither he nor the Council do quote it as from *Isidore*, but as an Epistle generally known in the World. And besides, the learned Critics, *Quejnellus Du Pin*, &c. that do question one of *Siricius's* Epistles, as being to be suspected of Forgery for Reasons they give, do make no Question of this.

790. By the said Quotations of *Hincmarus* and *Concil. Triburienf.* it also appears that the Custom of limiting the Baptism of adult Persons to *Easter*, and the Times aforesaid, continued in the Church till their Time: and it did continue something longer. But of later Times we hear no more of it. I suppose, because the Baptisms of adult Persons grew to be very few; the Heathen Nations being now become Christian; and hardly any but Infants being Baptiz'd, which were not contain'd in that Rule. For 1030. it was but about 300 Years after this Time 890, that *Petrus Cluniacensis* writing against some that at that Time *Anno Dom.* 1130. set up a Doctrin, that Baptism given to an Infant is no Baptism, oppos'd to 'em this among other Things, That if it were so, then, whereas all Europe has had never a Person now for 300, or hardly any for 500 Years, Baptiz'd otherwise than in Infancy, it has had never a Christian in it. The place I quote more largely hereafter. (16)

§. 5. This Order of the Ancient Church, that no adult Person, except in Case of Necessity, should be Baptiz'd but at these set and appointed Times, was made for a very good and weighty Reason, viz. because there was not so much Care likely to be taken of his Instruction and Examination if he were Baptiz'd at some other Time of the Year alone by himself, as there was if he were Baptized at *Easter*, when the other

(14) Opusculo. 55. Capitulum, cap. 31. (15) Can. 12. (16) Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 5.



other *Catechumeni* were Baptiz'd. Because for some Weeks before *Easter*, the Ministers of the Church made it their Business to Catechize, Examine and Prepare the Candidates for Baptism. They were to give in their Names *forty* Days before; and they were to be able to repeat the Creed, &c. and to give Account of their Faith twenty Days before (something more or less, according to the Canons of the several Churches) and the People came together to hear these Examinations and Professions; and Care was taken that they did spend the Time in Prayers, Fasting, and such other holy Exercises as would fit 'em for so great a Change of their State. And, because there were at *Easter* a great Number of 'em, and the spiritual Good of the Church did in great measure depend upon their doing well; it was counted an Occasion weighty enough to require that the whole Church should at that Time pray and fast with them and for them, as I quoted out of *Justin Martyr*. (17) *They are directed to pray, and ask of God with Fasting the Forgiveness of their former Sins, and we also pray and fast together with them.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
p<sup>st</sup>les  
284.



And this, I believe, was none of the least Occasions of keeping the *Fast of Lent* before *Easter*.

And we see also to this Day some Remains of the Catechizing used then; for tho' the Church of *England* do now appoint Catechizing all the Year long, yet most of the Curats therein omit it all the Year, except the Time of *Lent*; but at that Time that Office is by old Custom kept on Foot. It was to prepare the Candidates for Baptism at *Easter*, that the *Lent* Catechizing was used.

Also in the Liturgy of the same Church, and in that of the Church of *Rome*, the Collect for the third *Sunday* after *Easter*, remains in that Form which seems to have been compos'd at first with a particular Respect to the new baptiz'd Persons. *Almighty God, who shewest to them that be in Error the Light of thy Truth, to the Intent that they may return into the Way of Righteousness; grant unto all them that are admitted into the Fellowship of Christ's Religion, that they may eschew those Things that are contrary to their Profession, and follow all such Things as are agreeable to the same, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ.* This is a good Prayer at all Times, and for all Persons; but I believe the first composing it for that *Sunday*, was in regard to the *Neophytes*. The Collects for *Easter*, and the two *Sundays* following, referring to the Resurrection, the next was for them.

§. 6. The 9th Chapter or Canon of the same Epistle of *Siricius*, is, to blame the People of *Spain* for choosing into the Ministry some such as had been but lately converted to the Christian Religion; and he gives 'em this Direction.

*Quicumque igitur se Ecclesie vovit [i. vover] obsequiis, à sua infantili aetate pubertatis annos Baptizari & Lectorum debet ministerio sociari.*

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ter the A-  
postles

284.

‘He that devotes himself to the Service of the Church, ought to be Baptized [*i. e. ought to be one that was baptiz’d*] in his Infancy, before Ripeness of Age, and imploy’d in the Office of the Readers.

This Rule was a little after repeated to the People of *Spain*, by *Innocentius*, in Words just to the same Purpose, only a little plainer, which I shall recite presently.

§. 7. After *Siricius*, *Anastasius* sat but about 3 or 4 Years, and was succeeded by *Innocentius* the First. He must have been a Man of Note in the Church before the Year 400, for it was in the Year 402 that he was made Bishop of *Rome*. He also has some Decretal Epistles (besides those to the Council of *Carthage*, which I shall cite hereafter) that mention Infant Baptism, and are by all acknowledged to be genuin.

His first is written to *Decentius*, Bishop of *Eugubium*, giving him his Resolution in several Things, wherein he had demanded it: Whereof the third is, that tho’ the Presbyters might baptize Infants, yet only Bishops might give them the Chrism, or anointing on the Forehead, which was in those Times given after Baptism: It is as follows.

*Epistola Decretalis Innocentii ad Decentium. Can. 3.*

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*De consignandis verò infantibus, manifestum est non ab alio quam Episcopo fieri licere. Nam presbyteri, licet sint sacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent. Hæc autem pontificibus solis deberi, ut vel consignent vel paracletum spiritum tradant, non solum consuetudo Ecclesiastica demonstrat, verum & illa lectio Actuum Apostolorum, quæ asserit Petrum & Joannem esse directos qui jam baptizatis traderent spiritum sanctum. Nam presbyteris seu extra Episcopum seu presente Episcopo cum baptizant, Chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab Episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur Episcopis, &c.*

‘As for the anointing of Infants on the Forehead with the Chrism, it is plain that that ought to be done by none but the Bishop. For Presbyters, tho’ they be as Priests, yet they have not the Pre-eminence of the chief Priests. And that it is lawful for the chief Priests only, either to anoint on the Forehead, or give the Holy Spirit, appears not only by the Custom of the Church, but also by that Place in the *Acts of the Apostles*, which tells (18) us, that *Peter* and *John* were sent to give the Holy Spirit to such as were already baptiz’d. For when Presbyters do give Baptism either in the Presence of the Bishop, or out of his Presence, they may anoint the baptized Person with Chrism, provided it be such as has been Consecrated by the Bishop; but they must not anoint the Forehead with the same; for that is peculiar to the Bishops, &c.

Tho’ this place do not mention the Baptism of these Infants, yet it plainly supposes it. The Chrism was never given to any till they were Baptiz’d.

The



The Rule that he sets here that none but the Bishop must give the Chrism on the Forehead, was the ordinary and general Rule of that Church; but yet dispens'd with in the Case of Want of Bishops, or their Default of doing their Office, as I shew hereafter (19).

§. 8. The other Passage of *Innocentius*, which is to the same Effect with that which I recited from *Siricius*, is in his 24th *Epistle*, which was written to a Synod then met at *Toledo*; whereof the 5th Chapter is a Rule given for the Qualifications of such as were to be admitted to the Ministry. He had determin'd in the foregoing Canons, that no Lawyer, Soldier, or Officer of the Temporal Court, should be received to holy Orders, and then gives the Qualifications following.

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*Epistola Innocentii primi ad Synodum Toletanam Can. quintus.*

*Quales verò eligendi sunt in ordine clericorum evidens forma declarat, i. e. qui ab ineunte ætate baptizati fuerint, & Lectorum officio sociati, vel si majores sunt cum fuerint Dei gratiam consecuti, statim se Ecclesiasticis ordinibus mancipaverint.*

‘ And as to the Qualifications of such as are to be chosen into the Ministry, there is a certain Rule, viz. That they be such as have been Baptiz’d from their Infancy, and have been Educated in the Office of Readers: Or, if they were older before they obtain’d the Grace of God, then that they be such as did presently upon it addict themselves to Offices of the Church.

It has been often enough said already, That there were in those Times, besides those that were Baptiz’d in Infancy, several that turn’d from Heathenism to Christianity at their ripe Age. Such the Canon would not have to be put into Holy Orders; but only such as were Baptized in Infancy: unless those so converted have, from their first Coming to the Faith, addict’d themselves to the Service of the Church, in the lower Offices: To prevent the Inconvenience mention’d by *St. Paul*, in preferring Novices, (20) or Neophytes, i. e. Persons but lately Baptiz’d or made Christians.

(19) Pt. 2, CH. IX. §. 8. (20) 1 Tim. 3. 6.

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ter the A-  
postles

## C H A P. XVIII.

293.

*Out of Paulinus Bishop of Nola, and another Paulinus,  
Deacon of the Church of Milan.*

§. 1. **P**aulinus, Bishop of Nola, had been a Heathen Man: during which Time he had addicted his Mind to Poetry and Oratory. After he became a Christian, he made use of those Faculties on Religious Subjects. And *Sulpitius Severus*, who had built a Church, desired him to compose some proper godly Sentences to be written in several Places of the Church, and particularly at the Font, or Place of Baptizing. *Paulinus* sends him a Letter in Answer, containing several such Sentences: It is,

*Epist. 32. quæ est duodecima ex iis quæ sunt ad Severum.*

And in one of 'em compos'd in Verse for the Font, there is this Distich,

*Inde parens sacro ducit de fonte sacerdos  
Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu.*

' The Priest from th' holy Font do's th' Infants bring,  
' In Body, in Soul, in Garments white and clean.

As he refers to the Cleanness of the Body, by washing in the Font, and of the Soul, on account of the Forgiveness of Sins granted in that holy Sacrament; so what he speaks of the Whiteness of their Garments, is according to the Custom then us'd all over the Church, of Clothing the new Baptiz'd Persons, whether Infants or grown People, in *albes*, or, white Garments.

§. 2. If there were not Testimonies enough of the Custom of Baptizing Infants in this Age, this alone would not be sufficient to prove it. For there being nothing but the Word *Infants* singly mention'd, without any other Circumstances setting forth their Age; and there being a Custom about these Times of calling by a Metaphorical Speech, all the new Baptiz'd Persons, *Infants*, whether they were Young or Old: It is a Question whether *Paulinus* did by that Word intend to restrain the Sense to Infants in Age, or whether he meant only to describe the Procession of the Priest leading from the Font a Number of new Baptiz'd Persons in general, in their *Albes*.

That there was such a Custom of Calling new Baptized Persons, by the Name of *Infants*, about this Time, appears by several Instances.

*Gaudentius,*



*Gaudentius*, who was Bishop of *Brescia* about this time, has an Oration, or Sermon, (1) in which he thus bespeaks the *Novices*, or new Baptized Persons; *You are put in Mind by the Name of Infants, by which you are called that you are by your Baptism regenerated and born a-new; and therefore if any of you that are married, &c.* Also *St. Austin* has a Sermon or Discourse intitl'd, *Ad Infantes*, To the Infants, i. e. to a Congregation of Persons then newly baptized.

This does not at all invalidate the Testimonies which have been given for Infant Baptism. For in all that I have quoted, except this and one or two more, there is, beside the Word *Infant*, some Circumstance that does shew the Speech to be about Infants in Age. It rather confirms the thing, and is it self a Testimony: for one Reason of the Name was, that the Number of Christians being now much encreased, and the Baptism of Christian Infants being more frequent than of Elder Persons new converted, these latter had the Name of Infants in Allusion to the former.

S. 3. *Paulinus de obitu Celsi pueri.* On the Death of *Celsus*, a Child.

This *Celsus* was a Child very dear to his Parents, that died at seven Year old, or when he was newly enter'd into his 8th, as appears by some Passages of the Discourse.

His Parents were so overmuch concern'd at his Death, that *Paulinus* found it necessary to write to them a Consolatory Advice. It is written in Verse, and after the first Distich follow these two;

*Quem Dominus tanto cumulavit munere Christus,  
Ut rudis ille annis, & novus iret aquis:  
Atque bis infantem, spatio avi, & fonte lavacri,  
Congeminata Deo gratia perveheret.*

' So great a Favor Christ did to him show,  
' That he, escaping all the Snares below,  
' Should hence so Young, and fresh from Baptism go:  
' Two Graces do his Infant Soul commend,  
' So little sullied, and so lately clean'd.

This Quotation is not fully to the Purpose either of the *Pædobaptists* or *Antipædobaptists*: for the one will inquire why this Child's Baptism was delay'd so long as till he was almost seven Years old; and the other, why he was Baptiz'd so soon. And there is not any such Account of the Condition of his Parents, as to satisfy either of 'em. They might perhaps be, as *Paulinus* himself was, lately converted; or it

(1) Orat. 8. ad Neophytos.

Year after the Apostles 293. it might be deferred by Negligence and Procrastination. St. *Austin*, somewhere, but I have forgot where, speaks of fourteen Years as the soonest that People were ordinarily Baptiz'd on their own Profession: yet at another place, where his Adversary would prove that unbaptiz'd Children might go to Heaven, by the Instance of *Dinocrates*, a Boy born of Heathen Parents, and dying at seven Year old, whose Soul was said in a certain Story-Book, to have been seen in Heaven in a Vision, by his Sister in her Prayers; he says, *It is not impossible but that at that Age he might have been Baptiz'd at his own Choice*, which place I have Occasion to recite hereafter (2).

It is plain enough by what has been said, that the ordinary Time of Baptizing Infants was within a little Time after their Birth. And the Antipædobaptists, I suppose, do not think a Child of seven Year old, any fitter than a mere Infant.

The Custom that I mention'd of calling new Baptiz'd Persons by the Name of *Infants*, is alluded to here: For *Paulinus* calls this Child, *his infantem*, in two Respects an Infant, viz. *spatio ævi* & *fonte lavacri*, an Infant in Age, and an Infant as newly Baptized.

305. *Paulinus* has some Letters and Tracts attributed to him, that are spurious: but this is recited among his Works, by *Gennadius*, in these (3) Words; *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola* in *Campania* wrote many Things in way of short Poems; and a Consolatory Tract to *Celsus*, in Form of an Epitaph, on the Death of his Christian and Baptized Infant, full of Christian Hope, &c.

*Paulini Epistola ad Hieronymum de duabus Questionibus apud Hieronym. Ep. 153.*

§. 4. *Paulinus* in this Letter desir'd St. *Hierom's* Opinion of the Meaning of two Sayings which the Scripture uses.

One was, what is said, *Exod. 9. 12.* He asks, *Why* [or in what Sense] *Pharaoh's Heart was hardened by God*? And also, how that which the Apostle says, (4) is to be understood, *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth Mercy*; which seems to take away Free-Will.

The other was concerning that Text, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* *Else were your Children unclean, but now are they holy.* On which *Paulinus* asks this Question,

*Quomodo sancti sint qui de fidelibus, id est, de baptizatis nascuntur; cum sine dono gratie postea acceptæ & custodite salvi esse non possunt?*

'How those Children that are born of Fidel, that is, of Baptized Parents, are Holy; whenas, without the Gift of the Grace [of Baptism] afterward [viz. after their Birth] received and preserved, they cannot be saved?

He



He seems at this place to have taken the obvious Sense of St. Paul's Words to be, that the Infants of Christian Parents are holy from their Birth; and desires to know what Holiness this is that St. Paul ascribes to 'em from their Birth; since tho' the Parents be Baptized Christians, yet unless the Children also be themselves Baptized, they cannot be saved.

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This is the most material of the Evidences we have from him on this Subject: for if it be concluded, as he does here conclude, that Infants cannot be saved without Baptism; it will undoubtedly follow in any one's Sense, that they ought to be Baptiz'd without Delay.

§. 5. This Letter of *Paulinus* is not extant, that I know of, and perhaps was never published. But St. *Hierom*, in his Answer to it, which is his *Epist.* 153. *ad Paulinum*, recites out of it what I have here set down.

He makes his Answer very short, and that for two Reasons which he gives: One was, that by every Ship that sailed for the West, he had so many Letters of this Nature to send, that he could not bestow Pains on any one, but was forc'd to write whatever came *Extempore* into his Mind. The other was, that to so great a Critic as *Paulinus*, he did not dare write a long Letter, in which the more Faults would be found.

It shews us by the way, how diligent People were at that Time in seeking to have the true Sense of Scripture; and of how great Repute St. *Hierom*'s Learning was: when *Paulinus*, and so many others, sent Letters a thousand Miles to him to desire his Opinion.

St. *Hierom* refers him, for an Answer to his first Question, to *Origen*'s Book *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, which he had then newly translated into *Latin*, and whereof he might have a Copy in *Pammachius*'s Hands, to whom he had dedicated and sent it. And for the second his Answer is this,

*Of your second Question Tertullian has discours'd in his Book de Monogamiâ [leg. de Animâ] holding that the Children of Christians are styled Holy, as being Candidates [or, Expectants] of the Faith, and not polluted with any Idolatrous Filth or Trumpery.*

*Also you may mind that we read of the Vessels of the Tabernacle being called Holy, and many other Ustensils of the Ceremonies; whereas nothing can be properly Holy, but what has Sense, and fears God. It is therefore a Phrase of Scripture, sometimes to call those Holy that are Clean and Purified, or ex-piated from Uncleanness, as Bathsheba is said to be Sanctified [or, made Holy] from her Uncleanness.*

*I entreat you not to impute to me either Trifling, or wrong Interpretation: for God is witness to my Conscience, that the Hurry I have mention'd to you, has hindred me from so much as setting on, or attempting the Interpretation of the Place. And you know nothing is done to any Purpose in a Hurry.*

St. *Hierom* had some Reason to make an Apology for so slight and perfunctory an Explication. Yet as it is, it shews that he, as well as *Paulinus*, thought that such Children could not be call'd Holy in any such Sense as should intitle 'em to Salvation, unless they were Baptized.

Year af- If he had thought they could, the ready way to take off *Paulinus's*  
 ter the A- Doubt, had been to answer so: the Doubt being this; How they are  
 postles Holy from their Birth, since without Baptism they cannot be sav'd?  
 293. But he answers,

1. By referring him to *Tertullian's* Account of this Place in his Book *de Anima*, which I recited before, (5) where he Paraphrases the Text in this Sense, *They are Holy, that is, they are design'd for Holiness; for, as for any other Meaning, our Lord has determin'd, that without Baptism none shall enter into the Kingdom of God, (6) which is as much as to say, None shall be Holy.*

2. By giving some Instances where the Word *Holy* is applied to some Things that are not capable of Salvation, or of Moral Good or Evil.

*Calvin*, and many that have followed him, have boldly ventur'd on that Explication which *Paulinus* durst not embrace, nor *St. Hierom* advise, and which *Tertullian* disproves. They have determin'd, that a Believer's Child is Holy, *i. e.* is born to Salvation, (or, as a certain late Commentator, suppos'd to be *Mr. Lock*, has absurdly paraphras'd that place, *born a Member of the Christian Church*) whether it be Baptiz'd or not: that Baptism is to be given it indeed, but only as a Seal of that Holiness, which it has by Covenant before it be Baptized. And to this Purpose, they expound that Text, *John 3. 5.* of any thing rather than of Baptism. And many of 'em have determin'd that the Authority of Baptizing Infants is grounded only on that Birth Privilege which they have before; and that no other Infants than such as are so Holy by their Birth, may, or ought to be Baptized. Which Doctrin involves the Baptizer in endless Scruples, which Infants he may Baptize and Which not: as Bishop *Stillingfleet* has largely shewn in the Book to which I referr'd before (7).

He that has read the foregoing Chapters, is by this Time satisfied, that all the Ancients understood our Savior's Words, *John 3. 5.* of Baptism: or will be, by what I shall produce (8). And that they never refus'd to Baptize a Child on account of the Parents Wickedness, or even Heathenism or Infidelity, if the Child were offer'd to Baptism by such as were the then Owners of the Child (9).

Much less do the Explications given by the Ancients, of the Holiness here spoken of, fit or square to that Jeune one given by some Antipædobaptists, that *St. Paul* should mean no more but that the Children of Believers, tho' one of the Parents do continue in Unbelief, are Legitimate and not Bastards; which looks as made merely to serve a Turn.

On the contrary, the general Vein of ancient Interpretation, is, to understand by this Holiness, baptismal Holiness, either as given, or design'd to be given: As has appear'd partly by this Quotation, and by some

(5) CH. IV. §. 6. (6) *John 3. 5.* (7) CH. XI. §. 11. (8) See Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1. (9) See Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 10.



some others given before (10) and will more fully hereafter, where I mean to conter together all the Ancient Expositions of this Text that I know of (11).

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ter the A-  
postles  
293.

*Paulinus in vitâ Ambrosii.*

§. 6. The other *Paulinus* was a Deacon of the Church of *Milan*, that ministred to *St. Ambrose* in his Life time, and after he was dead, wrote the History of his Life, which is commonly printed with his Works. *Erasmus* takes this Piece for a Forgery (12) of later Years, because many of the Passages he relates, look so like the Fabulous Stories of the Monks: and I am almost of his Opinion, partly for his Reason, and partly for another that I mention hereafter (13). It must either be so, or else this *Paulinus* must have been a very vain and credulous Man. Neither would I set down the Passage here following, which seems as fabulous and idle as any of 'em, were it not that most of the Critics and Learned Men have an Opinion of the Authenticalness of the Tract, and do commonly quote it.

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ter the A-  
postles  
297.

He relates a great many different Occasions, on which *St. Ambrose's* Ghost or Shape appeared to several Persons, after he was dead: and, among the rest, how he having departed this Life on *Easter-Eve*, his Body was carried and laid in the great Church.

297.

*Ibique eâdem fuit nocte quam vigilamus in Pascha. Quem plurimi infantes baptizati, quum à fonte venirent, viderunt: Ita ut aliqui sedentem in Cathedra tribunali dicerent; alii vero ascendentem suis parentibus digito ostenderent. Sed illi videntes videre non poterant, quia mundatos oculos non habebant.*

‘And there it was that Night which we spend in Watching at *Easter* [this was the Night before Easter-day, on which, in the Primitive Times, the whole Body of the People did always sit up all Night in the Church at their Prayers] And a great many of the Infants that were then Baptized saw him as they came back from the Font: some of 'em saying, *There he sits in the Bishop's Chair*: Others of 'em shew'd him to their Parents, pointing with their Hands, that he was going there up the Steps: But the Parents looking, could not see him, because they had not their Eyes cleansed [or enlightened].

There you have the Story, such as it is; grounded probably on the superstitious Conceits of Women and Boys: but yet it shows that there were Children among those that were Baptized on that Day. He calls 'em Infants, but some of 'em could not be absolute Infants, for he mentions their Speaking: They seem to have been little Boys carried in their Parents Arms, or lead in their Hands.

These Infants, according to this Story, being by their Baptism, just then received, clear from all Sin, had their Eyes calightned to see this

X 2

Miracle:

(10) CH. IV. §. 12. CH. XI. §. 11. CH. XV. Sect. 2. (11) CH. XIX. §. 19.  
(12) *Censurâ operibus Ambrosii præfixâ*, (13) Pt. 2. CH. III. §. 9.

Year af-ter the A-  
postles  
297. } Miracle : but their Parents having been since their Baptism stained with many Sins, were not capable of it. They called Baptism, both in the Scripture-times, as appears from *Hcb. 6. 4.* and also in these Times, *φωτισμός*, the *Illumination*, or *Inlightning* of a Person.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Out of St. Hierom and St. Austin, after the Rise of the Pelagian Controversie: as also out of Pelagius, Celestius, Innocent the First, Zosimus, Julianus, Theodorus Mopsuestensis, &c. And out of the Councils of Carthage, Diospolis, Milevis, &c.*

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postles.  
403. } §. 1. **A** New Heresie happening in the Church at this Time, gave more Occasion to speak of Infant Baptism than ever had been before. Not that any of the Parties disapproved it; but one of 'em held that there is no Original Sin in Infants, and that brought in much Discourse about their Baptism.

*Pelagius*, a Monk, living at *Rome*, was the Author of this Heresie; at least the first Promoter of it in the West. And one *Celestius*, another Monk, was his chief Abetter; and afterward, *Julianus* a Bishop, and *Anianus* a Deacon. It was not started till the Year of Christ 410. But most of the Managers on each side were Men of Note before the Year 400.

The Men that I named were the only Writers of the *Pelagian* Side: but a considerable Number of the People was brought over to incline to their Opinions. They argued, that the Doctrin of Original Sin and Natural Corruption, by which Persons are supposed to be born under a Necessity of Sinning, did cast a Reflection on the Honor and Justice of God, who gives us our Being: And this Argument was plausible among the Vulgar.

Consequently to this, they said that Baptism of Infants was not for any Sin they had, but to gain them Admittance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For they said that Children, tho' they were not baptiz'd, should have an Eternal and Happy Life; not in the Kingdom of Heaven indeed, because our Savior, *John 3. 5.* had determin'd the contrary: but somewhere, they knew not where.

This, with the rest of their Opinions, is briefly set forth by St. *Austin lib. de heresibus. c. 88.*

§. 2. For better apprehending the Sense of the Quotations, which we shall



shall produce, a short History of the Steps and Progress of this Sect would be useful: which is also the more necessary, because a late Author has wrote the History of it very partially for those Heretics. Pretending to give (1) an Abstract of what Bishop *Usher* had Collected (2) of this History, he has pick'd out of it for the most part only such Circumstances and such Sayings of *Pelagius*, as taken by themselves, sound most favorably for him; and such of St. *Austin* and St. *Hierom* as are most liable to Exception.

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It is great Pity that among all the learned and true *Histories of Pelagianism*, only that should have the Luck to be Translated into English. But the World knows now by whose Means that, and the *Lives of some Fathers*, Written by the same Author, and in the same Vein, have been tack'd together, and put into the Hands of our vulgar Readers.

It seems that tho' it be a great Fault to write the Lives of the Catholic Fathers *Encomiastically*, yet it is none to write the Lives of the old Heretics so. And one that in reading the Books of the Ancient Christians, passes by the best, and picks out for a Specimen of their Works, what may be censur'd in 'em, is a good Author; tho' he that passes by their *Navi*, and takes most notice of what is most material, does so great a Mischief. Or else it is, that the Booksellers of *Amsterdam* will give more Money for the Copy of a Book of the first than of the latter sort, not regarding which does most Good or Hurt to the Cause of Christianity; but which Men will have the most Curiosity to see and to buy. As 'tis said of *Bleau*, that he procur'd a *Socinian* Book which he had Printed, to be burnt by the Hangman, that the Edition might sell the better (3).

This Author notes, (4) that we have no Account of *Celestius's* Doctrine, but from his Adversaries: tho' St. *Austin* quotes largely the Acts of the Council where he spoke, and his own Books. And, that possibly the Sayings objected to him in the Council, were but Consequences drawn from what he had said: tho' his Book and the Chapters of it be quoted in the Council. And concludes that St. *Austin* and *Pelagius* did not understand one another's Terms and Meaning: and that in many Parts of this Dispute, they were like two Men of different Languages, that should scold as loud as they could, without understanding what each other said: and reciting the Emperor's Edict against the *Pelagians*, says, *Suspicious Persons will think this Edict express'd in so pathetic Terms comes from the Pen of some Ecclesiastical Zealor*. One may know who he means. And endeavouring to shew that St. *Austin* and St. *Hierom*, the chief Opposers of the *Pelagian* Doctrine, do contradict one another about a main Point of it, viz. the Possibility of keeping the Commandments; he, by a gross Mistake, quotes (5) *Pelagius's* Words against *Hierom*, as if

(1) *Bibliothèque Universel*. T. 9. (2) *Britannic. Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* quibus inserta est pestiferæ adv. Dei gratiam à Pelagio Britanno inductæ hæreseos Historia. (3) *La Religion des Hollandois*. p. 83. (4) *Pag.* 182. *Ed.* 1683. (5) *Pag.* 217.

Year af. if they were St. *Austin's* (as I shall by and by shew, having occasion to recite (6) those Words) at which rate he may well prove that St. *Apostles* *Austin* contradicts St. *Hierom*.

I call this Mistake gross, because Bishop *Usher*, in the Treatise which the Man is here Epitomizing, shews that the 191 *Serm. de Tempore*, among the Works of St. *Austin*, (from whence these Words are taken) is not his, but is long ago known to be *Pelagius's* Confession of Faith to Pope *Innocent*. And, which makes it the more unpardonable, he himself had a little before (7) followed *Usher* in observing that that Piece, which, among the Works of St. *Hierom*, is called *Symboli Explanatio ad Damasum*, is really *Pelagius's* said Confession: and if he had looked into this 191 *Serm. de Tempore*, which he here quotes, he would have seen that and the said *Symboli Explanatio* to be both one. And Bishop *Usher*, where he observes the one, observes the other. The Man that is capable of such palpable Mistakes in the main Matters which he is arguing, ought, for Shame, give over Criticizing with so censorious a Contempt as he does, on the Works of Men of known and solid Learning; where the Matter that he remarks is for the most part only some trifling Nicety.

§. 3. *Pelagius* was a Briton born: the only Man of that Ancient Church that ever made a Figure in the Roman World. He is supposed to have been called here in his own Country, *Morgan*: because that Name in the British Language signifies the same that *Pelagius* does in Latin and Greek, viz. *belonging to the Sea*. He liv'd a good while at Rome, in great Credit and Esteem for Piety, Parts and Learning: respected and loved by the most accomplish'd Men of that Time, such as St. *Austin*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinus*, &c. Even they that condemn'd his Opinion own'd his Ingenuity. Most Nations that have had any very Learned or Ingenious Man in the most Ancient Times, keep his Works as a Monument of Remembrance. *Pelagius's* Works were most of 'em, not all, tinctur'd with his Heresie; and the chief of 'em are lost. Those that remain, tho' they are by nigh two hundred Years the Ancientest of any extant written by a Native of this Land, yet have not had the Favor to be done into English. I have Occasion to give by and by his *Confession of Faith* at large, which is so handsomely drawn up that it has pass'd, as was observ'd before, sometimes for St. *Austin's*, sometimes for St. *Hierom's*.

Some late Writers do think he was a Scots-man. And Garner the Jesuit has lately set up that Opinion, by running into a Mistake of the Sense of a Place in St. *Hierom*, which Mistake Bishop *Usher* had rectified long before (8). All that is in it is this. *Celestius* was an Irish Man: and they at that Time were called *Scoti*, and their Country *Scotia*. And therefore of him indeed St. *Hierom* says, (9) *He is by Origin of the Scotch Nation*:

(6) §. 29. Notes on *Pelagius's* Creed. Note 6. (7) Pag. 180. (8) Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 8. pag. 209. Ed. 1639. (9) *Præm. in lib. 1. & præm. in lib. 3. Comment. in Hierom.*



*Nation*: And again, *Scoticis pulibus prgravatus*, 'having his Belly fill'd, & Year af-  
'and his Head bedull'd with *Scotch Porridge*. And *Dempster* the *Scot* ter the A-  
took on him to maintain, that not only he, but a great many others that postles  
in old Writings are called *Scoti*, were of that *Scotland* which now goes 310.  
by that Name: whom Bishop *Usher* does handsomely expose for that  
Mistake. And yet it is followed by Mr. *Le Clerc*, as to *Celestius*. But  
if that were true, it would not concern *Pelagius*, whom St. *Hierom*  
does at that Place distinguish from *Celestius*, as *Pluto* from *Cerberus*.

All Ancient Writers style him a *Briton*: and *Dempster* himself (using the Word improperly) calls him *English*. As for the present *Scotland*, *Garner* and they that take this from him, ought, if they compare the Time in which *Pelagius* liv'd, to remember that at that Time that Country was as fruitful of Authors, as *Lapland* or *Greenland* is now.

§. 4. *Pelagius* had written some Learned Works, as *three Books of the Trinity*, &c. before (10) he fell into those new Opinions against Original Sin, and against the Necessity of God's Grace for our doing good Works; which were the two chief of the Heterodox Tenets held by him. And when he had in his own Breast entertain'd 'em, he at first exprest 'em sily in Discourse among the People, or wrote 'em as the (11) Objections of other Men (much after the rate as Bishop *Taylor* of late Days wrote his Arguments for Antipædobaptism) as if it were only for Disputation sake. These his Discourses were remembred and more minded afterwards.

So for Example, before he declar'd himself, he wrote a short Exposition on St. *Paul's* Epistles; and in that to the *Romans* on CH. V. v. 12, he wrote thus, as St. *Austin* quotes his Words, (12)

*They that are against the Derivation of Sin* [or, Original Sin] endeavour to disprove it thus; 'If *Adam's* Sin, say they, hurts those that do not Sin themselves, then Christ's Righteousness may profit those that do not believe: for, he says they are as much, nay more, saved by one, than they were before dead by one.

And then say they, 'If Baptism does cleanse that old Offence [or, take away Original Sin] then they that are born of Parents both Baptized, must be without this Sin, for the Parents could not transmit that which they had not.

'This also, say they, may be added; If the Soul be not by Propagation, but the Flesh only, then that only has Original Sin, and that only deserves Punishment: For it is unjust, say they, that a Soul created but to Day, and that not out of the Mass of *Adam*, should bear the Burden of another Person's Sin committed so long ago.

'They say also, That it ought by no Means to be granted, that God, who forgives us our own Sins, should impute to us other Peoples.

Then

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(10) Gennad. de Scriptoribus, c. 42. (11) August. de peccato orig. c. 21. (12) De peccator. meritis. l. 3. c. 2, 3.

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Then St. *Austin* adds; You see Pelagius put all this into his Writings, not in his own Name, but in the Name of Others; being so satisfied that this was a Novelty, which but now began to make a Noise against the old and settled Opinion of the Church, that he was ashamed or afraid to own it himself. And perhaps he is not of that Opinion himself, that a Person is born without Sin, to whom he confesses Baptism (in which Remission of Sins is granted) to be necessary. And a little after having shewn how contrary this Opinion is to Scripture, he says, *I believe a Man that is so excellent a Christian, does not at all hold these and the other Absurdities that are so perverse and contrary to Christian Truth.*

312. This St. *Austin* says in a Book written Anno Domini 412, several Years after Pelagius had wrote his Exposition on the Epistles. So that he had not even then absolutely declar'd himself, at least St. *Austin* did not know that he had. But afterward, as St. *Austin* says in a later Book, (13) being become a Heretic he maintained these same Things with a most resolute Obstinacy.

310. §. 5. Anno Dom. 410. Rome was taken and sack'd by the Goths. Then, or quickly after, Pelagius and Celestius, who during their living there had privately sowed the Seeds of this Heresie, departed from thence.

311. They are found to have been both in Africa in the Year 411. Pelagius went (14) quickly from thence into the East Countries. Celestius staid there, and attempted to take Priest's Orders in the Church of Carthage. But some of the Clergy of that Church having heard something of his Tenets, insisted, that he should be first examined about them. So at an Assembly or Council held there Anno 412, he was challeng'd by

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*Paulinus*, a Deacon of that Church, as having maintained several false Doctrines; and among the rest, these four,

1. That Adam was created Mortal, and that whether he had sinn'd or not, he would have died.

2. That the Sin of Adam hurt himself only, and not Mankind.

3. That Infants new born are in the same State that Adam was before his Fall.

4. That a Man may be without Sin, and keep the Commandments of God easily, if he will.

I had Occasion to set down the Acts of the Council, which contain the Accusations and his Answers to them, above in CH. 5. §. 8. If the Reader turn back thither, he will see the Substance of 'em to be, that he would not own Original Sin, though he did not then absolutely deny it: but Infant Baptism he confessed to be necessary, and that he had never held otherwise.

He also then put in his Plea in Writing (a *Libellus*, St. *Austin* calls it, or Confession of his Belief) in which he confessed, That Infants have Redemption by the Baptism of Christ (as the Bishops in a Council, that was held



held there five Years after, do mention in their Letter (15) to *Innocent*. Year after the Apostles  
 From which Concession St. *Austin*, (who was not at that Council) after the A-  
 rterward argued, (16) *By that Word, Redemption, he has stop't up his way*  
 [for any farther Denial of Original Sin,] *For from what are they re-* 310.  
*deem'd, but from the Power of Satan? &c.*

The Issue of the Council was, *Celestius* was refus'd, and all that held  
 such Opinions Condemn'd. And he went from *Carthage*, saying, that he  
 would refer himself to *Innocent*, Bishop of *Rome*; which he never found  
 it for his Purpose to do. 316.

§. 6. About this Time. Anno 412. St. *Austin* wrote his first Treatise  
 against those that held these Opinions (who were afterward called  
*Pelagians*; as yet *Pelagius* himself, tho' he had set 'em on foot, did not  
 declare himself: And when St. *Austin* mentions him in this Book, 'tis  
 with Respect, and hoping he would not maintain 'em.) They were  
 much talk'd of at *Carthage*, where *Pelagius* and *Celestius* had been: and  
*Marcellinus* a Nobleman living at that City, sent to St. *Austin* to desire  
 his Resolution of the Difficulties rais'd about 'em. It was in answer to  
 that Desire that he wrote two Books, and a little after a third Book (or  
 Epistle) entituled, *Of the Guilt and Forgiveness of Sins, and of the Baptism*  
*of Infants*. The Scope of 'em is to prove the Doctrin of Original Sin  
 to be true, and that chiefly from the Baptism of Infants: and to assert  
 the Necessity of God's Grace, and to Answer the Objections. 312.

In the first, he discourses of the State of *Adam* before and after his  
 Fall, shews that his Seed do derive Sin from him, not by Imitation on-  
 ly (as these Men explain'd the Scripture Sayings) but by Propagation:  
 that this propagated Corruption is in all Persons, even in Infants that  
 have no actual Sin.

He proves this, first by Texts of Scripture, then by other Arguments;  
 and, among the rest, by this, that Infants are by all Christians acknow-  
 ledged to stand in need of Baptism, which must be in them for Original  
 Sin, since they have no other. He mentions and replies to some  
 Answers which the Deniers of Original Sin gave to this last Argument,  
 which prest them very hard.

1. Some said, (17) That Infants have actual Sin: meaning their Peevish-  
 ness, &c. and that they may have need to be Baptiz'd for that. These  
 Men he judges unworthy of any Answer here, as arguing against plain  
 Sense: yet at the End of the Book he spends some Time in answering  
 'em.

§. 7. 2. Some said (18) They are Baptiz'd, not for *Forgiveness of Sin*,  
 but that they may be made *Heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven*. It is to be  
 noted, the *Pelagians* held a middle State between Heaven and Hell.  
 These Men, says St. *Austin*, *if they be ask'd whether Infants, not Baptiz'd,*  
*and not made Heirs of the Kingdom, have yet the Benefit of eternal*  
 Y Salvation

(15) Epist. Synodic. Concilii Carthag. ad Innocent. apud Augustin. Ep. 90.  
 (16) Ep. 89. ad Hilarium. (17) Cap. 17. (18) Cap. 18.

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Salvation at the Resurrection of the Dead, laborant vehementer, nec exitum inveniunt, are at a great Plunge, and can find no way out of it. *Quis enim Christianorum ferat, cum dicitur ad eternam salutem posse quenquam pervenire, si non renascatur in Christo, quod per baptismum fieri voluit? &c.*

For what Christian Man can endure to hear it said, That any Person may come to eternal Salvation, that is not regenerated in Christ, which he has order'd to be done by Baptism? &c.

And whereas these Men distinguish'd between Salvation and the Kingdom of Heaven, and said, Children might be saved without Baptism, tho' not come to the Kingdom of Heaven: He brings in that Text, *Tit. 3. 5. He saved us by the Washing of Regeneration, &c.* As he does in a following Chapter, that of St. Peter, *1 Ep. 3. 21. Baptism doth save us.* He proceeds, *Who dares to affirm that Infants may be saved without that Regeneration, as if Christ had not died for them? For Christ died for Sinners, and if these, who, 'tis plain, have committed no Sin in their own Life, are not held captive under the Original Bond of Sin neither; How did Christ, who died for Sinners, die for them? If they are not diseased with any Sickness of Original Sin, Why are they carried to Christ the Physician, to receive the Sacrament of their eternal Salvation, by the godly Fear of their Friends that run with them to it? Why is it not said to them in the Church, Carry back from hence these innocent Creatures: the Whole have no need of a Physician, but they that are Sick: Christ came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners? Nunquam dictum est, nunquam dicitur, nunquam omnino dicitur in Ecclesia Christi tale commentum.* 'So odd a thing never was said, never is said, nor ever will be said in the Church of Christ.

Concerning what was then said, or what had ever been said, St. Austin was a proper Judge: but we find now, that for what would be said in After-times, he did not guess altogether right; if he meant that no Christians would ever say so.

Then (19) he answers the Objections of those who said, If Infants were Sinners it were needful for them to repent; which since they cannot do, it is a Sign that Baptism is not in their Case used for Forgiveness of Sin. His Answer is, *That in like manner as they profess Faith by the Words of those that bring 'em, they do also go for Penitents, when by the Words of the same Bearers they do renounce the Devil and the World.*

Whereas they objected (20), If all Infants are Sinful, what Justice is it that some should happen to have Baptism, and so be forgiven; and others no more Sinful than they, should miss it, and so be condemned? He desires them to answer first, If all Infants are Sinless, what Justice is it that some should happen to have Baptism, and so be admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven: and others as Sinless as they should miss it, and so be excluded? He teaches that all such Things are to be referred to the unsearchable Wisdom of God.



§. 8. He refutes (21) those that knowing not what else to say, ventur'd upon the exploded Opinion of *Plato* and *Origen*: that the Souls of Infants have lived before in another State or World, and have sinned there: and so pleaded that possibly it is for those Sins that they are here Baptized. He stops their Mouths with that Scripture, *Rom. 9. 11. The Children being not yet born, having done neither Good nor Evil, &c.* and with several other Arguments: but that one is enough.

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Having occasionally said, (22) that Infants, till they are Baptiz'd, do abide in *Darkness*; he recites an Objection of some, that all that are born are inlightned, from that Text, (23) *That was the true Light that lighteth every Man [or Person] that comes into the World.* Whereupon he says, *If that be so; it is a strange thing that they being inlightned by the only Son, who was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, should not be admitted into the Kingdom of God, nor be Heirs of God, nor Joint-Heirs with Christ. For that this is not granted them but by Baptism, even they that are of this Opinion do confess.*

§. 9. He cites abundance of places (24) of Scripture to shew that all that Christ came to save, as Mediator, are by the Scripture suppos'd to have been in a lost Condition: He came, he took Flesh, he submitted himself to the Form of a Servant, died, &c. that he might quicken those that were dead, save those that were lost, free those that were in Slavery, redeem those that were in Captivity, inlighten those that were in *Darkness*, rescue those that were under the Power of *Satan*, &c. From whence he says it follows, *That they do not belong to this Dispensation of Christ, fulfilled by his Humiliation, who have no need of Life, Salvation, Deliverance, Redemption, &c. And consequently Baptism is not necessary for those who have no need of the Benefit of Forgiveness and Reconciliation by the Mediator.* Porro, quia parvulos baptizandos esse concedunt, qui contra auctoritatem universæ Ecclesiæ, proculdubio per Dominum & Apostolos traditam, venire non possunt, &c. Now then, since they grant that Infants must be baptiz'd, as not being able to oppose the Authority of the whole Church, which was doubtless deliver'd by our Lord and his Apostles; they must consequently grant, that they stand in need of the Benefits of the Mediator: that being offer'd by the Sacrament and by the Charity of the Faithful, and so being incorporated into Christ's Body, they may be reconciled to God: that in him they may be quickned, saved, delivered, redeemed, inlightned. From what, but from Death, Wickedness, Guilt, Slavery, and *Darkness* of Sins? Which since they have committed none in their own Life at that Age, there remains [nothing that they can be guilty of but] Original Sin.

§. 10. He disputes largely (25) against their Opinion of a middle State, proving, *That there is no Salvation but in the Kingdom of God;—nor any middle Place where any one can be, except with the Devil, who is not with Christ.* Hence our Lord himself, that he might raze out of the Minds of mistaken Men any Opinion of I know not what middle State, which some

Year after the Apostles 310. *Men go about to attribute to unbaptized Infants; as that they shall, being Sinless, be in eternal Life, but not being Baptiz'd, shall not be with Christ in his Kingdom; gave this definitive Sentence to stop their Mouths, He that is not with me is against me. Give us therefore an Infant: If he be with Christ already, what is he Baptized for? But if, as the Truth is, he be therefore Baptized, that he may be with Christ; then it is sure that before he is Baptized he is not with Christ.*

Tho' St. Austin here in the Heat of this Dispute do once use this Expression, of unbaptized Infants being with the Devil, since by the Pelagians Confession they are not with Christ: yet he means but a very moderate Degree of Condemnation or Misery: not like that of Wicked Men; but such as may be preferable to no Being at all. As I shall shew hereafter. (26)

He goes on (27) to prove his Point from the Name or Title given by our Savior to Baptism, John 3. 5. *Except one be born again [or, regenerated] &c. He says; These Men, if they were not mov'd [or, convinced] by this Sentence, would determine that Infants are not to be baptiz'd at all. And he argues, Why born again, but to be renewed? Renewed from what, but from the old Nature, a vetustate? From what old Nature, but that wherein our old Nature is crucified with him that the (28) Body of Sin might be destroyed?*

He confirms the same Sense by the following Parts of our Savior's Discourse with Nicodemus, (29) *That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh, i. e. as St. Austin takes it, is corrupt or sinful. And that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit, i. e. is renewed or sanctified.*

§. 11. He takes notice, (30) that those particular Men at Carthage, of whom Marcellinus had wrote to him, did grant, *That in Baptism there is Forgiveness of Sins given to Infants; not that they have any Original Sin, but they have sinned since they were born.* He takes notice how much these differ from the others, whom he had been hitherto refuting, and one of whose Books he had seen. *The one, says he, minding the Scriptures and the Authority of the whole Church, and the Form of the Sacrament it self, see well that Baptism in Infants is for Remission of Sins; but cannot see, or will not own, that it is Original Sin. The other, considering human Nature, — See well, as it is easie to do, that that Age cannot in its own Life have contracted any Sin; but rather than confess Original Sin, say there is no Sin at all in Infants.* He bids these two Parties first agree among themselves: for if each grant to the other that which they urge of Truth, they will both hold the whole Truth.

However, he does condescend (31) for the sake of these latter, to shew at large how impossible it is for a New-born Infant, that has no Knowledge of Good or Evil, to be guilty of actual Sin. But it seems a flat and needless Discourse: because, as he there observes, *A Man is never more troubled*

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(26) Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 5. (27) Cap. 30, 31, &c. (28) Rom. 6. 6. (29) John 3. 6. (30) Cap. 34. (31) Cap. 35.



to find what to say, than when the thing he would prove is of it self plainer than any thing he can say.

What we can observe out of these Passages of the first Book (besides what has been observ'd before) is the Tenet of *Pelagius* and his Followers. They denied Original Sin. The Catholics, among other Arguments against them, urg'd this; That Infants have Sin, is prov'd from the Need they have of Baptism: and other than Original Sin they cannot have. The *Pelagians* did not pretend to deny the Necessity of Infant Baptism: which had been highly for their Purpose to do, if they had thought they could have justified such a Denial. And when St. *Austin* mentions it as a Practice of the whole Church from the Apostles Time; they do not deny it, but own it, as we shall see hereafter: Only they said, Baptism, in the Case of an Infant, is not for Forgiveness of Sin (tho' they were driven from this Hold too afterward, as we shall see) but to procure the Child an Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For they held, that an Infant dying unbaptized, shall be rais'd again, and live eternally in a certain middle State, without Punishment, as having no Sin; but not enjoying the Kingdom of Heaven, as being not Baptized into Christ. But that a Baptized Infant shall go into the Kingdom of Heaven.

§. 12. As for that Plea, that Infants have actual Sin, and are Baptized for that; it was the Tenet only of some Ignorant Persons among them, whom *Marcellinus* had mentioned. *Pelagius* and *Celestius* did not stand to that; but they held for a while stiff in their Refusal to own Baptism of Infants to be for Forgiveness.

*Celestius* had, as I said before, used the Word *Redemption* as apply'd to Infants by their Baptism. And the same thing St. *Austin* observes here, (32) *They grant Redemption to be necessary for them, as is contain'd in a very short Book of one of 'em, who yet would not plainly express there the Forgiveness of any Sin.* And again, (33) *Tho' they have not been willing in their Writings plainly to own Forgiveness of Sins to be necessary for Infants, yet they have own'd Redemption to be needful for them.*

§. 13. The second Book of this Work is on another Subject, viz. St. *Austin's* Resolution of this Question, put to him by *Marcellinus*, *Whether there is, or ever was, or ever will be any Man without Sin, beside our Savior Christ.*

As the *Pelagians* denied the Original Corruption of our Nature, so accordingly they magnified the present Freedom and Goodness of it: and some at this Time went so far, or as St. *Austin* here expresses it, (34) *presum'd so much on the Freedom of Man's Will, as to be of Opinion, that we have no need to be assisted by God to avoid Sin, after he has once granted to our Nature the Power of Free-will.* In confuting this Opinion of theirs he has not much Occasion to speak of Infant-Baptism. So I should pass it by: but the Indignation to see the Ancient Fathers so misrepresented

Year af- fented as they are by some Modern Writers (with what Intent they do  
ter the A- this God knows) forces me to give in short the Substance of his An-  
postles fwer to this Question; that it may appear how falſly he and St. Hieron-  
310. are charged to contradict one another in the ſubſtantial Part of their  
Answer.

St. *Auſtin* divides this Question into Four: (35)

1. Whether the Thing be poſſible, viz. for a Man to live without Sin?

To this he answers, *I ſhall confeſs it to be poſſible by the Grace of God, and the Free-will of Man*: explaining himſelf ſo, as that God can, if he pleaſe, give ſuch a Meaſure of Grace, as that a Man ſhould ever chooſe and do what is beſt.

2. Whether this do ever come to paſs?

Anſw. (36) *I do not believe there is any ſuch thing; I rather believe the Scripture, which ſays, 'Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant; for 'in thy Sight ſhall no Man living be Juſtified. Here he produces many Texts proving all Men to be Sinners.*

3. If it be poſſible ſo to be, and yet never be ſo; What is the Reaſon?

Anſw. (37) *I might answer eaſily and truly thus; Becauſe Men will not. But if I am aſk'd, why they will not? There's a great deal to be ſaid. Yet leaving Room for a more diligent Enquiry, I ſhall answer to this alſo in ſhort. Men will not do what is Good, either becauſe they are not convinced that it is good, or becauſe it does not pleaſe 'em.*

4. Whether there be, or ever can be, a Man that has never had any Sin?

He answers, No. (38) becauſe, ſuppoſe any Man ſhould by God's Grace arrive to that Perfection as not to ſin any more; yet having been conceiv'd in Sin, it will be true of him that he had Sins before he was converted to that Newneſs of Life.

He proves theſe his Answers largely, and answers the Objections raiſed from 1 John 5. 18. *He that is born of God ſinneth not*; and from what is ſaid of Job, and of Zacharias and Elizabeth being blameleſs, up-  
right, &c.

And whereas this ſort of Men did uſe to catch and baffle the People with ſuch logical Querks as theſe, *Si nolumus, non peccamus*: 'We do 'not Sin whether we will or no. And, *poſſibilia Deus mandata dedit, aut impoſſibilia, &c.* (39) 'The Things that God has ſet us to do, are ei-  
'ther poſſible Things, or impoſſible. If poſſible, we may perform  
'em if we will; if impoſſible then we are in no Fault for not do-  
'ing impoſſible Things. From whence they concluded that it was cer-  
tainly true, which they maintain'd, *That a Man may be without Sin, and keep God's Commandments eaſily, if he will.*

St.



St. *Austin* answers thus, *They seem to themselves witty when they say (as if any of us did not know that) that we do not Sin whether we will or no; and, that God would never command a Man that which is impossible to human Will. But they do not see, that to overcome some Things which are either corruptly desired or corruptly feared, there is occasion for the strong, and sometimes the utmost, Effort of the Will [or, Resolution] which he foresaw we should not perfectly exert in all Cases, who would have it truly foretold by the Prophet, In thy Sight shall no Man living be justified.*

§. 14. I recite this to shew that the Grounds on which St. *Austin* oppos'd this presumptuous Doctrin, are not different from those on which St. *Hierom* did; as the Author I spake of before (40) would make us believe. For the Answer given by St. *Hierom* to the same Cavils, is this; he had recited the Objection about possible and impossible: he had shew'd that some Men that are commendable for one Quality, are faulty for another; and that none is perfect in all. Then to the Dilemma he answers, (41) *They are possible Things which God has commanded, I own it; but even for these possible Things we cannot every one of us have all of 'em; and this, not by Reason of the Weakness [or, Inability] of Nature, that you may not rail; but because of the Weariness of the Mind, which cannot have all Vertues together and keep 'em always. And if you will reproach the Creator for that, because he has made you such a Creature as does flag, or grow weary: I'll tell you again, it will be a smarter Reprehension of him if you find fault with him that he has not made you a God. But you will say, If I cannot do it, I am in no Sin. You are in a Sin. Why could not you do that which another could do? And again, he in Comparison of whom you are worse, will be a Sinner himself in Comparison of some other, or of you in some other Quality.*

This is the Saying of St. *Hierom*, which that Writer instances in (42) as contrary to St. *Austin's* Doctrin: but proves it no other Way than by shewing that *Pelagius* (whom he takes to be St. *Austin*) rails against it. The Answers of the one and of the other of these Fathers are for Substance the same, viz. That tho' it be, logically speaking, true; which the *Pelagians* urg'd, *That we may do all that we can do* (the Denial of it being a Contradiction) yet there is no Man living but at sometimes he is slothful or weary, or not so watchful against Sin and Passion, as he himself will confess afterward he might have been. And this comes upon a Man in spite of the firmest Resolution he can have settled beforehand.

The same Author in the same Treatise represents the Tenets of *Pelagius* and St. *Austin* very partially; and after such a manner as if St. *Austin* had produced no other Proof against *Pelagius* of the Need we all stand in of God's assisting Grace in order to live well, than what was fetch'd from the Doctrin of absolute and particular Predestination. *The Difference*

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*Difference then, says he, (43) between St. Austin and Pelagius in this Matter was this, that the first believed that since the Sin of Adam his Posterity are so corrupted, that they are born with such Dispositions to Evil, as do necessarily carry them to Sin; that if God will bring any one to Good, he must for every good Action give him a Grace, which shall inevitably make him will that which is Good. And for the rest, those to whom he does not give such a Grace, are damn'd. God, by a Wisdom, which we understand not, having a Mind that Mankind should be born under an inevitable Necessity of sinning, and of being accordingly tormented with eternal Punishments, without delivering from this doleful Necessity any more than a very small Number of Persons to whom he gives an invincible Grace.*

Now besides that the Opinion of St. Austin, concerning Predestination, is here very invidiously and disadvantageously represented, and that of Pelagius is as much smoothed over; What an unfair Account is it of the Controversie between them, to make it turn upon that Point? St. Austin brought many other Proofs and Reasons in this Dispute, such as are own'd to be valid, not only by those that approve the Opinion he held about Predestination, but by those that dislike it. God forbid all should be Pelagians that have not the same Conceptions that St. Austin had about that other Matter; Pelagianism has been accounted an Heretical Doctrin in all Ages of the Church, and in all particular Churches; even in those in which the Doctrin of Predestination has been variously explain'd. 'Tis one thing thankfully to own the Assistance of God's Spirit in all the good Purposes and spiritual Strength, we have; and another to determin that God limits this Grace and Assistance to a certain Number of particular Persons, or gives it in an irresistible Degree. Or, to speak plainly, there is a great Difference between the Arminian and the Pelagian Tenets. Concerning the first, most Men are now agreed to bear with one another in any Difference about 'em: but they that would obliterate the Doctrin of Original Sin, and of the Necessity of God's Grace, we know not whither they would lead us, nor what Part of our Religion they will leave us.

The Arminians or Remonstrants did at the Synod of Dort exhibit an Account of their Tenets in this Matter, wherein they frankly confess God's Grace to be necessary, not only as it illuminates our Understanding, but also *voluntati vires confert ad non peccandum*, 'It gives Strength to the Will to avoid Sin: And not only to teach us, what we ought to do, but also *ut quod factu opus est, facere diligamus & valeamus*, 'That we may be able to do, and may love to do that which we ought: which was the thing required of Pelagius to confess, and on the owning whereof he would have been acquitted. They do also shew how far they differ from the Pelagians (and even from the Semipelagians) in all those other things for which either of the said Parties were condemn'd



demn'd by the Church of that Time. This they do in the (44) Declaration of their Tenet on the third and fourth of the five Articles. What then makes this Man (who professes that Way) to talk of *Pelagianism* as if it were so tack'd to *Arminianism*, that St. *Austin* could not confute the one without confuting the other? And to represent St. *Hierom*, who confuted *Pelagius* without having Recourse to St. *Austin's* Opinion of Predestination, as a (45) *Semipelagian*. Year after the A-  
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§. 15. Whereas the chief Point on which *Pelagius* was Condemn'd, was his Denial of any such thing as an internal Grace of God's Spirit moving and inclining the Heart to Faith, Love, Obedience, &c. which we ought to pray to God for: This Historian, citing *Petavius* for it, reckons up six sorts of Grace which *Pelagius* owned. 1. God's Grace in giving us a Free Will: And, 2. In giving a Sinner Pardon for Sins past to encourage him: And, 3. In giving his Law: And, 4. The Grace of Baptism, wherein an adult Person that has sinned, obtains Remission of Sins, and the Inheritance of God's Kingdom; an Infant has no Remission of Sins, as having no Sin in his Opinion, but yet is put into a better State, being made an Heir of God's Kingdom: And, 5. In giving the Kingdom of Heaven as a Reward to encourage us. These five no Body accus'd him of denying. But here (46) he is said to have owned another sort of Grace, viz. *The internal Illumination of our Spirit, which Pelagius expresses in this wise.*

'I confess that Grace consists not only in the Law, but in God's Assistance: for God assists us by his Doctrine and his Revelation, in opening the Eyes of our Hearts; in declaring to us the Things that shall be hereafter, that we may not be fix'd to the present Things; in discovering to us the Snares of the Devil; in enlightning us by the manifold and unspeakable Gift of his Heavenly Grace. Does he that speaks thus, think you, deny the Grace of God? Does he not confess at once both God's Grace and Man's Free-Will?

'Tis true, St. *Austin* does quote these and such other Words out of *Pelagius's* third Book of *Free-Will*. But he shews at the same place (47) that they are used by him only for a Blind, and that his other Sayings in the same Book are such as will not suffer these to be understood in a Catholic Sense. Both St. *Hierom* and St. *Austin* give this Account of him (which they prove by several Instances) that tho' he held those singular Opinions, and propagated them privately in the Minds of his Followers, yet he was very unwilling to be Convicted of so doing; and therefore us'd in his Writings a great deal of Equivocation. He would say such Things as look'd like an owning of internal Grace; but still would take Care to place his Words so as that he could, when Occasion requir'd, explain 'em to mean only that Grace or Mercy of God,

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by

(44) Acta & Scripta Synodalia Doridacena Remonstrantem, Sec. H. c. 1. p. 23, &c. (45) Bibl. T. 8. pag. 194. (46) Ibid. p. 198. (47) De Gratia Christi. l. 1. c. 7.

Year after the Apostles 310. by which he gives us good Rules, Doctrins, Revelations, Promises, &c. And so here he limits (as St. *Austin* observes) all that he speaks of, to *Doctrin* and *Revelation*; and he does not name it *internal*, as Mr. *Le Clerc* does.

St. *Austin* shews him to have used the same Artifice thro' all his four Books of *Free-Will*: which he wrote on Purpose to vindicate his Reputation: and yet even there he never spoke home to the owning of God's Grace in the Catholic Sense, but often to the denying of it. He says there, in the same Book out of which the foregoing Specious Words are quoted, (48) *We distinguish between these three things, and place 'em each in their due Order; in the first place we rank, posse, the Power [of doing any thing;] in the second velle, the Will to do it; in the third esse, the being of the Thing. We say the Power is in our Nature; the Will, in arbitrio, in our Choice; the Being in the Effect. The first, i. e. the Power properly belongs to God, who has given it to his Creature; but the other two, i. e. the Will and the Being are to be referr'd to the Man, because they come from the Fountain of Free-Will.*

And in another Place, (49) he says by way of Objection to his own Assertion:

Obj. *But how then shall that of the Apostle stand good, (50) It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do?*

Ans. *He worketh in us to will that which is Good, to will that which is Holy, inasmuch as by the Greatness of the future Glory, and his Promise of Reward, he encourages us who are given to earthly Desires, and do love only Things before our Eyes as brute Beasts; inasmuch as he raises our dormant Will by the Revelation of his Wisdom; inasmuch as he advises us to every good thing, &c.*

All this St. *Austin* shews to be far short of what was necessary for him to say, if he would clear himself, because it makes God to work upon our Wills only outwardly by Proposals: and says, *Let him once at last own that Grace, by which the Greatness of the future Glory is not only promised to us, but believed and hoped for by us; and by which his Wisdom is not only revealed to us, but loved by us; and by which non fundetur solum omne quod bonum est, verum & persuadetur, we are not only advis'd to every good Thing, but prevail'd on to follow it.* Then having Commented upon that Text, *No Man can come to me, except the Father who has sent me, draw him:* He adds, *This sort of Grace Pelagius ought to own, if he have a Mind not only to be called, but to be, a Christian.*

But the Event proved, that he would never own that sort of Grace; and that the latent Meaning of all his colored Speeches was no other than what St. *Austin*, and his other Opponents took it to be. For when so much Offence was taken at him, that nothing was to be expected but Excommunication; *Celestius* and he being then in the *East*, applied themselves to the Church of *Rome*, to see if the Apology they made for them-

(48) Pelagius de libero arbitrio, l. 3. apud August. de gratia Christi, l. 1. c. 4.  
(49) Ibid. c. 10. 50) Phil. 3. 12.



themselves would pass there. *Celestius* came in Person, and deliver'd in Year af-  
a *Confession of his Faith*: *Pelagius* came not, but sent one, (of which I ter the A-  
shall by and by give a Copy) and a Letter with it. There happen'd to postles  
be then a weak Bishop of that Church, *Zosimus*, who was for the pre- 310.  
sent so far impos'd on by their Pretences, and was so incompetent a Judge  
of this Question, and of the other about Original Sin (as I shew more  
particularly (51) hereafter) that he took what they said for Orthodox,  
and blamed their Accusers as having slander'd 'em; tho' his Predecessor  
*Innocent* had declar'd an ill Opinion of 'em. But the *African* Bishops be- 317  
ing then in Council at *Carthage*, sent their Synodical Epistle to *Zosimus*,  
advertising him of the Craft and Equivocation used by those Men; and  
showing by Instances, wherein his Examination of 'em was short of what  
it ought to have been: and that *Celestius* ought particularly to recant the  
erroneous Positions in his *Confession*. Upon the Coming of this Letter,  
when *Celestius* was summoned to appear, (52) *That by his direct and plain*  
*Answer either his Hypocrisie, or else his Amendment might be made manifest,*  
*and be no longer ambiguous; he withdrew himself, and would not come to the*  
*Hearing*. So far *St. Austin's* Words are: but *Amercator* gives this farther  
Circumstance, (53) *That he ran away from Rome*.

This Passage of the History *Mr. Le Clerc* leaves out, which none that  
pretended to write this History ever left out before; for it is a plain  
Proof that the Opinion against the Grace of God, which the Catholics  
charged the *Pelagians* with was their real Opinion; and not wrongfully  
affixt on 'em by taking their Words in a worse Sense than they meant  
'em, as he would have it believed.

The Issue was, the Bishops of *Africa* continued in their Resolution,  
and the next Year sent a Peremptory Letter to *Zosimus*, (who had done  
all he could to have these Men acquitted) that they did determin, *Con-* 313  
*stitutimus*, &c. (54) *That the Sentence pronounc'd against Pelagius and Ce-*  
*lestius, by the Reverend Bishop Innocent, from the See of the blessed Apostle*  
*Peter, do stand firm, so long till they do by a plain Confession own that we*  
*are in every Action assisted by the Grace of God thro' our Lord Jesus Christ,*  
*not only to understand, but also to practise Righteousness; in such wise as that*  
*without it we are not able to do, to speak, to think, or to have any thing of*  
*true and sincere Piety*. And *Zosimus* at last complied with them, and join-  
ed in giving the same Sentence: And so, as *Prosper* tells us, (55) did  
all the World.

They were, as appears by *St. Austin's* Words, (56) *Either to do Pe-*  
*nance* [viz. recant their Heretical Opinions, whereof this of denying  
God's Grace, and the other of Original Sin were the chief] or, *if they*  
*refused that, to stand Condemn'd* [or, Excommunicated]. There were also  
Imperial Edicts against them.

(51) §. 31. (52) August. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum l. 2. c. 3. (53) Com-  
mentarium. c. 1. (54) Prosper contra Collat. c. 10. (55) Chronic. ad a. n. 418.  
(56) De peccato originali, c. 22.

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§. 16. All that we hear of afterwards, that tended toward Recantation, was this; *Pinianus* and *Albina* and *Melania* being then in the *East*, where *Pelagius* was, wrote to *St. Austin*, that they had dealt with him (57) to condemn [or recant] under his Hand, all the things that were objected to him; and that [as to God's Grace] he had said in their Hearing, thus, 'I do anathematize [or, renounce] any one that says or thinks that the Grace of God, by which Christ came into the World to save Sinners, is not necessary both every Hour and Moment, and also in every Action; and they that take away [or deny] this Grace, are to have [or, may they have] eternal Punishment.

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But *St. Austin* in Answer (58) shews them, that these Words are capable of the same Equivocation he was wont to use: that probably by the Grace of God by which Christ came to save Sinners, he meant nothing but the Pardon of Sins, or, the Example of Christ, the Consideration of which was always necessary: that he had before in the Synod of *Diospolis* said as much as this comes to: For that being there accus'd of holding, That the Grace of God is not given in every Action, but does consist in our Free-Will, or in the Law and Doctrine; and, that the Grace of God is given according to our Deserts: And the Proof brought against him being this, that *Celestius*, who was his Disciple, had written such things: He answer'd, Whether these are *Celestius's* Sayings or not, let them look to it that say they are his. I never held so, and I do anathematize any one that holds so. And yet that after that, he had in his Books of Free-Will shewn that he had really no other Sentiments than such as he seem'd then to condemn.

So this did not avail him. He knew well enough what Words to have express'd himself in, so as to satisfy the Church; but he would not use 'em. *St. Austin* told him (59) that inasmuch as the Question about reconciling Man's Free-Will, and God's Grace, is so intricate; that while one is asserted, the other may seem to be denied; if he would grant that God does not only give us a Power of doing well, but does also assist us in the willing and doing of it (which, by the way, is what I shewed before that the Remonstrants do, or at least did, freely own) the Controversie would be at an end.

But he would never say so. He continued Excommunicate, and seems to have liv'd obscurely all the rest of his Time.

After all, it is not material to us, whether he was guilty, or whether his Accusers were mistaken in his Sense (it were to be wish'd he could have been shewn to have been guiltless) were it not that some now a-days, that have a Mind to set up the same Opinions to a much worse Purpose than ever *Pelagius* did, do go about to retrieve the Credit of 'em by discrediting the Catholic Church of that Time.

That



That which St. *Austin* says to *Pelagius*, on this Account of denying God's Grace, may be applied to some of them on Account (not only of that, but also) of an Article of a higher Nature, which they are supposed likewise not to believe. (60) *He has not thought fit any where to own that we, when we pray, are assisted by God's Grace that we may not Sin; and if he does notwithstanding in his own Mind believe this, he must pardon those that suspect otherwise: For he himself causes this Suspicion, who, when he lies under so much Obloquy on that Account, will believe this, and yet will not confess it. What great Matter were it for him to say this, especially where he undertakes to handle and explain that Point, &c? Why should he there defend Nature only, &c?*

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§. 17. I have recited what I mean to do of the Dispute concerning God's Grace all together, that it may give no Interruption to what remains to be said of the other concerning Original Sin, and the Occasions thence taken to speak of Infant Baptism.

In the Third of those Books, *Of the Guilt and Forgiveness of Sins, and Baptism of Infants*, St. *Austin* having in the foregoing Chapters recited several Interpretations, of which those Texts, *Rom. 5. 12, 13, 14, &c.* are capable, concludes in the fifth Chapter, that which soever of them be taken, the Words *can have no other Sense but such an one by which it has come to pass that the whole Church has from of old constantly held that Fidel* [or, baptized] *Infants do obtain Remission of Original Sin by the Baptism of Christ.*

Then he recites a large Piece of the Epistle of St. *Cyprian* to *Fidus*, which I gave a Copy of in *CH. VI.* and observes how he there takes the Doctrin of Original Sin in Infants, for a known and undoubted Thing; and by it proves (what was then by *Fidus* question'd) that an Infant may and must be Baptiz'd before the 8th Day, if need require. Then (61) he adds,

*And now some People by the Boldness of I know not what disputing Humor, go about to represent that as uncertain which our Ancestors made use of as a most certain Thing whereby to resolve some Things that seemed uncertain. For, when this began first to be disputed, I know not: but this I know, that holy Hierom, whose Pains and Fame for excellent Learning in Ecclesiastical Matters, is at this Day so great, does also make use of this as a Thing most certain, to resolve some Questions in his Books, &c. Then having quoted some Passages out of St. Hierom on Jonah, he proceeds, If we could with Convenience come to ask that most Learned Man; how many Writers of Christian Dissertations and Interpreters of Holy Scripture in both Languages could he recount, who from the Time that Christ's Church has been founded, have held no otherwise, have received no other Doctrin from their Predecessors, nor left any other to their Successors? For my Part (tho' my Reading is much less than his) I do not remember that I ever heard any other Thing from any Christians that received the Old and New Testament, Non solum in Catholica Ecclesia, verum etiam*

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etiam in quâlibet hæresi vel Schismate constitutis: Neither from such as were of the Catholic Church, nor from such as belonged to any Sect or Schism. Non memini me aliud legisse, &c. I do not remember that I ever read otherwise in any Writer that I could ever find treating of these Matters, that followed the Canonical Scriptures, or did mean or did pretend to do so. From whence it is that this Trouble is started up upon us I know not; but a little while ago when I was there at Carthage, I just cursorily heard some transient Discourse of some People that were talking that Infants are not Baptized for that Reason that they may receive Remission of Sins, but that they may be sanctified in Christ. Tho' I was something startled at the Novelty, yet because it was not seasonable then to enter into any Discourse against it, and because they were not Persons of any such Rank as to be much taken notice of; it past over with me as a Thing forgotten, or not minded. And lo, now it is a thing maintain'd against the Church with ardent Endeavours; it is even by Writing transmitted to Memory; it is come to that Difficulty that the Brethren are fain to ask our Opinions of the Matter; and we find a Necessity of Disputing and Writing against it.

This Testimony of St. Austin must needs be look'd on as a very considerable Evidence. He declares, he never met with any Christian, either Churchman or Sectary; nor with any Writer that owned the Scripture, who taught any other Doctrin, but that Infants are Baptiz'd for Pardon of Sin. Much less then had he known or heard of any that denied that they are to be Baptiz'd at all. And they had then, as I observ'd before, but 300 Years to look back to the Times of the Apostles. And St. Austin, tho' he speak modestly of himself as to Learning, had studied the Church History so well, that in a few Years after this he publish'd that his *History of all the Sects or Opinions* that were, or had been in Christendom; out of which I quote some things in another Chapter.

(62)

§. 18. To that Objection of Pelagius, *If Baptism do take away Original Sin; then such Children as are born of Parents both Baptiz'd must be without that Sin*, St. Austin answers to this Purpose, (63) That an Error is often strengthened by putting alien and intricate Questions about the Matter, which is an easie thing in most Matters to do. Yet, says he, *If I had this Cause to manage against such Men as did either deny that Infants are to be Baptiz'd, or did say that it is needless to Baptize 'em, for that they being born of Fidel [or, Baptized] Persons, were necessarily Partakers of their Parents Privilege; then I ought to take more Pains in Confuting this Opinion.* Such Persons (as he shews at large) would have need to be put in Mind, that as a Circumcised Parent begets an Uncircumcised Son; and Wheat that has been cleansed from the Chaff does, if it be sowed, produce Wheat with Chaff on it: So a Parent that has been spiritually cleansed begets a Son that resembles him not according to that State that he is in



in by spiritual Regeneration, but according to the State he was in by carnal Generation. Year after the Apostles.

But now, says he, (64) since we have to do with such as do confess that the Children of Baptized Persons, are to be Baptized; how much better is it to say thus to 'em, You that do affirm that of Parents cleansed from the Stain of Sin, such Children should be born as are without Sin, How is it that you do not mind that at the same rate you might say, that of Christian Parents there should be born Christian Children? And then why do you determin that they are to be Baptiz'd?

§. 19. And having afterward (65) on this Occasion mention'd that Text, 1 Cor. 7. 14. *Now are your Children Holy*, &c. he refers to the Exposition of it which *Pelagius* had given, and the like to which he himself had given in a former Treatise (66) which I recited before (67) and says, that it must be understood so, or else in another Sense which he there gives (relating to the Forbearance of the Use of the Marriage-Bed during the Woman's Uncleaness,) or else in some other Sense of which we may not be certain. And then adds,

*Illud tamen sine dubitatione tenendum est, quacunque illa sanctificatio sit, non valere ad Christianos faciendos atque ad dimittenda peccata, nisi Christiani & Ecclesiastica institutione & sacramentis efficiantur fideles. Nam nec, &c.*

But that is to be held without any Doubt, that whatever that Holiness [or, Sanctification] be; it is not available to the making of 'em Christians, or to the Pardon of Sins, unless they be made Fidels by the Institution [or Order] of Christ and the Church, and by the Sacraments. For neither are unbelieving Husbands or Wives, how holy and just Partners soever they have, cleansed from the Iniquity which keeps 'em from the Kingdom of God, and brings 'em to Damnation; nor are Infants, of how holy and just Parents soever they come, pardon'd the Guilt of Original Sin; unless they (*i. e. the one and the other*) be Baptized in Christ.

One may here in short confer together the several Comments of the Ancients on this Text; *The unbelieving Husband is sanctified* [or, an unbelieving Husband has been sanctified] *by his Wife*, &c. *Else were your Children unclean; but now they are holy*. They do, most of 'em, and those the most Ancient, make that Holiness of the Children relate to their Baptism, as given, or to be given before they are actually holy.

1. St. Austin in a former Book (68) interprets *has been sanctified*, *i. e. has been brought to the Faith*. And, *Now are your Children holy*, *i. e. Now are they Baptized*. And he there gives the Grounds of that Interpretation; as may be seen by turning back to the Place where I recited it (69). And here he says again, it must be interpreted so, or else certainly in some such Sense as does not make them holy so as to inherit the Kingdom, unless they be Baptized.

2. He

(64) Cap. 9. (65) Cap. 12. (66) De Sermone Domini in monte. (67) CH. XV. Sect. 2. (68) De Sermone Domini in monte, l. 1, c. 27. (69) CH. XV. Sect. 2.

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2. He also here recites the Explication that *Pelagius* had given of this Text, and says, *Pelagius*, when he wrote on this Epistle, expounded it thus, “*Exempla jam præcellerant & virorum quos uxores & feminarum quas mariti lucriferant Christo; & parvulorum ad quos faciendos Christianos voluntas Christiana etiam unius parentis evicerat.*” “There were by this Time Examples, both of Men whom their Wives, and of Women whom their Husbands had gained over to Christ; and of Infants, concerning whom the Christian Desire even of one of their Parents had prevailed that they should be made Christians.

He manifestly Paraphrases these Words [*now are they holy*] thus, *Now are they made Christians.* And, the unbelieving Party has been sanctified, i. e. has been gained over to Christ.

The very same Explication is, as they say, still extant at this Text, in those *Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles* that go under the Name of *St. Hierom*, but are *Pelagius's*, only interpolated.

100.

3. *Tertullian* speaking of the Privilege that Infants have by being of Christian Parents, or of one Parent such, says, *Now are they holy*, i. e. designed for Holiness; for otherwise, the Apostle knew what our Lord had determined, “Except one be born of Water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of God, that is, he shall not be holy. See the Place at large *CH. IV. §. 6.*

103.

4. *Paulinus* writes to *St. Hierom* this Question, *How are they holy, when as without the Gift of the Grace [viz. Baptism] given them afterward [after their Birth] and preserved, they cannot be saved?* (70)

5. *St. Hierom* for Answer refers him to the forementioned Resolution of *Tertullian*, but withal mentions some other Interpretations about legal Cleanness or Uncleanness.

And the same Father in his Epistle to *Letia*, (71) a Christian Woman; Daughter of *Albinus* a Heathen, Priest of *Jupiter*, having mentioned this Text, says, it had been verified in her Family; for that she who had been born *de impari matrimonio*, of an unequal Marriage, i. e. her Father a Heathen, but her Mother being a Christian, The Sweetness of the Fruit had recompensed for the Bitterness of the Root; and an ill Shrub had sweat forth precious Balsam, &c. We have born [or, waited] to good Purpose. A Holy and Christian Family does Sanctify one Unbeliever. He [*Albinus* himself] is now a Candidate of the Faith, since he is compass'd with a Multitude of his Children and Grandchildren that Believe. I fancy that *Jupiter* himself might have believed, if he had had such kindred. Since he makes this to be a fulfilling of this Text, and the Sanctifying of an Unbeliever to be the Converting, or Probability of Converting him; 'tis plain he understood it as those foregoing. All these bring the Baptism of Infants into the Explication of their Holiness.

103.

§. 6. *St. Chrysostom* says (72) a great deal of Clean and Unclean; without coming to any particular Explication of what he means by it.

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He says, *That the Woman might not fear being made Unclean by the Copulation, the Apostle tells her, 'The Unbelieving Husband is Sanctified by the Wife, &c. And then having shewn why, tho' Adultery is a reasonable Cause of Separation, yet Idolatry or Heathenism is not, he adds, Then there is given a Proof of this: For on Supposition that thou being unclean diest bring forth a Child, and that Child being not from thee alone, the Child would be unclean, or but half clean; and therefore he adds, 'Else were your Children Unclean, but now they are Holy, i. e. Not unclean. But he uses the Word Holy, by an over-reaching Expression, that he might farther dispel all Fear of any such Suspicion, viz. of Uncleanness.*

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This is something obscure: but he seems to make no more out of this Text than the Antipædobaptists do. Yet it is plain that he could not mean that by this Cleanness the Children would obtain Salvation, without Baptism; because he so often and so plainly affirms the contrary, as I have shewed in CHAP. XIV. §. 2.

7. He that made the Commentaries ascribed to St. Ambrose, talks yet more slightly: he says, (73) *If the believing Party stay with the other, the Sign of the Cross will be us'd in the House; and that is a Sanctification of it: And that, if the believing Party go away, and lie with others, it would be Adultery; and the Children so begotten would be unclean, because they would be Bastards.* He makes St. Paul's arguing to come to no more than this; Let the believing Woman stay and sanctify the House and her unbelieving Husband with the Sign of the Cross; for if she go from him and lie with others, the Children so begotten would be Bastards. Who doubts it?

I know not at what Year to place this Author, for these Commentaries are pieced out of several Authors, some elder, some later. This I believe was a later one.

8. Theodoret (74) explains, *The unbelieving Party is sanctified, that is, there is Hopes of their Salvation. But, suppose either the Man or the Woman do persist in Unbelief; yet the Seed shall be saved.* These last Words he explains as Calvin has since done.

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9. He that wrote the *Questiones ad Antiochum*, that are among the Works of Athanasius, explains *holy by shall be saved.* But he limits it expressly to such as are Baptized. I give his Words among the spurious Pieces, CH. XXIII.

These are all the Interpretations of this Text, that I know of, given by the Ancients.

St. Austin in this Book (75) answers one more Objection of Pelagius, which is this; If the Soul be not deriv'd from the Parents, but the Body only; How comes the Soul to be involv'd in the Guilt of Original Sin?

He answers, 1. That Pelagius had spoke like a Circumspect Man, when he put that with an *if*: for that it is an obscure Matter, and not to

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Year af- be resolv'd from Scripture, whether the Soul be deriv'd, or be imme-  
 ter the A- diately created. And, 2. He bids him answer this Question first, *If the*  
 pestles Soul be not deriv'd, what Justice is it that a Soul newly created, and void  
 310. of all Guilt, wholly free from all Contagion of Sin, should in Infants suffer  
 several Passions and Torturings of the Body, and which is more dreadful, the  
 Outrage of evil Spirits? He advises, that since we see this by Experience to  
 be so, and yet cannot answer for the Reason or Justice of it, we should  
 in all such Questions remember that we are but Men.

Having made so large an Abstract of what St. *Austin* says of this  
 Matter in these three Books, which were his first Work against the  
*Pelagians*; I may have Liberty to pass by a great many Sayings in  
 his following Books against them. For it were endless to recite all the  
 Passages which we meet with in them speaking of Infant Baptism, and  
 proving from it Original Sin. I shall therefore mention only here and  
 there one, and that only in *English* for Brevity.

§. 20. The next Year, *Anno* 413. St. *Hierom* wrote his Epistle to *Ctesiphon* (76) against that Opinion of the *Pelagians*, which denies the need we  
 have of God's Grace; wherein he mentions not *Pelagius* by Name, but  
 means him when he says, *Speak out that which you hold: Declare publicly*  
*what you talk in private to your Disciples.—This is the only Heresie that is a-*  
*sham'd to speak openly what it teaches privately. The Forwardness of the Di-*  
*sciples publishes that which the Masters keep in. What they hear in the Cham-*  
*bers, they proclaim on the House Top.* He instances in some Passages of a  
 Book publish'd by one of the Disciples: which was probably *Celestius*;  
 for *Pelagius* being of more refined Politics, generally forbore to appear  
 himself, and put this *Irishman* foremost. They called the Book *Syllogisms*;  
 but St. *Hierom* says it ought to be called *Solecisms*. It had in it such  
 Sayings as these,

*'Tis in vain that God has given me the Power of Free Will, if I can't put*  
*it in Practice without his continual Help.*

*I do either use the Power once given me, so as that Free Will is preserv'd:*  
*Or else, if I stand in need of another's Help, the Freedom of Will is destroyed*  
*in me.*

*If I have a Mind to bend my Finger, stir my Hand, sit, stand, walk, run,*  
*spit, blow my Nose, ease my self, make Water: What! shall the Help of God*  
*be always necessary for me?*

This St. *Hierom* calls Blasphemy and Sacrilege, and says,

*What Venom of Heretics does not this surpass? They maintain that by*  
*Reason of the Freedom of their Will they have no farther Need of God.*

He has nothing here of Original Sin, and so not of Infants. He  
 promis'd a larger Work, in which he would refute all their Errors,  
 which he performed two Years after.



The next Year St. *Austin* wrote a large and elaborate Letter in answer to one he had received out of *Sicily* from *Hilarius*. It is to be noted that *Celestius*, after his being Condemn'd in *Africa*, or else in going from *Rome* to *Africa*, had made his Abode for some time in *Sicily*; and had, as it seems, sowed the Seeds of his Heresie there. For *Hilarius* desired St. *Austin's* Judgment concerning some new Doctrins, which, says he, (77) some Christians at *Syracuse* do publish.

1. That a Man may be without Sin, and keep God's Commandments easily, if he will.
2. That an unbaptized Infant surprized with Death cannot perish deservedly, because he is born without Sin.
3. That a Rich Man, if he keep his Wealth and do not sell all that he has, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. And that it will not avail him that he uses his Riches well [or, according to the Commandments.]
4. That one must not swear at all.
5. Whether the Church, of which it is written, not having Spot or Wrinkle, be that in which we now live, or that which we hope for. For some think it is this Church which consists of present Persons, &c.

To the Second of these St. *Austin* (78) answers,

Whereas they say, An unbaptized Infant cannot perish because he is born without Sin. The Apostle does not say so: and I suppose it is better to believe the Apostle than them. For that Teacher of the Gentiles, in whom Christ speaks, says, (79) By one Man Sin enter'd into the World, &c. For Judgment was by one Offence to Condemnation; but the Grace is of many Offences to Justification. Therefore if they can find any Infant that is not sprung from the Concupiscence of that one Man; of such an one let 'em say, that he is not liable to that Condemnation, nor needs by the Grace of Christ to be deliver'd from it.

What means; By one Offence to Condemnation, but, by that one Offence in which Adam offended? And what means; Of many Offences to Justification, but, that the Grace of Christ does take off not only that Offence with which Infants, sprung from that one Man, are held bound; but also the many Offences which when they are grown Men, they add to it by wicked Practices? But still that one, to which the carnal Offspring that derives from that first Man is liable, is, he says, enough for their Condemnation. Therefore the Baptism of Infants is no more than what is necessary: that they, who by their Generation are subject to that Condemnation, may by Regeneration be freed from it. And as there is not a Person in the World who is carnally generated but from Adam, so neither is any spiritually Regenerated but by Christ. The carnal Generation is liable to that one Offence, and the Condemnation thereof: but the spiritual Regeneration takes away not only that one for which Infants are Baptized; but also those many which Men by wicked Living have added to that in which they are generated.

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*And therefore he goes on, and says, ' If by one Man's Offence Death reigned by one ; much more they which receive the Abundance of ' Grace shall reign, &c. Therefore, as by the Offence of one Judgment ' came on all Men to Condemnation, so by the Righteousness of one the ' free Gift came on all Men to Justification of Life: for as by one Man's ' Disobedience many were made Sinners; so by the Obedience of one ' shall many be made Righteous.*

*What will they say to this? Or what is possible for 'em to say; unless they will plead that the Apostle is mistaken? That chosen Vessel, the Teacher of the Gentiles, that Trumpet of Christ, proclaims, Judgment came by one to Condemnation: and these proclaim on the contrary; and say, That Infants, who, as they confess, derive from that one Man of whom he speaks, do not go into Condemnation tho' they be not Baptiz'd.*

*Judgment, says he, came by one to Condemnation. By one what, does he mean, but by one Offence? Since it follows, but the Grace is of many Offences to Justification.*

*Then he answers to that Plea of theirs, by which they said that St. Paul by one Offence meant both the Sin of Adam, and also all the Sins which Men by imitating that, do commit.*

*He shews, that if St. Paul had meant so; he would have said in like manner of the Grace of Christ, that that was of one Offence to Justification: but he distinguishes; and says, Condemnation came by one Offence; but the Grace of Christ justifies from many Offences.*

*Afterwards he says, If, as they pretend, the Apostle had said these things on this account, that we should understand Sinners to belong to that first Man, not that we derive Sin by being born of him, but by imitating him: he would rather have named the Devil; for he sinned first, and from him Mankind do not derive their Pedigree, but only they imitate him. — And if it were on account of Imitation that the Apostle named the first Man; because he was the first Sinner among Men, and for that Reason all sinful Men were said to belong to him: Why did he not name Abel as the second Man, who was the first Righteous among Men? — But he names Adam, and on the other part names none but Christ. Because as the one, a Man, did by his Sin defile his Posterity; so the other, God and Man, did by his Righteousness save his Inheritance: the one by transferring [or, conveying] the Defilement of the Flesh, which the Devil, tho' wicked, could not; the other by giving the Grace of his Spirit, which Abel, tho' righteous, could not.*

*He at last observes to Hilarius, that Celestius had been Condemn'd for this Doctrin at Carthage two Years before: and tells him that he himself had publish'd some Books, and had preach'd oftentimes against it, and had recover'd several. That there were still some at Carthage that held that Opinion; but privately: that in many places there were more of them than one would expect. And where they are not refuted, they seduce others to their Sect; and are grown so numerous that I know not what it will come to. But we wish rather that they should be healed in the Unity of the Church, than that they should be cut off from the Body of it as incurable Members;*



*Members; provided Necessity do not compel it. For there is some Fear lest more Limbs do putrifie, whilst the putrified ones are spared, &c.* Year after the Apostles 310.

S. 21. The third and fourth Positions of the *Pelagians*, about a rich Man, and about Swearing, are such as may possibly raise the Reader's Curiosity to know what was said to those Questions in these Times.

To the Third, St. *Austin* observes that *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* were rich, and continued so; and yet have a place in the Kingdom. That the rich Man in the Parable did not go into Torment because he died rich; but because he was *Luxurious*, and *Unmerciful to Lazarus*: that *Lazarus*, when he died, was carried into the Bosom of a rich Man, &c.

And whereas the *Pelagians* pretended that the Selling of All is necessary under the New Testament, tho' not under the Old; he observes that our Savior, who set the rich Young-man this Condition of *being Perfect; Sell that thou hast, &c.* yet did not set this as the Condition of *entering into Life*: but that other (80) *Keep the Commandments*. That the Apostle teaching rich Men how to *lay hold* (81) *on eternal Life*, bids them *do Good, distribute, communicate, &c.* but does not require 'em to sell All.

But to the Argument which they raised from these Words of our Savior, (82) *A rich Man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* St. *Austin* makes no Answer but what seems defective. *How is it then, says he, does the Apostle speak contrary to the Lord? Or, do these Men not understand what they talk of?* He refers 'em to Christ's following Words, *With Men this is impossible; but with God all Things are possible*. Those they explained thus, as he tells us; 'Christ knew that several rich Men, upon hearing the Gospel, would sell their Estates and give 'em to the Poor, &c. and so that would be done which seemed so difficult: not, that any of 'em continuing in their Wealth, would, by keeping those Rules of the Apostle, lay hold on eternal Life; but that selling all that they had, they would so fulfil those Rules of the Apostle.

Here St. *Austin* observes, that according to this their own Interpretation, *Our Lord does, contrary to their Tenet, set forth his own Grace: for he does not say, 'That which seems to you impossible, is easie for Men to do, if they will. But he says, 'That which is impossible with Men, is easie with God. And following on that Point, he forgets to return and give any Answer how he himself would have those Words of our Savior to be understood. Only he observes that the Apostle's Words could not be so meant as they explain'd 'em, viz. of selling all they had: because he gives several Rules how they should provide for their Servants, Children, &c. which is not consistent with selling all they had: For, as he observes, How can this be done without a House, and something to keep it?*

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Our Savior seems in that Saying, *A rich Man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of God*, to have meant, as he does in many other Places, by the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and, the *Kingdom of God*, not the *Kingdom of Glory*; but the State of the Profession of the Gospel and of Faith in him, as it was at that Time, when both himself and all that would be his Disciples, were so persecuted that they could not think of keeping any Estate if they had it. And as things so stood, it was very hard to persuade any rich Man to enter into it; so hard, that humanly speaking, it was impossible. Only God by the Power of his Grace might overcome that Love of their Wealth, which hindred them from owning Christ. Now that Difficulty is not at all Times; but only in Times of Persecution.

If this be the Sense; the Translation would be more intelligible if it were said, not *shall hardly*, but *will hardly enter*, &c.

And if this be the Sense; then what St. *Austin* answers is pertinent and full: *viz.* that there are many rich Men, who, tho' they do not actually sell All, and give to the Poor, yet are ready to part with All, if Occasion should be, for the sake of Christ and his Truth: and who in the mean time do keep their Families in Christian Discipline, use Hospitality and Beneficence to the Poor, receive a righteous Man in the Name of a righteous Man, &c. And he takes notice that *Pelagius* himself was relieved in his Necessities by such rich Men, and entertain'd by 'em (and others speak of him as a great Haunter of such Mens Houses) he says,

*Those Men, if they expect to be such as the Apostle (83) speaks of, 'That ' shall judge Angels; ought to resolve before hand to receive (84) into everlasting Habitations those that have made them their Friends with the Mammon of Unrighteousness.—— Those Servants of God, who having sold All, do afterwards live upon the honest Labor of their own Hands, may with much less Impudence condemn Men from whom they receive nothing; than those that not being able by reason of some Infirmary to work with their Hands, do condemn the Men that maintain 'em.*

*I that write this, was greatly in love with that Perfection of which our Lord spoke, when he said to the rich Man, Go and sell All, &c. and I did so; not by my own Strength, but by his assisting Grace. And tho' I was not rich; there will never the less be imputed to me for that: for the Apostles themselves, that did this first, were no rich Men. But he parts with all the World, that parts with all that he has or hopes to have.—— And I do my utmost Endeavor to persuade others to this Purpose; and I have in the Name of God, several Partners, who have by my Ministry been brought to it. But still so, as that the Sound Doctrine is preserv'd among us; and that we do not in way of vain-glory censure those that do not take the same Course: and tell 'em that it will not avail 'em to live chastly*



chastly in Matrimony, to order their Houses and Families Christian like, Year after the Apostles.

I think this to be a modest and handfom Rebuke of the Pride of those two Monks: who valued themselves so much upon their selling their Temporal Possessions; that they censur'd all that did not do the like, as incapable of God's Kingdom. St. *Austin* shews that he and several others had done the same with less Noise and less spiritual Pride and Censure.

To the Fourth about Swearing, he says thus, *Avoid Swearing as much as is possible: for it is better not to swear even to the Truth, than by a Custom of Swearing to fall often into Perjury, and always to come in Danger of it. But these Men, as far as appears by what I have heard some of 'em talk, do not know what is Swearing: for they think they do not swear when they say, God knows, or, God is Witness, or, I call God to Witness upon my Soul; because it is not said, By God: And because such Phrases as the formention'd are found in the Apostle Paul. But even that Phrase which they confess to be Swearing is found in him, when he says, (85) By your rejoycing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord. For in the Greek this plainly appears to be Swearing: So that one cannot take those Words in the Latin, per vestram gloriam, By your rejoycing; as those (86) per meum adventum iterum ad vos, By my Coming to you again; and many such like where it is said, By any thing, and yet there is no Swearing, are to be taken.*

But because the Apostle, a Man most strong in the Truth, swore in his Epistles; we must not therefore make a Sport of Swearing. As for us, it is much safer, as I said, never to swear; but to make use of Yes, Yes; and No, No; as our Lord advises: not that it is a Sin to swear truly; but it is a most dreadful Sin to swear falsely: into which he naturally falls that accustoms himself to swear. This is St. *Austin's* Sense: and whereas some of the Ancienter Fathers are against all Swearing; there was a particular Reason in their Time: because all the Oaths then administred in Courts were by the Heathen Gods, or the *Genii* of the Emperors.

The Instance that he gives of St. *Paul's* Swearing, is the plainest in the Scripture: for whereas the *Latin* Language uses the Word *per*, as the *English*, the Word, *by*, to many other Purposes, as well as Swearing; the *Greek*, as St. *Austin* observes, has a peculiar Word *νῦν*, for *by* in the case of Swearing by any thing, and which is never us'd but in Swearing: as *νῦν Διᾷ*, and *νῦν τοῖς Θεοῖς*. And so *νῦν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν*, is, without any more Addition, *I swear* [for which our *English* have put *I protest*] *by your Glory, [or, rejoycing] which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, i. e. by that which is our common Christian Hope and Joy.*

§. 22. There came the same Year some more Questions out of *Sicily* for St. *Austin* to resolve, from *Eutropius* and *Paulus*. They sent him a Paper, intitl'd, *Definitiones, ut dicitur, Celestii*, 'Arguments given out, as is said, by *Celestius*.

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It might be worth the while of a young Sophister to read 'em for a Pattern to see how many ways that Fallacy may be varied; as, *Sin is either a Thing that may be avoided, or that cannot be avoided, &c. Sin is either a Thing of Will, or of Necessity, &c.* but they are not worth reciting here. St. Austin recites 'em, and gives particular Answers to each of 'em (88) which must needs be for Substance the same as he and St. Hieron had given before to the Dilemma aforesaid, viz. That a Man may by God's Grace have in general a Will, Desire, and Aim to avoid all Sin: but by reason of our Frailty, no Man finds that Purpose to hold out so steady in all Particulars, but that he often slips and sometimes falls. Neither does it do us any good to prove how unblameable we should be on Supposition that our Will were faultless: since our greatest Blemish is the corrupt Inclination of our Will it self, which complies with the Tentations, in all Men at sometimes and to some degree; but in Men destitute of God's Grace, so far as to yield the Dominion to Sin. And since this is too plain by Experience; what do Sophisms to the contrary avail us? Our Business is to get Cure by God's Grace for this Distemper, not to dispute our selves out of the Sense of it.

314. About this Time Pelagius wrote one of his most elaborate Pieces, in-  
315. titul'd, *Of the Abilities of Nature.* To which St. Austin, next Year, wrote an Answer, intitled, *Of Nature and Grace.* He owns (89) that Pelagius had shewn an Example of a most strong and nimble Wit, and had well reprov'd those that excuse their Wickedness by laying all the Fault of it on the Nature of Man: but that he had carried this Zeal too far, in saying that Men that are wicked might have been Sinless if they would; and, *That if they were Sinners because they could not be otherwise, they are not to be blamed.* On which St. Austin makes this Remark, (90) *Mind what he says: Now I say that an Infant born and surprized with Death in such a place where he cannot be reliev'd by the Baptism of Christ, is as he is (viz. dies without the washing of Regeneration) because he could be no otherwise. Let him then absolve such a one, and set open the Kingdom of Heaven to him in spite of our Lord's Declaration, &c.*

Among several Arguments as good as the Case would bear, Pelagius there uses one very silly logical Quirk. In Opposition to what the Church held of our Nature in the State in which it now is, viz. That it is deprav'd and weakned by Sin, he said, (91) *What is Sin? Is it any substantial Thing; or a Name without any Substance, by which is meant not any real thing, not any Existence, not any bodily Thing; but the Act of something*

(88) Lib. de perfectione justitiæ ad Eutropium. (89) Cap. 6. (90) Cap. 7.  
(91) Apud Augustin. de naturâ & gratiâ. cap. 19.



something done amiss? And how can that which has no Substance weaken or change human Nature?

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St. Austin produces the Instance of some godly Man, crying out as it is, Ps. 41. 4. Lord, be merciful to me, heal my Soul, for I have sinned against thee, &c. He bids Pelagius ask such a Man, What he ails? What is Sin, is it a Substance, &c? How can a Thing that has no Substance defile thy Soul? &c. And then adds, Would not the Man in the Bitterness of his Soul bid him be gone? &c. You see whither this Argument tends, and to what it would lead us; to think those Words spoken to no purpose; Thou shalt call his Name Jesus, for he shall save his People from their Sins. For how shall he save 'em if they have no Ailing? Sins, from which the Gospel says Christ's People are to be sav'd, are no Substances, and so cannot defile. Oh, Brother, it were a good thing if you would remember that you are a Christian!

§. 23. Pelagius prov'd that Men may be without Sin by instancing (92) in a great many Persons who had been so, as he pretended: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech, and 20 more: and in some Women; Deborah, Anna, Judith, &c. and also the Mother of our Lord and Savior, concerning whom he said, That it is necessary for our Religion that we do confess her to be without Sin.

St. Austin answers, Excepting the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom I am not willing, for the Honor of our Lord, to hold any Dispute at all when we are talking about Sin (*Unde enim scimus quod [l. quid] ei plus gratie collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum, quæ concipere & parere meruit eum quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum? Hæc ergo excepta virgine.* 'For how do we know that [or, what] more Grace was bestowed on her to overcome all Sin, who had the Honor to conceive and bring forth him who certainly had no Sin? But (this Virgin excepted) if we could have called together all those Holy Men and Women when they were alive, and have askt 'em whether they were without Sin; What do you think they would have said? As this Man says, or as the Apostle John says? — They would all have cried out with one Voice, *If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, &c.*

From what the Papists now a-days say and practise in reference to the Blessed Virgin; one would think that all Antiquity had believed her to be Sinless: but by examining we shall find that Pelagius here is the first that ever said that she was without Sin. St. Austin indeed makes a very modest Answer; as thinking it decent for us, in regard to the Honor of our Savior, not to hold any Talk about the Sins of his Mother: but as one may guess by this place, and more plainly by some other, he was far from affirming her to be Sinless. He often speaks positively of all Mankind as Sinful, excepting only our Savior Christ. And for other Fathers, they make no Scruple, when it comes in their way, to speak particularly of her Failings: as Chrysostom on John 2. 2.

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And St. Hierom (93) having repeated her *Canticum*, bids *Pelagius* mark, that she does not call her self Blessed for any Merit or Virtue of her own; but by the Mercy of God, who vouchsafed to inhabit in her.

*Aquinas* having produced, by way of Objection against himself, several Reasons and some Authorities, that she had Sin (94) answers 'em all with that Text, *Cant. 4. 7. Thou art all fair, my Love, there is no Spot in thee*; and with this Passage of St. *Austin*. Now this is not to his Purpose as it stands here: but in *Aquinas's* Citation the Words are alter'd. He reads 'em thus, *Inde enim scimus quod ei plus gratia collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum, quod concipere, &c.* 'For we know that 'more Grace was bestow'd on her to overcome all Sin, by this; that 'she had the Honor to conceive [or, deserved to conceive] &c. But the Jesuit, *Vasquez*, had something more of Honesty: for tho' he would have the Words read as *Aquinas* reads 'em; yet he confesses that he found 'em in the Book as I have transcribed 'em. He quotes (95) *Unde enim*, but adds as of his own, or rather, *inde enim*: and he quotes, *quid ei plus gratia*; but says, as of his own Head; or rather, *quod ei plus gratia*. And the Word *que*, he does not pretend to alter into *quod* at all.

The Edition that *Vasquez* had, was more unexceptionable, and gives even less Occasion to the Popish Alterations, than that out of which I transcribe, which is *Erasmus's* printed at *Venice*, 1551. (and his Editions are commonly the least tainted with their Corruptions of the Text) for *Vasquez* reads *quid*, which, together with the Sense of the Discourse there, justifies my Alteration. If there were not some Eye kept over these Men; they would both in the Fathers, and in the Scripture too, alter the Words, as some of 'em have done here, to serve their Turn.

They had better take *Pelagius's* Words, which serve their Purpose without any Alteration: It would not be the first time they have borrowed from some Heretic a Doctrin which was never own'd in the Ancient Catholic Church. *Pelagius* does not only say, she was Sinless, but makes it a necessary Point of Religion to believe so; which fits them to a Hair.

S. 24. *Pelagius* liv'd all this while at *Jerusalem*: but what he wrote was in *Latin*; so that his Opinions were more talk'd of in the *West*, where he had liv'd, and where that Language was understood and spoken; than in the *East* where he now was: because little but *Greek* was read or spoken there.

He could not have found a more convenient Retreat than at *Jerusalem*: for *John* the Bishop there, with whom he liv'd, was himself addicted to new Opinions. Both *Epiphanius* and St. *Hierom* had a good while before wrote against him for holding several of the Condemn'd Opinions of *Origen*; to which some of *Pelagius's* Tenets were pretty near a-kin.

About

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(93) Dialog. 1. (94) Aq. Summ. 3. Q. 27. Art. 3, 4. (95) In tertiam Thomæ. T. 2. Disp. 117. c. 3.



About this Time there happen'd a Meeting of Bishops at Jerusalem: Year after the A-  
and Orosius, a Young-man, who had been with St. Austin, and was now at Bethlehem with St. Hierom, came to this Meeting; and declar'd to 'em what a Noise there was in the West about some Doctrins publish'd by Celestius, and countenanc'd by some Writings of Pelagius, and that St. Austin had wrote against 'em. And he caus'd (96) to be read to 'em (as well as could be done by an Interpreter) St. Austin's Letter to Hilarius, mention'd before in §. 20, 21. Pelagius being ask'd whether he had taught those Doctrins against which St. Austin there writes; answer'd, *Who is that Austin?* [or, what is Austin to me?] Some in the Council answer'd, *He that speaks against that Bishop by whose Means God has restor'd Unity to all Africa, deserves to be turn'd out not only from this Assembly, but from the whole Church.*

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They referr'd to the Service St. Austin had done in reducing the Donatists.

But Bishop John, who presid'd, interpos'd for him: and all that was urg'd against him at that Time, being this; that he had maintain'd that a Man might live without Sin; John said, *If he had maintain'd this to be possible without God's Help, it were a thing to be Condemn'd; but since he adds that, what have you to say? Do you deny God's Help?* So a Squabble arising, and Orosius, who could speak no Greek, as they no Latin, not being able to make them understand the Fallacy which Pelagius conceal'd under that Word, *God's Help*; the Issue was, that the Matter should be referr'd to Innocent, Bishop of Rome, and that in the mean time Pelagius should keep Silence: and so nothing at this Meeting was said about Original Sin. And John the Bishop took occasion quickly after to fall out with Orosius: upon which he wrote his *Apologetic*, which is still extant, and out of which some Quotations to our Purpose about Infant-Baptism might be taken; but they have nothing different from what St. Austin and St. Hierom and Pelagius himself, have: and therefore I shall for Brevity omit 'em.

But about the latter End of this Year 415. there was another Assembly of 14 Bishops in this Country, at the Town which in Scripture is called Lydda, but was then called *Diospolis*, to which Pelagius was summon'd. And there he could come off no other way but by denying several of his Opinions, which he had promoted before; and which, (as St. Austin makes appear) he for all this Denial continued to promote afterward.

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The Articles objected to him were taken partly out of some Books of his own; partly out of some Books of Celestius, who was look'd on as his Scholar; and partly out of the Acts of a Council at Carthage, where Celestius had been condemn'd; and partly out of that Catalog of new Opinions which Hilarius had sent to St. Austin out of Sicily, and which St. Austin refuted in the forementioned Letter.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
31c.

Of what was cited from his own Books, he denied part; and said the Book was not writ by him, tho' it went under his Name. The rest he defended, and put as fair a Color on as he could; which was easie to do, because what he had wrote in *Latin*, (which these Bishops did not understand) he explain'd (97) to them in *Greek*: (for he did not speak to them by an Interpreter, as Mr. *Le Clerc* mistakes the Matter) and because his Accusers were not there, being Sick; but only their *Libel* was read.

But he himself had been wary in his Expressions, for what *Celestius* had. Of the Articles taken from the Books or Words of *Celestius* he defended some, as, *The Possibility of avoiding all Sin, by God's Help, &c.* but renounc'd the rest, in these Words (98), *The other Things, as they confess themselves, were not spoken by me; and so I have no Reason to answer for 'em. Yet, for the Satisfaction of the holy Synod I do renounce [anathematize] all that do hold so.* So he got off with a whole Skin; but left several of his beloved Opinions behind him condemn'd, as appears by minding which those were that he renounced.

The Account of the whole is long: especially of those Articles which bore a Dispute in what Sense he had spoke or understood 'em. What is most material to give us the Sense of the Church at that time, is, to recite those which the Council Condemn'd, and he was forc'd to Condemn: Which you have in the Words of *St. Austin* in his Letter to *Paulinus* (99) express'd much shorter than in the Book *De Gestis Palæst.* (where the Acts of this Council are at large recited) but to the same Effect. He writes thus,

*For beside those Articles which he ventur'd to defend as well as he could; some Things were objected to him, which unless he had renounced [anathematized] he would have been renounced himself.*

*For it was objected, that he said [or held,]*

1. *That Adam, whether he had sinned or not, would have died.*
2. *That his Sin hurt himself only, and not Mankind.*
3. *That Infants new born are in the same State that Adam was before his Fall.*
4. *That neither by the Death or Fall of Adam does all Mankind die, nor by the Resurrection of Christ does all Mankind arise.*

These you see, (1) are the same that had been objected to *Celestius* four Years before.

5. *That Infants, tho' they be not Baptized, have eternal Life.*

6. *That rich Men, unless they part with all, &c. cannot have the Kingdom of God.*

These two were taken (2) out of the Heads of new Doctrin broached at *Syracuse*.

7: *That*

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(97) Aug. de Gestis Palæst. c. 2. (98) August. eodem libro. (99) Epist. 106.  
(1) See above §. 5. (2) See §. 20.



7. That the Grace of God is not given in every Action; but is in Free-Will; or, in the Law and Doctrin.

And several other Articles about Grace and Merit.

All these Pelagius did so renounce [anathematizavit] as the Acts of the Council do shew, that he did not produce any thing in Defence of 'em. From whence it follows, that whosoever will own the Authority of that Episcopal Judgment, and the Confession of Pelagius himself, must hold these things (which the Catholic Church has ever held) viz.

That Adam, if he had not sinned, would not have died.

That his Sin hurt, not himself only, but Mankind.

That Infants new born are not in the State that Adam was before his Fall, &c.

That unbaptized Infants will miss, not only of the Kingdom of Heaven, but also of eternal Life, &c.

Tho' this must needs have cost Pelagius a sore Pang; yet so it hap-pen'd, that the News of his being acquitted in this Council made more Noise among the vulgar People to his Advantage, than this being com-pell'd to renounce those Opinions did against his Cause: especially in the West, where they heard he was acquitted and approved; but did not hear upon what Terms. He himself also publish'd Accounts of the Matter to his own Advantage (4), and triumph'd of his Success. So that the Pelagians were never more uppish, than they were for a while after this Synod.

And yet, upon the whole Matter, tho' St. Austin does often speak of these Bishops, as having been impos'd on by Pelagius in Matter of Fact; and do shew how he disguis'd and concealed his true Meaning from 'em; and tho' he do, in a Letter, which he a little while after this wrote to John Bishop of Jerusalem, desiring him to send a Copy of the Acts of the Council, (5) say thus, *As for Pelagius, our Brother and your Son, whom I hear you love very well; I advise you so to manage your Love to him, that they that know him, and have attentively heard him, may not judge your Ho-liness to be impos'd on by him, &c.* For when you hear him confess the Grace and Help of God, you think he means the same that you do, who have a Ca-tholic Sense of it, because you don't know what he has wrote in his Book; and for that Reason I have sent you his Book, and mine written in answer to it. And tho' St. Hierom do on this Account call this Synod (6), *The pitiful Synod of Diospolis.* Yet, I say, upon the whole Matter, it appears by the Acts of this Council, that these Bishops, tho' as St. Austin says (7), *They could not throroughly examin the Man;* yet for the Hereſie it ſelf they gave it a deadly Wound. For by forcing Pelagius to declare what he did, about the Sin of Adam, the natural State of infants, and the Neceſſity of God's Grace, and the renouncing of Merit, they ſhewed that they were far e-nough from Pelagianism: So that St. Austin ſays (8), that when he read the

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(4) Aug. de Geſtis Palæſtina. c. 30. (5) Epiſt. 252. (6) Hieronym. Epiſt. 79.  
(7) De Geſtis Pal. c. 21. (8) Lib. de peccato origin. c. 14.

Year af- the Acts of this Council, and before he saw *Pelagius's* Books of *Free-Will*,  
 ter the A- wherein he return'd to his Vomit again; he thought *That this Question*  
 postles had been at an end; and that *Pelagius* had plainly own'd *Original Sin* in  
 310 *Infants*.

§. 25. This I note the rather, because some among us now a-days, that shew a good Will to *Pelagianism*, and do strangely shuffle with that 9th Article of the Church of *England*, which is of *Original Sin*, expounding it all away, do shelter themselves under the pretended Authority of the *Greek Church*, as if the *Greek Fathers* had not own'd that Doctrin. Whereas not only this Council that acquitted *Pelagius*, yet Condemn'd the Opinions laid to his Charge; but also the other Councils of the *Eastern Nations* agreed with the *Latins* in Condemning the said Doctrins; and the Men too when it appeared that they really held such Doctrins.

§. 28. For, three Years after this, *Theodotus* Bishop of *Antioch*, held a Synod at *Jerusalem*, to which *Pelagius*, was cited, and there condemn'd; as is recorded by *Marius Mercator. Commonitor. c. 3.*

And some time after, *Julian* the *Pelagian* with 17 more of his Party wrote to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, representing their own Doctrin in the fairest Colors, and that of the Catholics in the *West* in the blackest; hoping to make a Party in the *Greek Church* (8): but found none, or hardly any, that they could bring over.

*Celestius*, before his Condemnation at *Rome*, went to *Constantinople*, to try if any Interest could be made there. But *Atticus*, the Bishop there, would neither receive him nor his Doctrin (9). *St. Austin* mentions this in short, *l. 3. contra Julian. c. 1.* But *Mercator* more at large, *Commonitor. c. 1.* Some Years after he went to *Constantinople* in the Time of *Atticus* of holy Memory; where being discover'd to hold such Opinions, he was by the great Care of that holy Man, driven from that City: and Letters were sent concerning him into *Asia*, to *Thessalonica*, and *Carthage*, to the Bishops there; of which I have Copies ready to be produced. But the said *Celestius* being driven from hence also went to *Rome*, &c.

At *Ephesus* also they were reject'd and disown'd, not suffer'd to abide there, which is the Word of *Prosper*, who relates this, *lib. de ingratis, c. 2.* But *Mr. Le Clerc* expresses it, *ill treated*.

§. 31. The only hopeful Attempt they ever made in the *Greek Church* was about 15 Years after this Time: when a general Council being call'd to *Ephesus* on account of *Nestorius* (who had innovated in the Doctrin of the Incarnation) they joined their Party with his, as is usual for discontented Parties to do; and made in all, at first 43, but quickly dwindled to 30, as appears by the Address of the Council to the Emperor, where they say, *It is an absurd thing that 30 Men only (some of whom had been a good while ago depos'd, some are of the false Opinion of Celestius, &c.) should* set

(8) Augu. ad Bonifac. l. 1. c. 11. (9) Acta Concil. Ephes. pt. 1. c. 13.



set themselves against a Synod of 210 Bishops, with whom all the Western Year after the Apostles 310. Bishops (and so the whole World) do consent. They made also Canons (10) that if any Clergyman did publicly or privately promote the Opinions of Nestorius, or Celestius, they should be deprived.

These Things, and more to the same Purpose, are largely and particularly quoted out of the Acts of that Council, by Bishop Usher, in the forementioned Treatise (11). So that it is hard to guess what these Men get by Appealing to the Greek Church.

And for the Greek Fathers before this Time; Vossius has largely shewn in his *Pelagian History*, that they commonly teach the Doctrine of Original Sin. Only he thinks *Clemens Alexandrinus* must be excepted: but Dr. Hammond shews (12) that there is no Reason for that Exception. Vossius is of Opinion that there is no Difference between St. Austin, and the Ancient Greek Fathers about that other Point of Predestination; but that (13) what the Ancients Fathers omitted concerning Predestination, he adds. But, allowing that to be a Matter in which Men will always pass various Judgments, and will find each their own Sentiments both in the Scripture and the Fathers; it cannot with any Modesty at all be pretended that they do not own and complain of Original Sin, or natural Corruption. 'Tis true, that most of 'em were of Opinion that this Corruption or Sin should in unbaptized Infants be punish'd no otherwise than by the Loss of the Kingdom of Heaven. And in this indeed they differ'd from most of the *Latins*.

Mr. Le Clerc says (14), They that have not so ill an Opinion of Pelagius, as St. Austin had, do say, that if St. Austin had been able to read the Greek Doctors, he would have found that they speak no otherwise than Pelagius does; as may, says he, be seen in a great many places in St. Chrysostom, and in Ildore of Pelusium, whom some Moderns have openly accus'd of Pelagianism.

By singling out St. Chrysostom he follows the Steps of the old Pelagians; for it appears out of St. Austin's Books against Julian the Pelagian, lib. 1. and lib. 3. that he and Anianus do make their chief Boast of St. Chrysostom, and do fetch more for their Purpose out of him than out of any other Greek Writer. They translated some of his Orations that were most for their Turn: and St. Austin, tho' not very conversant indeed in the Greek Language, yet shewed that he could read and tolerably understand it by giving Instances wherein they had made them more for their Purpose than they were, by their Translation, as I recited before in CH. XIV. And besides, he answered them by producing other Places of his, where he plainly owns Original Sin.

And for other Greek Doctors, who were more to be regarded (for St. Chrysostom was no Ancients than St. Austin himself) he shews the Doctrin

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(10) Can. 4. (11) Cap. XI. (12) Annot. on Ps. 51. (13) De Historicis Latinis, l. 2. c. 1. (14) Bib. Univers. T. 8. pag. 192.

Year of Strin of Irenæus, St. Basil, St. Gregory, &c. to have been clear and full in this Matter: and says (16), tho' he had a Translation of the Sermon of St. Basil, which he quoted (17), yet he chose rather to Translate it himself Word for Word out of the Greek, *that it might be more exact.* The like he does in the same Book with two Passages of St. Chrysostom, setting down the Greek Words. So that the foresaid Censure past on him, has more in it of the assuming Humor of a Critic, than it has of Truth or good Manners.

And to expect of St. Austin that he should have read *Isidore* to know the Sense of the Greek Church, is (if one consider the Age of each) a Jest indeed.

I gave some Instances above in CH. XIV. where both St. Chrysostom and this *Isidore*, and also *Theodoret* (for they all run in one Vein, and the two latter shew a great Ambition to imitate the former) have Expressions something like those of *Pelagius* about Infant Baptism, viz. *That Infants are Baptiz'd tho' they have no Sins:* where yet it appears by Circumstances that their Meaning was only, that they had no actual ones.

§. 26. About the same time that the Synod of *Diospolis* was held, St. Hierom publish'd his three Books against the Opinions of *Pelagius* (not naming him, but sufficiently decyphering him) in Form of Dialogs between a *Pelagian* and a *Catholic*, under the feigned Names of *Atticus* and *Critobulus*; *Atticus* representing the *Catholic*, and *Critobulus* the *Pelagian*. The far greatest Part of 'em, (which I must omit) is taken up in setting forth the Pride and Presumption of that Tenet of *Pelagius*, that a Man may in this Life be without Sin; which had been so smartly done by *Atticus*, that toward the End of the third Dialog, *Critobulus* reckoning that he could maintain this to be true in the Case of Infants at least, if not of grown Persons, says thus,

CRIT. *I can hold no longer; all my Patience is overcome by your provoking way of Talk. I pray tell me wherein have Infants sinned? Neither can the Conscience of any Fault, nor can their Ignorance be imputed to them; who according to that of the Prophet Jonah, know not their Right-hand from their Left. They are in no Case to commit Sin, and yet they are in a Case to perish: Their Knees double under 'em; their tender Age can utter no Words; with a Mouth that would speak if it could, they give a Smile; and the Torment of eternal Misery is prepared for the poor Babes?*

ATT. *Oh! you are grown mighty Eloquent, &c. — But don't run upon me with your Flowers of Rhetoric (which are none of your own neither) with which the Ears of Boys and shallow Men are wont to be caught; but tell me plainly what you would say of 'em.*

CRIT. *This I say; grant me but this, that they at least who cannot sin, are without Sin.*

ATT.



ATT. I shall grant it, provided they be Baptiz'd in Christ; and yet you shall not bring me to yield to your Proposition, That a Person may be without Sin, if he will. These have neither Power nor Will, but they are free from all Sin by the Grace of God, which they receive in Baptism. Year af-  
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CRIT. You will force me to come to that invidious Question, and to say, What Sin had they? That you may make the People presently throw Stones at me; and that when you can't murder me by Strength, you may by a Devce.

ATT. He murders a Heretic that suffers him to continue such, &c.

CRIT. Tell me, I beseech you, and free me from all Doubt; For what Reason are Infants Baptiz'd?

ATT. That in Baptism their Sins may be forgiven.

CRIT. What Sin have they incurr'd? Is any one loosed that never was bound?

ATT. Do you ask me? That Trumpet of the Gospel, that Teacher of the Gentiles, that golden Vessel shining thro' all the World, shall answer you. 'Death reigned from Adam to Moses even over those who had not sinned after the Similitude of Adam's Transgression, which is the Figure of him that was to come, &c. [he goes on to recite the fifth Chapter to the Romans]. And if you object that it is said, that there were some that had not sinned; understand it, that they sinned not that Sin which Adam committed in Paradise, by breaking God's Command. But all Persons are held obnoxious either by their own, or by their Forefather Adam's Sin. He that is an Infant is in Baptism loosed from the Bond of his Forefather; he that is of Age to understand, is by the Blood of Christ freed both from his own Bond, and also from that which is derived from another.

And that you may not think that I understand this in an Heretical [or, Heterodox] Sense; the blessed Martyr Cyprian (whom you pretend to have imitated in Collecting into Order some places of Scripture) in the Epistle which he writes to Bishop Fidus, about the Baptizing of Infants, says thus;

'If then the greatest Offenders, and they that have grievously sinned against God before, have, when they afterwards come to believe, Forgiveness of their Sins; and no Person is kept off from Baptism and the Grace: How much less Reason is there to refuse an Infant, who being newly born has no Sin, save that being descended from Adam, according to the Flesh, he has from his very Birth contracted the Contagion of the Death anciently threatned, &c.

He goes on to recite *verbatim* all the rest of the Epistle to the End; which I recited before in CH. VI. §. 1. and then proceeds;

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That holy and accomplish'd Person, Bishop Austin, wrote some time ago to Marcellinus (who was afterward, tho' innocent, put to Death by the Heretics, on Pretence that he had a Hand in Heraclius's Usurpation) two Books concerning the Baptism of Infants, against your Heresie, by which you would maintain that Infants are Baptiz'd, not for Forgiveness of Sins; but for the Kingdom of Heaven, according to that which is written in the Gospel, Except a Person be born again of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And a third Book to the said Marcellinus, against those that say (what you say) that a Man may, without the Grace of God, be without Sin, if he will. And a fourth to Hilarius, against your Doctrine that brings up so many odd Things. And, they say, he is setting out some more Books particularly relating to you; which are not yet come to my Hands. So that I think it proper for me to spare my Pains on this Subject; lest that of Horace be said to me, Never carry Timber into the Woods. For either I must superfluously say the same that he has said: or else, if I would say any new Things, his excellent Wit has forestall'd all the best.

This one Thing I will say, that this Discourse may at last have an End; either you must set forth a new Creed, and after the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Baptize Infants unto the Kingdom of Heaven: Or else, if you acknowledge One Baptism for Infants, and for grown Persons; you must own that Infants are to be Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins; Sins after the Similitude of Adam's Transgression.

And if the Forgiveness of Sins, which are the Sins of another, do seem to you unjust, or such as he that could commit no Sin himself has no need of; then march over to your Beloved (17), who holds that in Baptism are forgiven those old Sins which have been committed in a former State in the Celestial Regions: and so as you are influenced by his Authority in your other Points, partake with his Error in this too.

Tho' St. Hierom, after having in these Dialogs largely confuted the other Errors of Pelagius, do insist but briefly on this Proof of Original Sin from the Baptism of Infants, as being a Matter which had been fully handled by St. Austin in the Books he here mentions, and of which I gave some Account before (18), yet this little seems to have nettled and puzzled Pelagius more than all that was said by St. Austin. The Pelagians confessed that adult Persons were Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins; but Infants having no Sins were Baptiz'd only for the Kingdom of Heaven. This was to establish two sorts of Baptism: which was contrary to that Article of the Constantinopolitan Creed, then received in all the World; I acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. Pelagius could never get clear from this Argument. And it appears by his Answer, which we shall see presently, that he yielded more to the force of it, than of any other.

But



§. 27. But in the mean time, and quickly after the Synod of Diospolis, he published four Books *pro libero arbitrio*, In Defence of Free-Will: in which, beside what he has about the Point of God's Grace, he does, as St. Austin expresses it (19), not by any sly Intimation [as formerly], but in a most open manner, maintain by all the Force of Argument he can, that human Nature in Infants is in no manner polluted by Derivation [or, Birth]. St. Austin gives there (20) an Instance of one of his Sayings, in the first of the said four Books.

*All the Good or Evil for which we are to be praised, or blamed, does not come into the World with us, but is acted by us. For we are born capable of either of these; not full [or, possess'd] of either of 'em. And as we are at first form'd without any Virtue; so likewise without any Vice. And there is in a Person, before the Actings of his own Will, nothing but what God has created, [or, put into him].*

When People wonder'd how he could reconcile this with what he had said in the said Synod; where he had, as was shew'd before (21), anathematiz'd all that held any of these Opinions: 1. *That Adam's Sin hurt himself only, and not Mankind.* 2. *That Infants new born are in the same State that Adam was before his Fall.* 3. *That Infants, tho' not baptized, have eternal Life.* He invented these Salvos; which St. Austin mentions in a Book written some time after (22), and which shew that he had a Faculty of Juggling and Equivocation enough for a Jesuit.

1. That it might be said truly enough, that *Adam's Sin* did hurt Mankind as well as himself. But how? *Not by Derivation, but by the ill Example it gave.* The Socinians may thank him for this Explication: for it helps them to much such another about Christ's Death doing good to Mankind.

2. That Infants new born are not in the same State that *Adam* was before his Fall, is true enough. But for a Reason very different from what those Bishops whom he banter'd, could imagin, *viz. because he was a Man, and they are but Children.*

3. All the Reason he could give for his Condemning those that said, *Unbaptized Infants shall have eternal Life*, was a Saying which he often had in his Mouth (23), *As for Infants that die without Baptism, I know whither they do not go; but whither they do go, I know not, i. e. I know they do not go to the Kingdom of Heaven; but what becomes of 'em I know not.*

'Tis plain enough from many Places in St. Austin that his Followers held, that they should have a certain *eternal Life*, but not in the Kingdom of Heaven. But he himself, it seems, at least at this Time, to salve what he had said in the Synod, renounc'd those that determin'd so; and kept himself in reserve concerning their future State.

St. Austin's Note on all this, is, (24) *Does he think that when these Propositions were set him to condemn in one Sense; he does, by expounding*

(19) De peccato originali, Cap. 21. (20) Cap. 13. (21) §. 24. (22) De pecc. origin. c. 15. (23) Aug. ib. c. 21. (24) Ibid. c. 16.

Year at- 'em in another Sense, make it out, that he did not deceive his Judges? So far  
ter the A- from that; that he deceiv'd 'em so much the more sily, as he now explains  
postles. himself the more craftily.

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§. 28. The next Year two Councils were held in *Africa*, both about the same time: one at *Carthage* of 68 Bishops, the other at *Milevis*, for the Province of *Numidia*, of 61 Bishops. They had not then seen *Pelagius's* last four Books, and had but an imperfect Account of what had pass'd at *Diospolis*. But they found it necessary to condemn the *Pelagian* Opinions; which had taken some footing in those Countries, but much more at *Rome*. And therefore they both of 'em did by Synodical Epistles written to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, desire the Concurrence of that Church; not that they thought their own Decrees invalid without a Confirmation from *Rome*, but because *Rome* was most infected. With which Desire *Innocent* did very cordially comply in his Answers; which Answers, tho' written the Year after, I shall recite here, leaving out both in the Epistles and Answers the greatest Part, which is about Grace; but inserting what they say about Infants.

316. *The Synodical Epistle of the Council of Carthage to Innocent (25).*

They take notice of the Report that *Pelagius* had been acquitted at the Council of *Diospolis*, by denying most of the Tenets objected to him; and then say,

*If Pelagius do seem to your Reverence also justly acquitted by those Episcopal Acts which are said to have passed in the East; yet the Error it self and the Impiety which has so many Abettors in several Places, ought to be Condemn'd by the Authority of the Apostolic Sec. Let your Holiness then consider, and have a Fellow-Feeling with us in your Pastoral Bowels, how mischievous and destructive a thing that is to the Sheep of Christ, which follows from their sacrilegious Disputations; That we need not pray that we enter not into Temptation, &c.*

They proceed to shew the Necessity of Praying for God's assisting Grace, from *Luke* 22. 32. *Eph.* 3. 14, &c. And then conclude their Letter thus;

*They say also, ' That Infants are not to be Baptiz'd for that Salvati-  
' on which is given by Christ as a Savior; and so they kill 'em eternally  
' by their pernicious Doctrin. They maintain that, ' Tho' they should not  
' be Baptiz'd, yet they would have an eternal Life: and that they are  
' not of those of whom our Lord says, The Son of Man came to seek and  
' to save that which was lost. For these, say they, were not lost, neither  
' is there any thing in them that needs saving or redeeming at so great  
' a Price. For there is nothing in them that is corrupted, nothing that  
' is held captive under the Power of the Devil; nor was the Blood  
' which was shed for Forgiveness of Sins, shed for them. Tho' Celestius*  
has



has by his Book, formerly (26) given into the Church of Carthage, owned that Infants have Redemption by the Baptism of Christ. But a great many who are said to be, or to have been, their Disciples, do not cease with all their Might to uphold these Evils; by which they endeavor to overthrow the Christian Faith. Year after the Apostles 316.

So that suppose Pelagius and Celestius be reformed, or do say that they never held these Things, and do deny that any of the Writings produced against them are theirs, and the contrary cannot be proved; yet in the general, whoever maintains these Tenets, and does affirm, That human Nature can be sufficient of it self to overcome Sin, and keep God's Commandments, and so is an Adversary to the Grace of God which is plainly prov'd from the Prayers of Holy Men: And, Quicumque negat parvulos per baptismum Christi à perditione liberari, & salutem percipere sempiternam; Whoever denies that Infants are by Christian Baptism deliver'd from Perdition, and brought to eternal Salvation; let him be anathema.

And for the other Things that are objected to them, we doubt not but your Reverence will, when you shall have seen the Episcopal Acts which are said to have passed in the East, judge so as to give Occasion to us all to rejoyce in the Mercy of God.

*The Synodical Epistle of the Milevitan Council to Innocent (27).*

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They represent to him that there was a new Heresie sprung up of Men that were Enemies to the Grace of Christ, who went about to deprive People of the Benefit of the Lord's-Prayer, &c. And after many things said on that Subject, they add,

Also they do by a wicked Presumption contend that little Infants shall have an eternal Life, tho' they be not renewed by the Sacraments of the Christian Grace; making that of no effect, which the Apostle says, By one Man Sin enter'd into the World, &c.

Therefore to omit many other Things which they discourse against the holy Scriptures; these two Things, which do support the Hearts of the Faithful, and in which they go about to subvert all our Christianity, viz. That God is not to be prayed to, to be our Helper against the Evil of Sin, and for working Righteousness; and, that the Sacrament of the Christian Grace is not helpful to Infants for obtaining eternal Life; These when we have signified to your Apostolical Breast, we have not need to say much, &c.

There was another Letter (28) written to Innocent at the same time, and on the same Subject, in a more familiar Style, by five Bishops, who, I suppose, had some personal Acquaintance with him, viz. Aurelius, who had made one at the Council of Carthage; Alipius, &c.

(26) Five Years before. (27) Apud Augustinum, Epist. 92. (28) Inter Epistolas Augustini, Epist. 95.

Year af-*St. Austin*, and *Possidius*, who had been in the other Council, and ter the A-*Enodius*, whose Name is to neither of 'em. They give him to un-  
 postles derstand that they hear there are several at *Rome*, who do favor *Pe-*  
 316. *lagius*; some who are brought over to his Opinion; others, that will  
 not believe he is of that Opinion. That in all Probability *Pe-*  
*lagius* had impos'd upon the *Bishops* at *Diospolis*; who, when they  
 heard him own the *Grace of God*, could think no other but that he  
 meant that Grace by which we are made good Christians, and not  
 that only by which we are made rational Men: whereas he, in his  
 Books, (which the *Bishops* of *Diospolis* had not seen) says to God in  
 effect, *Thou hast made us Men, but we have made our selves good Men.*  
 Therefore they advise him to send for *Pelagius* to *Rome*, or to deal with  
 him by Letters; that if he will explain himself in a Catholic Sense,  
 he may be acquitted indeed.

To that Purpose *St. Austin* sends to *Innocent* a Letter that he had  
 written to *Pelagius*, desiring him to send it to him; *For then*, says he,  
*he will the rather vouchsafe to read it, regarding more him that sent it than*  
*him that wrote it.*

They sent him withal a Book of *Pelagius's*; I suppose, that *de vi-*  
*ribus Natura*, spoken of in §. 22.

217. *Innocent* returned three Letters in answer to these three. They  
 are the 91, 93, and 96, that are printed among the Letters of *St.*  
*Austin*. He agrees perfectly with them in the Points of Doctrin,  
 and in the Proofs that they had brought for 'em. And for the Case  
 of Infants particularly, he says (29), That which *Pelagius* and *Ce-*  
*lestinus* do teach, viz. that they may have eternal Life without Ba-  
 ptism, is *persatuum, very absurd*. He says, they would by this means  
 make their Baptism of no use. That if it did 'em no Hurt that they are  
 not regenerated, then the same Men must hold that the Waters of Regene-  
 ration do 'em no Good. It seems probable by these Words, that this  
 Pope did not understand how *Pelagius* distinguish'd between eternal  
 Life and the Kingdom of Heaven. In fine, he gives his Sentence, that  
 they are to be accounted Excommunicate, till they do repent and  
 recant.

And to what *St. Austin* and the other four had desired, that he  
 would send for *Pelagius*, or write to him, he answers (30),

*He ought rather to come himself that he may be absolved: for if he be*  
*still of the same Opinion; when will he ever commit himself to our Judg-*  
*ment, how many Letters soever be sent him, when he knows he must be Con-*  
*demn'd? And if he were to be sent for, it might be better done by them*  
*that are nearer him, and not separated by so great a Space of Land. But*  
*yet, if he will give any room for Medicin; our Care shall not be wanting:*  
*for he may condemn the Opinions he has been of, and send his Letters, and*  
*ask Pardon for his Error, as becomes one that returns to us.*

For



For his Book which you sent, I have read it: in which I find a great many blasphemous Things, &c.

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§. 29. These Letters of Innocent are dated in January 417, and he died the March following. And whether he had before his Death wrote to Pelagius; or whether Pelagius had heard of what passed; he did write to Innocent an Apologetic Letter, and sent withal *Libellum fidei*, a written Account of his Faith. In which he endeavours both to shew his own Faith to be blameless, and also to be even with St. Hierom for his Dialogs: so that Julian calls it (31) an Answer to them. But Innocent being dead before they came, they were delivered to Zosimus, who had been chosen Bishop in his stead. Celestius also came thither himself, and published and gave into the Hands of Zosimus his *Libellus*, or Draught of Faith likewise.

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Some Learned Men (32) make Celestius to have published two Treatises at Rome, at this Time; one called *Confessio fidei* Zosimo Papa oblata: and the other, *Ad Zosimum Papam libellus*. And that the *Confessio fidei* was in a manner the same with Pelagius's *Libellus* in Sentences and Words. And that Pelagius's *Libellus* is that which goes under the Name of St. Hierom's *Explanatio Symboli ad Damasum*. And Celestius's *Confessio fidei*, is for the greatest part the same with that which goes for St. Austin's *Sermo* 191 *de Tempore*.

But Celestius published but one: which may be call'd, *Confessio fidei*, or, *Libellus fidei*. St. Austin always calls it by the latter Name. And that did considerably differ from Pelagius's *Libellus*; being (as St. Austin observes (33), and we shall see) much more franc and open in the Denial of Original Sin.

And whereas they make one to be like the *Explanatio Symboli* in St. Hierom; and the other to be in a manner the same with the *Sermo* 191. in St. Austin's Works; these two are not only in a manner the same, but are the very same, (being Pelagius's *Libellus* aforesaid) saving a few various Lectons, and saving that that in St. Austin's Works has an impertinent Preface affixt to the Beginning, and a Bit cut off from the End by some idle Monk, to make it serve for a Sermon.

I shall recite it here at large (tho' a small part of it only do relate to our Purpose) and add a few short Notes on it. And this I do for two Reasons.

1. For the Credit of Pelagius, and of our Country. St. Austin always speaks of him as a Man of extraordinary Capacity and Accomplishments; and one whom he should much admire and love, were it not for his Heterodox Opinions. And the Works of his that are left, do shew him a Man of very good Parts. There are none left intire but this, and a Letter of his to Demetrius. Both that Letter is

(31) Apud Augustin. Operis imperfecti lib. 4. c. 87. (32) F. Garner and Dr. Cave, Hist. literar. in Pelagio & Celestio. (33) De peccato Orig. Cap. 2.

Year af- is as Polite and (as *Orosius* expresses it) elaborate a Piece as any that  
 ver the A- Age afforded ; and also this Confession of his Faith is as handsomely  
 postles and learnedly penn'd as any of the Creeds drawn up by privat Men  
 317. of that Time, whereof there were many ; save that he does not speak  
 home to the clearing of that Point on which he was question'd. And  
 yet tho' these are by much the most ancient Pieces extant that ever  
 were written by one born in our Country ; they have never yet been  
 published in our Language.

2ly, I do it that I may put our *Socinians* out of Love with him. They do much hug some Notions of his, which being first dress'd up and represented plausible for their Turn in *French*, they have translated and published in *English*. But they shall see that how well soever he please 'em in some of their lesser Errors ; yet as to their main Article he is their mortal Enemy, and counts 'em worthy of an Anathema : being as Decretory against 'em as *Athanasius*, or *Austin*, or any of the Ancient Catholic Christians were whose Names they hate.

His Creed (a) is this, sent with a Letter to Pope *Innocent*, but finding him dead, as I said.

WE believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of all Things visible and invisible. We believe also in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, by whom all Things were created ; very God, the only begotten, the true Son of God, not a made or adopted One, but begotten : Of one Substance with the Father, which the *Greeks* express by *ὁμοούσιον* : and in such a manner equal in all Things with the Father that he cannot be [accounted] inferior either in Time, or Degree, or Power. And we acknowledge him that is begotten to be of the same greatness as he is that begot him.

And whereas we say, the Son is begotten of the Father ; we do not ascribe any Time to that Divine and Ineffable Generation : but do mean, that neither the Father nor the Son had any Beginning. For we cannot otherwise confess the Father to be Eternal ; unless we do also confess the Son to be Co-eternal : for he is called the Father, as having a Son ; and he who ever was a Father, ever had a Son.

(a) This Creed for so ancient a one (for it is much ancients than that which goes under the Name of *Athanasius*, and within thirty six Years of the *Constantinopolitan*) is very express and particular in reference to the Holy Trinity : And St. *Austin* finds no Fault with it as to that matter ; he only says (34), *After he has ended a Discourse as long as he pleased, from the Unity of the Trinity to the Resurrection of the Flesh, which no Body demanded of him, he says, &c.*



‘ We believe also in the (b) Holy Spirit, very God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things with the Father and the Son, in Power, in Will, in Eternity, in Substance. Neither is there any Degree [*or, Graduation*] in the Trinity; nothing that can be called Superior or Inferior, but the whole Deity is equal in its Perfection: So that except the Words that signify the Propriety of the Persons, whatsoever is said of one Person, may very well be understood of all Three.

‘ And as in Confutation of *Arius*, We say that the Substance of the Trinity is one and the same, and do own one God in three Persons; so avoiding the Impiety of *Sabellius*, We distinguish three Persons expressed by their Property: not saying that the Father is a Father to himself, nor the Son a Son to himself, nor the Holy Spirit the Spirit of himself; but that there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit. For We acknowledge

It is to be noted that he had, before he fell into any Heresie, written *three Books concerning the Faith of the Trinity*; which *Gennadius*, in the Catalog he gives (35) of *Pelagius's* Books, commends as useful ones. And since they are lost, this Creed may serve for an Abridgment of 'em.

And here I will make a Remark on the Title of another Book of his, which *Gennadius* there mentions, which is lost, except a few Fragments. For why should not I, as well as others, take a little Pride in the mending the Writing of an ancient Book? *Pelagius* gathered together, and publish'd some select Places of Scripture relating to moral Duties and the practical Part of Religion. *Gennadius* recites the Title of this Book. It is in the ordinary Editions, *Pro actuali conversatione Eulogiarum ex Divinis Scripturis liber unus, capitulorum indicium in modum Cypriani Martyris præsignatus. Eulogiarum* there is no sense. So some have put instead of it the Greek *εὐλογίων*; and others have made other Guesses. But I have a very old Edition of some of *St. Hierom's* Works, *Ven. 1476.* in which this Passage of *Gennadius* is recited at two several Places; in one it is *Eulogiarum*, in the other it is *Æglogarum*: So that I make no doubt but the true Writing was *Eclogarum*. And so the Title of the Book was plainly this, *Collections of the Texts of holy Scripture, concerning a Man's actual Conversation*. This is that Book of his, to which *St. Hierom* refers when he, in the Passage even now (40) recited, speaking to *Pelagius*, says, *The blessed Martyr Cyprian; whom you pretend to have imitated in collecting into order some places of holy Scripture, &c.*

The same Edition that I mentioned would help to correct several places in the Text of *St. Hierom* himself, which are deprav'd, and some of 'em, I doubt, on purpose.

(b) *Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father.*] No Creed at this time had any more: His Procession from the Son also, has been since put into the *Constantinopolitan* by the *Latins*. So also afterward, he says nothing of Christ's Descent into Hades, or Hell: Which was not as yet put into any Creed of the Catholics, except that of *Aquileia*.

(c) *Exclude*

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knowledge not only [*several*] Names, but also Properties of the Names, that is, Persons; or, as the *Greeks* express them, *Hypostases*. Nor does the Father at any time (c) exclude the Person of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; nor again does the Son, or Holy Spirit, receive the Name or Person of the Father; but the Father is always Father, the Son always Son, and the Holy Spirit always Holy Spirit: So that they are in Substance one Thing, but are distinguish'd by Persons and by Names.

And we say, that this Son of God, who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, inherited Eternity without any Beginning, did, in the End of the World take upon him, of *Mary*, who was always a Virgin, perfect Man of our Nature; and the *WORD* was made *Flesh*, by taking Manhood to him, not by altering his Deity.

And we do not say that the (d) Holy Spirit was instead of Seed, as a certain Person does most impiously hold; [*or, as some very impious People hold*] but that he operated by the Power and Influence of the Creator.

And we do in such a manner hold that there is in Christ one Person of the Son, as that we say there are in him two perfect and intire Substances [*or, Natures*], viz. of the Godhead, and of the Manhood which consists of Body and Soul.

And as We do condemn *Photinus*, who confesses in Christ only a mere Man; so we do anathematize *Apollinaris*, and all of that sort who say that the Son of God did take on him any thing less than the whole human Nature; and that the Man [*or, Manhood*] which was assumed, was either in Body, or in (E) Soul, or in Mind, unlike to those for whose Sake it was assumed; whom We do hold

(c) *Exclude the Person of the Son.*] In all the Editions both of St. *Hierom's* and St. *Austin's* Works, which I could see, it is *Excludit*. But I guess it is false printed for *includit, induit, accipit*, or some such Word.

(d) *Holy Spirit instead of Seed*]. I do not remember any Sect that held this. *Tertullian* had, in an allusive way of speaking, said, (41) *Being the Son of God from the Seed, that is, the Spirit of God his Father; Flesh without the Seed of Man was to be taken by him that he might be the Son of Man. For the Seed of any Man was not proper for him who had the Seed of God.* And St. *Hilary* (42) in the same way of speaking had called it, *The Semivative Power of the Spirit coming on her.* But *Pelagius* seems to aim at some Person or Persons then living. In one of my Copies it is, *Ut quidam sceleratissimi opinantur.* But in that elder one that I mention'd it is, *Ut quidam sceleratissime opinantur.* I am afraid St. *Hierom* might have somewhere said some such thing by way of Allusion: for *Pelagius's* chief Spite was at him. But I do not remember it.

(E) *Or in Soul, or in Mind.*] The Words are, *Vel in anima, vel in sensu.* But they must be intended for the Translation of *ψυχή* and *νῆς*: for *Apollinaris* said, that Christ's Human Nature had *ψυχή* but not *νῆς*.

‘ to



‘ to have been like unto us, saving only the Stain of (e) Sin, which is not natural to us.

‘ We do also abhor in like manner the Blasphemy of those who go about by a new Interpretation to maintain, that since the Time of his taking Flesh, (f) all things pertaining to the Divine Nature, did pass into the Man, [*or, Manhood*] and so also that all Things belonging to the Human Nature, were transferred into God [*or, the Divine Nature*]. From whence would follow (a thing that no Here-  
‘ lie ever offer’d to affirm) that both Substances [*or, Natures*] viz. Of the Divinity and the Humanity, would by this Confusion seem to be  
‘ extinguished, and to lose their proper State, and be chang’d into  
‘ another thing. So that they who own in the Son an imperfect God,  
‘ and an imperfect Man, are to be accounted not to hold truly ei-  
‘ ther God or Man.

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(e) *Sin, which is not natural to us.*] He takes some Advantage of this for his Opinion against Original Sin. But that which was not natural to Man, as God made him, is become, in some sense, natural, since his Depravation.

(f) *All things belonging to the Divine Nature, pass into the Man, and e contra.*] He is large against this Impiety, which was held by the *Arians* and the *Apollinarists*. The *Arians* had this Aim in teaching it, that by owning the Divine Nature of Christ to have suffer’d, the Christians might fall into their Opinion, that this Divine Nature was not the same with that of God the Father. *Phœadius* had a little before this written a Tract against the Form of Faith drawn up at *Sirmium*; wherein he mentions (43) an Epistle of *Potamius* the *Arian*, that had disseminated this Doctrin, that the Divinity of Christ had suffer’d. *This you do*, says he, *that People should not believe him born of him who is undoubtedly incapable of suffering.* And *Epiphanius* says the same thing of the *Arians*, *Her. 69.*

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The *Eutychians* also ran far into this Notion of the Communication of Properties; but that was a good while after *Pelagius’s* Time.

As ’tis hard for eager Spirits to keep the mean, it was but ten Years after this, that *Nestorius* made a very ill use of this same Notion of the Properties of each Nature being incommunicable, to establish an Impiety in the other extreme, viz. that the *abg* God and the Man Christ, are two Persons. Under pretence of inveighing against one Error he runs into the other. For, speaking of his Adversaries, he says (44), *They make use of the Union of God and Man to establish a confused Mixture, &c. They speak of God the WORD, who is consubstantial with the Father, as if he had taken the Beginning of his Origin from the Virgin Mother of Christ; as if he had been built together with his Temple, and buried with his Flesh. They say that the same Flesh did not remain after his Resurrection, but did pass into the Nature of the Godhead, &c.* But then he adds, *The Virgin, whom many have ventur’d to call the Mother of Christ, they are not afraid to call the Mother of God.*

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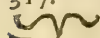
There wanted only the Accuracy of speaking, which *Pelagius* had here used, to clear and settle that Dispute between the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*. He grants here that the Son of God was born, suffered, died, &c. i. e. the same Person who is the Son of God; but not in that Nature by which he is God, or the Son of God. However, when that feud broke out; the *Pelagian* Party join’d their Interest with the *Nestorian*, as I shew’d before (45).

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‘ But we do hold that our Nature capable of suffering was so assumed by the Son of God, as that the Divinity did remain incapable of suffering. For the Son of God suffered (not in Appearance only, but really) all those things which the Scripture speaks of, *i. e.* Hunger, Thirst, Weariness, Pain, Death, and the like: but he suffer’d in that Nature which was capable of suffering, *i. e.* not in that Nature which did assume, but in that which was assumed. For the Son of God is in respect of his Godhead incapable of suffering, as the Father; incomprehensible, as the Father; invisible, as the Father. And tho’ the proper Person of the Son, that is, the WORD of God, did take on him Humanity capable of suffering; yet the Godhead of the WORD in its own Nature did not suffer any thing by the inhabiting of the Humanity; as did not the whole Trinity, which we must of necessity confess to be incapable of suffering. The Son of God therefore died according to the Scriptures, in respect of that which was capable of dying.

‘ The third Day he rose again. He ascended into Heaven. He sits on the Right-hand of God the Father; the same Nature of Flesh still remaining in which he was born, and suffered, in which also he rose again. For the Nature of his Humanity is not extinguish’d, but is glorified, being to continue for ever with the Divinity.

‘ Having therefore received of the Father the Power of all things in Heaven and Earth, he will come to judge the Living and the Dead; that he may reward the Just, and punish the Sinners.

‘ We do also believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, in such a manner as to say that we shall be restored again (*g*) in the same Truth of our Limbs, in which we are now; and that we shall for ever remain such as we shall be once made after the Resurrection.

‘ That there is one Life for the Saints, but Rewards different according to their Labor: As on the other side the Punishments of wicked Men shall be according to the Measure of their Sins.

(*g*) *In the same Truth of our Limbs.*] *In eadem veritate membrorum in quâ nunc sumus.* St. Hierom had inveighed against Rufinus and the Origenists for denying this, and saying that it would be an Æthereal Body, not of such Limbs as we now have: and he had reflected upon the Pelagians, as leaning toward them in many things. But Rufinus had renounced any such Opinion; and so does Pelagius here.

In the last Clause of this Article [*for ever remain such*] he reflects not only on Origen, who believed a great many Changes in the future State; but on St. Hierom, who had spoke of Hell Torments, as if there were Hope that they would not be Eternal.



*Baptisma unum tenemus, quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus quibus etiam in majoribus asserimus esse celebrandum.*

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‘ We hold *one Baptism*, which we say ought to be administred (*b*) with the same Sacramental Words to *Infants* as it is to elder Persons.

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‘ If after Baptism a Man do fall, we believe he may be (*i*) recovered by Repentance [*or, Penance.*]

‘ We receive the Old and New Testament in the (*k*) same Number of Books as the Authority of the Holy Catholic Church doth deliver.

‘ We believe that our Souls are given by God, and we hold that (*l*) they are made by him; anathematizing those who say, that (*m*) Souls are, as it were, a Part of the Substance of God. We do also condemn those who say, that the (*n*) Souls have sinned in a former State, or that they have lived in the Celestial Regions, before they were sent into Bodies.

(*b*) *With the same Sacramental Words to Infants.*] St. Hierom had said, as I repeated before, (46) that they must either own, that Infants are Baptized for *Forgiveness of Sins*, or else make two Baptisms. *Pelagius* was therefore forced to say, as he does here. And *Celestius* in his *Draught of his Faith*, which I shall recite presently (47) gives this Reason why he grants that Infants are Baptized for Forgiveness of Sins, *That we may not seem to make two sorts of Baptism.*

St. *Austin* quotes this Saying of *Pelagius*, and some others *verbatim* (48) as out of his *Libellus fidei*, and makes some Animadversions on ‘em. Which makes it so plain that it is *Pelagius’s*, that no Critic, great, or small, has of late Years taken it to be St. *Austin’s* own, except the great Master of that Art, mentioned at §. 2.

(*i*) *Restored by Repentance.*] This is against the *Novatians*. In the Copy that is in St. *Austin’s* Works it is said, *Primò per reconciliationem, deinde per poenitentiam*, ‘ first by Reconciliation [*or, Absolution*] and then by Repentance [*or, Penance*]. That Insertion looks like a Monk’s Hand. But the old Edition is as I have translated it.

(*k*) *Same Number of Books.*] *Rufinus* had then lately published an *Exposition on the Apostles Creed*, in which he had given a Catalog of the Books of the Old and New Testament, which the Catholics owned in opposition to the Heretics, exactly agreeing with that of the Protestants; and said, *These are those which the Fathers have ranked within the Canon; and on which they would have our Doctrins of Faith to depend.* But it is to be known that there are some other Books which have been called by the Ancients not Canonical, but Ecclesiastical. Where he reckons, *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, Macchabees, Hermas and Judicium Petri.* Which, he says, the ancient Christians would have to be read in the Churches; and for other Books, they would not have them read in Churches at all.

[*l*] *Souls made by God.*] This is aim’d against St. *Austin*; who inclin’d to the other Opinion that the Soul is by Propagation, but never positively asserted either side.

(*m*) *The Soul not a part of the Substance of God.*] Against the *Manichees* and *Priscillianists*.

(*n*) *Souls sinned in a former State.*] He clears himself from the Suspicion of *Originalism* as to that particular: But yet some of his Party embraced it, that they might the better account for the Baptism of Infants without owning Original Sin.

‘ We

Year after the Apostles 317. We do also abhor the Blasphemy of those who say that any impossible Thing is commanded to Man by God; or, that the (o) Commandments of God cannot be performed by any one Man, but that by all Men taken together they may. Or, that do condemn first Marriages in Compliance with *Manichæus*, or second Marriages in Compliance with the *Montanists*.  
 Also we do anathematize those who say that the Son of God (p) did tell Lies by Necessity of the Flesh; and that because of the Human Nature which he had taken on him, he could not do all things that he would. We

(c) *Commands of God not performed by one Man, but by all taken together.*] This is the Sentence which Mr. Le Clerc cites as if it were St. *Austin's*, to shew that he contradicts St. *Hierom*; as I mentioned §. 2. And indeed it does not only contradict him, but is levell'd at him as a Blasphemer: for St. *Hierom* writing (49) against that Opinion of *Pelagius*, that a Man may live without Sin, had used a long Discourse to shew that those Men that are free from some sort of Faults, are subject to other sorts, and that no Man can have all Vertues: and, among the rest, had used that Sentence which I recited §. 14. *Pelagius* is here in Hopes to make Heresie and Blasphemy out of that.

Also, the other Clause of this Paragraph about condemning Marriage, is meant against St. *Hierom*; who, in many of his Works, and particularly in those against *Jovinian*, had so excessively commended Virginity, that some of his Expressions were reproachful to the State of Marriage, especially of second Marriages; and he had been forced to write an Apology to explain his Meaning.

(f) *Did tell Lies by Necessity of the Flesh, and that because of the Human Nature which he had assumed, he could not do all things that he would*] This is a severe Animadversion on St. *Hierom*; who, in the second of the Dialogs which he wrote against *Pelagius*, being eager in shewing the Presumption of that Tenet of his, That 'tis possible for a Man to avoid all Sin if he will, had argued thus, *I cannot*, says Christ, *do any thing of myself, &c.* The Arians here raise a Cavil; but the Church answers, that this is spoken in respect of the Human Nature which he had assumed. You, on the contrary say, *I can be without Sin, if I will. He can do nothing of himself, that he may shew the Truth of Human Nature. You can avoid all Sin; that you may, even while you are in the Body, set your self forth as a God.*

He told his Brethren and Kindred that he would not go to the Feast of Tabernacles; and yet it is written afterward, But when his Brethren were gone up, then he also went up to the Feast. He said he would not go; and yet afterwards did what he denied he would do. Porphyry snarls at this, and accuses him of Inconstancy and Change; not considering that all things that give Offence, are to be refer'd to the Flesh [or, imputed to the Human Nature.]

St. *Hierom* does not however call this a Lye, as *Pelagius* would represent his Words; but an Alteration of Purpose incident to Human Nature.

And at another place in the same Dialog, having quoted that Saying of our Saviour, Father, if it be possible, remove this Cup from me. He adds, *Why, I pray you, does he use the Words of one that were in doubt? He had said in another place, The things that are impossible with Men, are possible with God. But being a Man, and to suffer, he speaks in the Language of a Man. He says, if it be possible, let one Hour pass*



‘ We do also condemn the Heresie of *Jovinian*, who says, that in the Life to come there will be no Difference of Merits [*or, Rewards*]; (q) and that we shall have there Vertues [*or, Graces*] which we took no Care to have here.

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‘ Free-will

pass from me. *You say*, 'tis possible to avoid Sin all one's Life.

Not only *Pelagius* was of Opinion that these Sayings were irreverent, and did impute Sin to our Savior as a Man; but *Theodorus* also Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who was a *Pelagian* likewise, wrote a Treatise, *Against those that say Men Sin by Nature, and not by their Will*. He calls the Adversary, whom he there expresses by a feigned Name, *ARAM*; but he means *St. Hierom*. *Photius* gives an Abstract of the Book (50). And therein *Theodorus* imputes to his Adversary this saying, *That even Christ having assumed the Human Nature, which is infected with Sin, was not free from Wickedness*. But this is to put a very malicious Interpretation upon *St. Hierom's* Words, which were indeed not very warily spoken.

The Writer of the first of those two Letters of the *Pelagians*, against which *St. Austin* wrote his four Books to *Pope Boniface*, made afterward the same spiteful Reflection, saying of his Adversaries (*i. e.* the Catholics) in general, that they held (among a great many horrid things which he there heaps up) *That Christ was not clear from Sin; but that he told Lies by the Necessity of the Flesh, and was stained with other Sins*. To which *St. Austin* there (51) answers, *Let them look to it whom he has heard say such things, or in whose Books he has read something perhaps which he did not understand, and has turn'd to this slanderous Sense by a deceitful Malice*. *St. Austin* speaks so, as that one may guess he knew where they had this, but was not willing to enter into a Dispute to vindicate *St. Hierom's* Words.

The 18 *Pelagian* Bishops had this over again in their Letter to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, as we may see by *St. Austin's* second Book to *Boniface*, c. 6. And *Julian* again, as appears by *St. Austin's* answer to him, L. 3. C. 6.

*St. Hierom* at many other Places owns in plain Words, that our Savior had no Sin; and therefore this spiteful Advantage ought not to be taken of his Words in this one place. Even in these very Dialogs, *Dial. 2.* having shew'd that all that are mere Men have some Failings, he adds, *To have all things, and to be wanting in nothing, is pecaliar to the Vertue of him, who did no Sin, neither was any Guile found in his Mouth*.

*St. Hierom* had moreover in the third of these Dialogs cited a place in the Gospel of the *Nazarens*, where Christ is brought in speaking thus, *What Sin have I committed that I should go and be Baptiz'd of John, unless this that I have spoken be a Sin of ignorance?* But he does not pretend there that this Book is Authentical, or to be credited. And yet the *Pelagians* afterward objected this to him, as if he had by this Quotation gone about to establish a fifth Gospel, which taught that Christ did Sin.

(q) *And that we shall there have Virtues which we took no care to have here.*] *St. Hierom* had not said so, but he had said something which *Pelagius* would draw to that sense. He had said (52), *So Long as we have this treasure in earthen vessels, and are encompass'd with frail and mortal and contemptible Flesh, we think our selves happy if in some single Virtues, or parts of Virtue, we do Service to God. But when this corruptible shall be clothed on with Incorruption, and Death shall be swallowed up in the Victory of Christ, then God will be all things in all Men: So that Solomon will have not only the*  
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'Free-will we do so own as to say, that (r) we always stand in need of God's Help; and that as well they are in an Error, who say with *Manichæus*, that a Man cannot avoid Sin; as they who affirm with *Jovinian*, that a Man cannot Sin. For both of these take away the Freedom of the Will. But we say, that a Man always is in a State that he may Sin, or may not Sin; so as to own our selves always to be of a Free-will.

'This is, most blessed Pope, our Faith, which we have learn'd in the Catholic Church, and have always held. In which if there be any thing that is perhaps unwarily or unskilfully express'd; we desire it may be amended by you, who do hold both the Faith and the See of *Peter*. And if our Confession be approved by the Judgment of your Apostleship; then whoever shall have a mind to find fault with me, will shew, not me to be a Heretic, but himself unskilful or spiteful, or even no Catholic.

§. 30. Together with this Confession of his Faith, *Pelagius* sent a Letter to *Innocent*, apologizing for himself, and endeavouring to shew that he did not in all Points hold as his Adversaries gave out, and to justifie what he did hold. He was very desirous to continue in the Catholic Church, and not be separated from it. He used great Art in reciting the Articles objected against him so, as that he could easily answer 'em or deny 'em; and in wording his own Opinion so, as he could easily defend 'em. The Letter is lost, except such Parts of it as *St. Austin* has preserved, by quoting 'em as he had occasion to write Animadversions on 'em. I shall recite only that Passage of *St. Austin*, where he quotes that Part of the Letter which speaks of the Baptism of Infants, which is this;

*Augustin.*

'Grace of Wisdom, David of Meekness, &c. and each two or three Vertues; but all will be in each, and the whole number of Saints shall triumph in the whole Chorus of Virtues. Tho' these Words, give no sufficient ground for this Calumny, yet the *Pelagians* ceased not to inculcate their Accusation of the Doctrin of the Catholics upon Occasion taken from them. *Julian* and the 17 Bishops harped upon the same String. For we find *St. Austin* answering 'em thus (53) *Who can bear it, when they object to us as if we did say that after the Resurrection there will be such a Proficiency, that Men shall there begin to keep those Commands of God, which they refused to keep here; And all this because we say that there will be there no Sin at all, nor any Conflict with the Concupiscence of Sin? As if they themselves did dare to deny this.*

(r) *We do always stand in need of God's Help.*] *St. Austin* quotes this Sentence (54), and then says, Here again we would know what sort of Help he owns us to stand in need of, and again we find him ambiguous; for he may say, that he means, the Law and Christian Doctrin, by which our natural Power is helped, &c.



*Augustin. de peccato originali, c. 17, 18, &c.*

Observe how Pelagius attempted slyly to deceive even the Episcopal Judgment of the Apostolic See in this very Question of the Baptism of Infants. For in the Letter which he sent to Rome to holy Pope Innocent of blessed Memory, which finding him not in the Body, was deliver'd to holy Pope Zosimus, and by him transmitted to us, he says,

‘*SE ab hominibus infamari quòd neget parvulis baptismi sacramentum, & absque redemptione Christi aliquibus regna cælorum promittat.*’ That Men do slander him as if he denied the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants, and did promise the Kingdom of Heaven to any Persons without the Redemption of Christ.

But these Things are not so objected to them as he has set 'em down. For they do not deny the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants; neither do they promise the Kingdom of Heaven to any without the Redemption of Christ. So that the thing he complains he is slander'd in, he has set down so as that he might easily answer to the Crime objected, and yet keep his Opinion. But the thing that is objected to them is this, that they will not own that unbaptized Infants are liable to the Condemnation of the first Man, and that there has passed upon 'em Original Sin, which is to be cleansed by Regeneration; but do contend that they are to be baptized only for their receiving the Kingdom of Heaven, &c. — And then mark how he answers, and mind his lurking Holes of Ambiguity, &c. For, having said,

‘*Nunquam se vel impium aliquem hæreticum audisse, qui hoc quod proposuit de parvulis, diceret:*’ That he never heard, no not even any impious Heretic, or, Sectary, who would say that (which he had mentioned) of Infants.

He then goes on, and says,

‘*Quis enim ita Evangelicæ lectionis ignarus est, qui hoc non modo affirmare conetur, sed qui vel leviter dicere aut etiam sentire possit? Denique quis tam impius, qui parvulos exortes regni cælorum esse velit, dum eos baptizari & in Christo renasci vetat?*’ For who is there so ignorant of that which is read in the Gospel, as (I need not say to affirm this, but) in any heedless way to say such a thing, or even to have such a Thought? In a Word, Who can be so impious as to hinder Infants from being Baptiz'd and Born again in Christ, and so make 'em miss of the Kingdom of Heaven?

All this Talk is nothing to his Purpose. He does not clear himself by this. That Infants without Baptism cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, is a thing which they themselves never denied. But that is not the Question. The Question is about the cleansing of Original Sin in Infants: Let him clear himself on that Point. He will not own that the Laver of

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Regeneration has any thing which it need wash off in Infants. And let us see what he says next. After reciting that Testimony of the Gospel, that *Nisi renatus ex aquâ & Spiritu Sancto, regnum cœlorum nullus possit intrare.*

‘None can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, that is not born again of Water and the Holy Spirit.

About which there is, as I said, no Question; he goes on, and says, *Quis ille tam impius est, qui cujuslibet ætatis parvulo interdicit communem humani generis redemptionem?*

‘Who is there so impious as to refuse to an Infant of what Age soever the common Redemption of Mankind?

This too is ambiguous, what Redemption he means: whether from a bad Estate to a good One; or from a good One to a Better. For Celestius did own in his Book at Carthage, the Redemption of Infants; and yet would not own that Sin did pass from Adam on them. But mind his next Words, *Et in perpetuam certamq; vitam renasci vetet eum qui natus est ad incertam?*

‘And to hinder him that is born to an uncertain Life, from being born again to an everlasting and certain One?

St. Austin is something long in conjecturing what he means by these last Words: but he pitches on this; that as Pelagius would not own Children to be by Nature in a State of Condemnation, and on the other side granted that they were not born in a State to go to Heaven; so he would not determin so positively as some of his Abettors did, that they should have an eternal Life out of the Kingdom of Heaven; but left it as an uncertain Thing what should become of ’em: and therefore said, that they were born to an uncertain Life; but that if they were Baptiz’d they would have an everlasting Life, and that certainly in Heaven. And he quotes on this occasion that Saying of his which I mention’d before, *For unbaptiz’d Infants, I know whither they do not go; but whither they do go, I know not.* And this Phrase of his, *Vitam incertam*, is much the same with that which I recited of St. Ambrose (55) *Opertam illam pœnarum immunitatem*, ‘That State of Freedom from Punishment, which is not clear.

The chief thing I observe in this Letter is the Confession of Pelagius, that he had never heard, no not even any Sectary, deny the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants. For the Words of the Letter, if we put together the Paragraphs which stand disjointed in this Animadversion of St. Austin on ’em were thus,

*Men slander me as if I denied the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants, or did promise the Kingdom of Heaven to some Persons without the Redemption of Christ: which is a thing that I never heard, no not even any wicked Heretic, say. For who is there so ignorant of that which is read in the Gospel, as (I need not say to affirm this, but) in any heedless way to say*  
such



such a thing, or even have such a Thought? In a Word, Who can be so impious as to hinder Infants from being Baptiz'd and born again in Christ, and so make 'em miss of the Kingdom of Heaven; since our Savior has said, that none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven that is not born again of Water and the Holy Spirit? Who is there so impious as to refuse to an Infant of what Age soever the common Redemption of Mankind, and to hinder him that is born to an uncertain Life from being born again to an everlasting and certain one?

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§. 31. The Creed, or Book of Faith, which *Celestius* presented, is no where extant. *St. Austin* has recited some Parts of it, which shew plain enough that it differ'd from that of *Pelagius*. I will mention one Passage which he recites (46), which is to our purpose.

*Infantes autem debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum secundum regulam universalis Ecclesie, & secundum Evangelii sententiam confitemur; quia Dominus statuit regnum celorum non nisi baptizatis posse conferri: quod quia vires nature non habent, conferre necesse est per gratie libertatem. In remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes non idcirco diximus, ut peccatum ex traduce firmare videamur; quod longè à Catholico sensu alienum est. Quia peccatum non cum homine nascitur, quod postmodum excutetur ab homine: Quia non natura delictum, sed voluntatis esse demonstratur. Et illud ergo confiteri congruum; ne diversa baptismatis genera facere videamur: Et hoc pramunire necessarium est, ne per mysterii occasionem, ad Creatoris injuriam, malum antequam fiat ab homine tradi dicatur homini per naturam.*

‘ We own that Infants ought according to the Rule of the Universal Church, and according to the Sentence of the Gospel, to be Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins, because our Lord has determined that the Kingdom of Heaven cannot be conferred upon any but baptiz'd Persons: which because it is a thing that Nature cannot give, 'tis needful to give it by the Liberty of Grace. But when we say that Infants are to be Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins, we do not say it with such Intent as that we would seem to confirm the Opinion of Sin being by Derivation [or, Propagation] which is a thing far from the Catholic Sense. For Sin is not born with a Man, which is afterward acted by Man; because it is demonstrable that Sin is a thing, not of Nature, but of Choice. Therefore it is both proper to own the former, that we may not seem to make two sorts of Baptism; and also necessary to give a Caution about the latter, lest on Occasion of the Sacrament it be, to the Reproach of the Creator, said, that Evil is by Nature conveyed to a Man before it be acted by him.

§. 32. The Argument he gives against Original Sin is as good an one as could be given in so few Words. But to grant that Infants ought to be Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins, and yet to maintain that they had no Sin, was perfect Irish.

Year af- ter the A- postles 317. *Pelagius* exprefs'd himself more sily in his Creed: He said that Infants are to be Baptiz'd with the same Words as elder Persons are. *St. Austin* excepts against that (57), and says, 'Tis Things that we regard and not Words only. But beside, *Pelagius* did not sigh so plainly or openly in his Creed to *Innocent* deny Original Sin, tho' he had in other Books.

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They that would maintain a Dispute, or Theological Wraastle, and would not take this for a fair Fall or Baffle, it could be no longer worth the while to contend with 'em. *Pelagius* had had at the Council of *Diospolis* some silly Sayings objected to him out of a Book: and when he denied the Book to be his, they ask'd him, Whether since he disown'd those Sayings, he would anathematize those that said such Things? He answer'd, handsomely enough; *I anathematize 'em for Fools, not for Hereticks; for there is no Article of Faith spoken of in 'em*. But now he himself, when he is driven to this Plunge as to grant that Infants are Baptiz'd for Pardon of Sins, and yet have no Sin, will seem to all Readers to deserve the first of those Anathematizings, if not the last.

But the Way by which his Partners went about to make Sense of this odd Saying, we have in a Letter of *St. Austin* to *Sixtus* (59); written a good while after these Times. There *St. Austin* having said of the *Pelagians*, that they are so *Circumstipati & Divinarum auctoritate lectionum, & Antiquis tradito & retento firmo Ecclesie ritu in baptismo parvulorum*, ' beset both with the Authority of God's Word, ' and with the Usage of the Church that was of old deliver'd to it, ' and has been since kept by it, in the baptizing of Children, That they dare not deny that Infants are Baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sin; and, that it must not be suppos'd that the Church does this fallaciter, in any trickish or deceitful Meaning; but, *ut fide agatur quod agitur, utique fit quod dicitur*; ' Since what is acted, is acted seriously, that which is spoken must be supposed to be really done. He adds,

That



That therefore which they have devis'd to say, when this manifest force of Truth weigh'd 'em down, what Christian is there that will not laugh to hear, tho' he must own it to be very crafty? For they say that 'Infants do indeed answer truly by the Mouths of those that bring 'em that they believe in the Forgiveness of Sins; not that any Sins are forgiven to them; but that they believe that in the Church, or in Baptism, Sins are forgiven to those that have any, not to those that have none. And so they do not yield that Infants are baptiz'd for Forgiveness of Sins in such a Sense as that any Sins are forgiven to them, who, they say, have none; but that they, tho' they be without Sin, yet are baptiz'd with that Baptism by which is granted Forgiveness of Sins to all that have any.

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There will ever be this Difference between a Man of Sense, and a thick skull'd Man; that the former, if he find himself gravell'd, will at least have the Modesty to give over Talking. *Pelagius*, after he was brought to this Contradiction, kept silence; and we hear no more of him.

But *Celestinus* blunder'd thro' all this, and a great deal more: when he was excommunicated at one Place, going to another. And he, after all this, continu'd to make such a Noise in the Eastern Parts, that the Heresie which was call'd *Pelagian* in the West, was there call'd the *Celestin* Heresie. After several Excommunications in particular Churches, he was at last pronounc'd a Heretic in the General Council, or Meeting of all the Eastern and Western Bishops at *Ephesus*.

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*F. Garner* reckons up 24 Synods, in several Parts of the World, held against this Error: whereof this of *Ephesus* was the last, and the 22d was at *St. Alban's* in Britain (the Year of Christ 429. as Bishop *Usher*, and *Garner* out of him do shew) so that if *Pelagius* lived to this Time, he liv'd to see himself Condemn'd by his own Countrymen.

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I shall take notice only of two more Artifices that these Men used to stave off Excommunication; and so dismiss 'em.

§. 33. 1. They spoke with Words of seeming Submission to the Bishops to whom they appeal'd. You see with what a Complement *Pelagius* concludes the Confession of his Faith to Pope *Innocent*: and *Celestinus* began his to *Zosimus* with one of the like nature. For in the Preface of it there were these Words (60), That if any Mistake have by chance happen'd to me thro' Ignorance, as being a Man; it may by your Skill be Corrected: And when *Zosimus* ask'd him if he would (61) renounce all those Tenets which had been objected to him formerly by the Deacon *Paulinus*, and would give his Assent to the Letters of the Apostolic See, which had been written by his Predecessor of holy Memory; he refused to renounce the Articles objected by the Deacon, but he did not dare to oppose the Letters of holy Pope *Innocent*. Nay, he promised to renounce

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3. A little while after, viz. September 21<sup>st</sup> he writes another Letter to them (64), that he now had received *Pelagius's* Letter and *Libellus* likewise; and a Letter from *Praylus*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in his Behalf. That *these had been publicly read over*; and that the Contents of



of them were all to the same Purpose, Sense and Tenor with what Celestius had produced before. Oh, Brethren! that any of you had been present at the Reading of 'em. What Joy there was of the Holy Men that were present? ——— Some could scarce forbear Weeping, tales etiam [l. tam] absolutæ fidei infamari potuisse, that it should be possible for such Men of so unrebukable a Faith to be slander'd. — Then he inveighs against their Accusers, and at last says, If the Father rejoiced at the Return of his Son that had been dead, and was alive again, had been lost, and was found, &c. How much greater Rejoycing of our Faith is this, that these Men, of whom false Stories were reported, never were dead nor lost? I have sent therefore to your Charity Copies of the Writings which Pelagius sent, &c.

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4. Zosimus declar'd that *Libellus* of *Celestius* (in which he says, as I rehearsed before, that the Opinion of Sin being ex traduce, by Derivation or Propagation, is far from the Catholic Sense) to be Catholic, or Orthodox. This will appear by the next Quotation.

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5. The *African* Bishops wrote (65) Answer to *Zosimus* the latter End of this Year, wherein they plead, That *Celestius* ought to clear himself at another rate than that of saying in general, that he would assent to the Letters of Pope *Innocent*. That he ought to be compelled to recite and condemn those ill Things which he had put in his *Libellus*: lest if he did not do that, a great many Persons of weak Judgments might be more ready to think that those Doctrins, poysonous to our Faith, which were in his *Libellus*, were approved by the Apostolic See, because that See had said that that *Libellus* was Catholic; than they would be to think them Corrected by it, because he said he would assent to Pope *Innocent's* Letter. And the next Year the same Bishops in a fuller Meeting send him another Letter to the same Purpose, but more peremptory; wherein, without any more staying for his Consent, or joining with 'em, they determine that *Pelagius* and *Celestius* are to be accounted excommunicate, till they do recant, &c. The Letter, some part of it, is recited out of *Prosper*, above at §. 15.

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6. Then at last, when the Emperor also had declar'd to the same Purpose, *Zosimus* himself likewise Condemned these Men, and the Opinions they held against Original Sin, as well as the rest of the World did, and his own Predecessor had done; and sent, as I said, an Encyclical or Circular Letter about to the Churches, declaring his Excommunication of 'em. A Part of it is recited by St. *Austin*, in (66) these Words, Our Lord is faithful in his Words, and his Baptism has the same Plenitude [or, Force] in Deed that it has in Words; I mean, in its Operation, in the owning the true Forgiveness of Sins, in all Sexes, Ages, and Conditions of Mankind. For none is made free, but who was a Servant of Sin; nor can any be said to be redeemed, but who was before truly a Captive by Sin; as it is written, If the Son do make you

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And the Church of Rome from that Time has been very zealous in the same Doctrin, till now in this last Age they are grown great Latitudinarians in this Matter. The Jesuits have of late set themselves strongly to overthrow St. Austin's Doctrin of Prædestination: and, not content with that, have push'd their Arguments so far as to undermine the Doctrin of Original Sin. And the Court of Rome shews so much Favor to their Endeavours, that it is probable they would (if they could avoid the Slur that would thereby be brought on their Intallibility) once more declare for Pelagius.

It seems that a Book of Cardinal Sfondrata, which denies the Propagation of Original Sin, and any Punishment of unbaptized Infants, finds so much Favor; that tho' several French Bishops demanded Judgment of the Pope against it, they could obtain none. On the contrary Innocent XII. recommended the Printing of it. And there was lately Printed an Address to the Assembly of French Bishops, Anno 1700. that they would censure it; but without any Success that I have heard of. The Title whereof is *Augustiniana Ecclesiæ Romanæ doctrina*, &c. The Book I have not seen, but an Abstract of it in the common Prints from Holland. It shews, it seems, that such a Book as the afore said, gives occasion to the Heretics to say, That Rome is turning Pelagian.

Zosimus might have been fallible in the Case of Pelagius himself, and might have been excus'd; because he in great measure conceal'd his Opinion in his *Letter* and *Libellus*: so the Mistake might be only in Matter of Fact. But Celestius's *Libellus* spoke open enough; and yet he declar'd it Catholic: and that not as a privat Man, but sitting in Judicature on a Day of hearing in St. Clement's Church. And F. Garner grants, and even proves (67) by good Reasons, that this was done in a Synod.

§. 34. St. Austin endeavors to throw a Cloak over the Nakedness of this Pope. For when the Pelagians afterward claimed him as theirs; and said, he must be so, or else he must be owned to have declar'd contrary to himself; and urged the Letters afore said; St. Austin pleads (68),

1. That Zosimus did not in any of his Letters deny Original Sin. True, but he declar'd that *Libellus* of Celestius to be Catholic, which did openly deny it to his Face.

2. (69).



2. (69) That *Zosimus* urged *Celestius* to assent to the Letters of Pope *Innocent*; which Letters maintain'd the true Doctrin. This indeed shews that *Zosimus* did not perceive a plain Contradiction when it came in his Way.

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3. He takes a charitable Advantage of those Words in the Preface of *Celestius*, *That if any Mistake have happen'd to me, &c. it may by your Skill be Corrected.* And says, (70) *Whereas Celestius put this [Denial of Original Sin] into his Libellus, only among those Things of which he owned himself as yet to doubt and to desire to be instructed; it was the Desire of Instruction (in a Man of good Wit, who if he had been reform'd, might have done a great deal of good) that was approved; and not his false Doctrin. And in that Sense his Libellus was pronounced Catholic; because this is the Part of a Catholic Mind, if it has any Opinions contrary to the Truth, not to define them positively, but to renounce them when they appear to be such.*

We must commend *St. Austin's* Charity both to *Zosimus* and *Celestius*. But, as *Vossius* and Bishop *Usher* observe, he that reads *Zosimus's* Letters will see that for a long time he defended *Celestius*, not as one that was in an Error, and was willing to be taught better; but as one that was in no Error, but had approved himself to have *absolutam fidem* (as he in his third and fourth Epistle calls it) a Faith absolved from all Blame. So that, how favourable an Account soever *St. Austin* gives of this Matter; *Facundus* tells it thus, (71) *Zosimus, contrary to the Sentence of Innocent his Predecessor, commended the Faith of Pelagius and of his Partner Celestius, and blamed the Bishops of Africa for counting him a Heretic.*

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One thing indeed *St. Austin* there says, which is a good Answer to the *Pelagians*, who accus'd the Church of *Rome* of changing Sides and prevaricating in their Doctrin when *Zosimus* turn'd against them; viz. that if *Zosimus* did ever declare for them and their Doctrin, that rather ought to be accounted the Prevarication. For, (72) says he, *when in Reverend Innocent's Letters, which say that Infants, if they be not baptized in Christ, will remain in eternal Death, the ancient Catholic Faith is set forth; he certainly ought to be accounted the Turn-coat of the Roman Church, that should have deviated from that Sentence: Which by God's Mercy was not done.*

§. 35. Another Thing that *Pelagius* and *Celestius* pleaded, was, that supposing they were mistaken in their Opinion that there is no Original Sin; yet this ought not to be accounted Heresie, nor to deserve Excommunication. It was no Article of our Faith to hold one way or the other; it was but one of the Questions of lesser Moment.

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For Celestius, says St. *Austin*, (73) spoke in the *Ecclesiastical Acts* at Carthage after this manner, 'I told you before concerning the Derivation of Sin, that I have heard several in the Catholic Church deny it, and some I have heard affirm it. It is a Matter of Controversie, not of Heresie. As for Infants, I always said that they stand in need of Baptism, and that they are to be Baptiz'd. What would he have more? He spoke this with an Intent to signifie, that if he had denied that Infants ought to be baptiz'd, then indeed it might have been judged Heresie: but now that he confesses that they are to be Baptiz'd, tho' he give not the true Reason of their Baptism; yet he supposes he does not err in a Matter of Faith, and therefore is not to be accounted a Heretic.

Also in the *Libellus* which he gave in at Rome, when he had spoke as much as he pleas'd in declaring his Faith from the Trinity of one Deity down to the Resurrection of the Dead, concerning which Matters no Body ever demanded or objected any thing to him; when he comes to the Matter in hand, he says, 'And if any Questions have arisen which many People Dispute about; I have not determin'd any thing by a definitive Authority, as if I would be the Author of any Dogma [or, Article of Faith]; But I offer those Things which I have collected from the Fountain of the Prophets and Apostles to be tried by the Judgment of your Apostleship, &c. You see his Purpose of this prefacing is, that if he be found in a Mistake, he may seem not to mistake in the Faith, but in some Questions that are beside the Faith, &c. — But he is much out of the way in thinking so. These Questions which he thinks to be beside the Faith, are of a very different Nature from those in which one may be ignorant, or mistake without Hurt to the Faith; as for Example, if a Question be put, Where the Garden of Paradise is, &c. But in the Concerns of those two Men, by the first of whom we are sold under Sin, and by the other redeemed from Sin, &c. the Christian Faith does properly consist.

And afterward: (74) Therefore whosoever does maintain that human Nature, in any Age whatever, does not stand in need of the second Adam for a Physician, as not being defiled in the first Adam; this Man's Mistake is not in a Question in which one may doubt or err without Hurt to the Faith, but he is convicted as an Enemy of God's Grace by the very Rule of Faith, by which we are Christians.

§. 36. The most material thing to our Purpose to be observ'd from these Passages of the latter Part of this History, is this; how exceedingly the *Pelagians* were press'd with this Argument taken from the Baptism of Infants; and to how many Absurdities they were driven in answering of it. Sometimes they said they were not Baptiz'd for Forgiveness, but for something else. Sometimes they owned they were Baptiz'd for Forgiveness, not that they had any Sin, but that the Uniformity



niformity of the Words might be kept; or because they were Baptiz'd into the Church, where Forgiveness was to be had for those that wanted it; or, because they were Baptiz'd with a Sacrament which had the Means of Forgiveness for any that had sinned, or should sin. And some flew to that, that Infants have Sin, tho' not by Propagation from a sinful Stock; but either before they were born, in a former State; or since they were born by Peevishness, &c. Since these Men resolved not to own Original Sin in Infants; how much had it been for their Turn to deny that they were to be Baptiz'd at all? If they had known of any Church or Society of Christians, then in being, or, that ever had been, that had disowned Infant Baptism; their Interest would have led 'em to allege their Example, or to plead it in their own Behalf. But far from that, *Celestius* does own that Infants are to be Baptized, according to the *Rule of the Universal Church*; and *Pelagius* moreover confesses (the same Thing in effect that *St. Austin* in another Place urges) that *he never had heard, no not even any impious Heretic or Sectary, that denied Infants Baptism*; and that *he thought there could not be any one so ignorant as to imagine that Infants could enter the Kingdom of Heaven without it.* You have their Words before, §. 29, 30.

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And if there had been any such Church of Antipædobaptists in the World; these two Men could not have miss'd an Opportunity of hearing of 'em, being so great Travellers as they were: For they were born and bred, the one here in *Britain*, the other in *Ireland*. They liv'd the Prime of their Age (*distantissimè*, a very long Time, as *St. Austin* (75) testifies) at *Rome*, a Place to which all the People of the World had then a Resort. They were both for some time at *Carthage* in *Africa*. Then the one settled at *Jerusalem*, and the other travell'd thro' all the noted *Greek* and *Eastern* Churches in *Europ* and *Asia*. It is impossible there should have been any Church that had any singular Practice in this Matter, but they must have heard of 'em. So that one may fairly conclude that there was not at this Time, nor in the Memory of the Men of this Time, any Christian Society that denied Baptism to Infants. This cuts off at once all the Pretences which some Antipædobaptists would raise from certain Probabilities, that the *Novatians*, or *Donatists*, or the *British* Church of those Times, or any other whom *Pelagius* must needs know, did deny it. I shall however, more particularly consider those Probabilities at another Place (76).

§. 37. Besides the Passages I have here recited of this Controversie, *St. Austin* wrote a great many more, which I must omit, because the reciting of 'em all would make a large Volume of it self. Several whole Books, and many long Epistles he wrote to several Men against the Doctrin of *Pelagius*, where he always makes use of

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the

Year after the Argument taken from the constant Use of the Church in Baptizing Infants, to prove it to be the general Sense that they have the Apostles Original Sin.

I will only give the Names of some of 'em, that they that have a Mind to read more of this Matter, may have Recourse to 'em, if they please.

*Augustini ad Valerium de nuptiis & concupiscentiâ.* Two Books.

*Ad Bonifacium contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum.* Four Books.

*Enchiridion.* One Book.

*De Gratiâ & Libero arbitrio.* One Book.

*De correptione & gratiâ.* One Book.

*De predestinatione Sanctorum.* One Book.

*De dono Perseverantiae.* One Book.

*Contra Julianum Pelagianum.* Six Books compleat, and other Six left imperfect.

*De Gestis Palaestinis.* One Book.

*De octo Dulcitii questionibus.* One Book.

*Comment. in Psalm 51.* I was shapen in Iniquity, &c.

*Sermo 10. it. 14. de verbis Apostoli. it. in Sancti Johannis natiuitatem.*

Letters to *Paulinus*, to *Optatus*, to *Sixtus*, to *Celestius*, to *Vitalis*, to *Valentinus*, and several others.

All these I pass over, saving that, as I have already here and there fetch'd in some Passages of 'em, I shall at the End of this Chapter recite two or three that will shew how the State of this Controversie stood between St. *Austin* and *Julian* some Years after *Pelagius* had been condemn'd and given over Disputing.

But first, I must give an Account of a *Canon* of the Council of *Carthage* held Anno 418. about this Matter: which is one of the eight that have formerly by a vulgar Error been attributed to the Council of *Milevis*, held Anno 416. Whereas the Council of *Milevis* did only write their Sentence in a Synodical Letter to *Innocent*; which Letter, together with that of the Council of *Carthage* of the same Year I recited before (77). That was in the Year 416. And the next Year 417 there was another Meeting of the Bishops at *Carthage*, of which nothing is extant, save that it appears by some Passages of St. *Austin* recited before, §. 33. and some others recited §. 15. that they declared that they could not acquiesce in that Judgment which Pope *Zosimus* had passed in Favor of *Celestius*, of which they advertised *Zosimus* by their Letter.

But the next Year after, viz. 418. there was a full Assembly at *Carthage* of the Bishops of all the Provinces of *Africa*, 214 in Number. Then it was that they sent that *peremptory* Letter to *Zosimus*, which I spake of. And then also they passed eight *Canons* against the *Pelagian* Tenets.

In



In the Second they mention the Baptism of Infants; condemning two Errors about it. One, of those who thought that an Infant must upon no Account be Baptiz'd before he be 8 Days old. I shew'd before (78), that one *Fidus*, a Bishop near *Carthage* had held so 150 Years before; and it seems some People were still of that Opinion. The other, of those that held that absurd Opinion (which *Pelagius* and *Celestius* had made their last Refuge) that Infants are Baptized for Forgiveness of Sins, and yet have no Sin. The Canon is this;

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*Concilii Carthag. Anno 418. Canon secundus.*

*Item placuit ut quicumque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat; aut dicit in remissionem quidem peccatorum eos baptizari, sed nihil ex Adam trahere originalis peccati quod lavacro regenerationis expiatur (unde sit consequens ut in eis forma baptismatis in remissionem peccatorum non vera sed falsa intelligatur) Anathema sit. Quoniam non aliter intelligendum est quod ait Apostolus, Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum & per peccatum mors, & ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt: Nisi quemadmodum Ecclesia Catholica ubique diffusa semper intellexit. Propter hanc enim regulam fidei, etiam parvuli qui nihil peccatorum in seipsis adhuc committere potuerunt, ideo in peccatorum remissionem veraciter baptizantur, ut in eis regeneratione mundetur quod generatione traxerant. — — —*

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Also we determin that whosoever does deny that Infants may be Baptized when they come fresh from their Mothers Womb; or does say, that they are indeed Baptized for Forgiveness of Sins, and yet that they derive no Original Sin from *Adam* (from whence it would follow that the Form of Baptism for Forgiveness of Sins is in them not true, but false) let him be Anathema. For that Saying of the Apostle, By one Man Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin; and so Death passed upon all Men, for that; [or, in whom] all have sinned; is to be understood in no other Sense than as the Catholic Church spread over all the World, has always understood it. For, by this Rule of Faith, even Infants, who have not yet been capable of committing any Sin, in their own Persons, are in a true Sense Baptized for Forgiveness of Sins that in them what was derived by Generation may be cleansed by Regeneration.-----

Here this Canon ends in most Copies: but in some there is a farther Clause against such as allow an eternal Life in Happiness to unbaptized Infants, tho' not in the Kingdom of Heaven. I shall have occasion to recite that Clause, and my Opinion about it in the next Chapter.

The Reader will without any Admonition perceive the Mistake of those Men, who speak of this Canon as if Infant Baptism were establish'd by

Year af- by it as a Thing that had been questioned, or was then newly brought  
ter the A- into use. It appears with Plainness more than enough, that as well the  
postles Makers of this Canon, as they against whom it was made, did both  
318. of 'em look on the thing it self as undoubted; they differ'd about  
some of the Reasons or Effects of it only.

But *Grotius* did very unkindly give an Occasion to vulgar ignorant People to run into this Mistake by that Saying of his recited *CH. VI. §. 4.* That *there is in the Councils no earlier Mention of Infant Baptism than in the Council of Carthage*: meaning this, or that two Years before. Whereas he himself knew well enough, that beside the other Passages in Authors, and beside the Councils I mention'd in *CH. XVI.* it is mention'd in one of the first Councils of which we have any good Account since the Apostles time, as I shewed in the aforesaid VI. Chapter.

§. 38. *Pelagius* and *Celestius* being thus Condemn'd, and the Bishops that would not subscribe to their Condemnation being depriv'd, which were 18 in Number in all the *Western Empire*; they made Remonstrances, and sent about into the *East* to several Places, but found no Countenance. Yet *Julian*, who had been Bishop of *Eclanum* in *Italy*, and was the best Penman among 'em, maintain'd the Dispute with *St. Austin* for some Years; each of 'em writing 12 Books one against the other. And *St. Austin* died while he was writing the last Six.

If they had said any thing new in reference to our Subject, it had been necessary to relate it: but there being nothing new, I shall only recite two or three Passages to shew that they spoke about Infant Baptism in the same Tenor as before.

After the Condemnation, one of the *Pelagian* Party sent a Letter to some of the Clergy at *Rome*, hoping to retrieve an Interest there. *St. Austin* thought it was written by *Julian*, and answer'd it as his. But *Julian* disowned it; and *St. Austin* was content they should ascribe it to which of their Sect they pleas'd. In it they say many Things to clear themselves; and, among the rest, this, which is recited by *St. Austin* (79), *We do acknowledge that the Grace of Christ is necessary for all, both grown Persons and Infants; and we renounce all that should say that one that is born of Parents both Baptiz'd ought not to be baptiz'd.* And so in the Letter which all the eighteen of 'em subscribed and sent to the *East*, *We own Baptism to be necessary for all Ages* (80).

To which *St. Austin* answers (81), *What does it signifie that they do own Baptism to be necessary for all Ages (which the Manichees hold is needless for any Age) so long as they suppose it has no Effect in Infants for the Forgiveness of Sin?*

And

(79) Lib. 1. ad Bonifac. c. 22. (80) Apud August. l. 2. ad Bonifac. c. 25.  
(81) L. 4. ad Bonifac. c. 4.



And speaking to *Julian* himself (82), *As to the Question of Baptism, about which you complain that there is a great Odium rais'd against you among ignorant People by our Lies, 'tis strange how neatly you come off. You clear your self of this Odium by owning that ' Infants are to be baptiz'd ; because, you say, the Grace of Baptism is not to be alter'd for the Causes [or, Subjects] of it ; since it dispenses its Gifts according to the Capacity of those who come to it. And so Christ, who is the Redeemer of his own Workmanship, does by a continued Bounty encrease his Benefits toward his Image ; and those whom he had made Good at first, he makes better by renewing and adopting 'em.*

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*Is this all you have to say why there should be no Odium rais'd on you about the Baptism of Infants ? As if any of us had said that you deny that Infants ought to be baptiz'd ? You do not say that they ought not to be baptiz'd ; but according to your great Wisdom you say certain strange Things. You say, ' they are baptiz'd in the Sacrament of the Savior ; but yet ' they are not saved from any thing. They are redeemed by it, you ' say, and yet they are not deliver'd from any thing by it. —*

And at the End of the Chapter, *They are strange Things that you say. They are new Things that you say. They are false Things that you say. As strange, we are amaz'd at 'em ; as new, we are shy of 'em ; as false, we confute 'em.*

And again, *Cap. 5.* having produced a great many Proofs that Infants have need of the Grace of Christ for acquitting them from the Guilt of a corrupted Nature, he says to *Julian*,

*If you would come to be of this Mind ; you would own the Grace of Christ toward Infants in its true and natural Sense. And you would not be put to those Shifts, to say Things impious and absurd ; either that Infants are not to be baptiz'd, which perhaps you will hereafter say : or that so great a Sacrament is in their Case such a Mockery, as that they are baptiz'd in a Savior, but not sav'd from any Thing ; that they are wash'd in the Laver of Regeneration, but have nothing wash'd off in it, &c. And all this, because you are afraid to say, they should not be baptiz'd ; lest not only the Men should spit in your Faces, but the Women also should throw their Sandals at your Heads.*

In the sixth Book, *cap. 3.* he puts *Julian* in Mind of his own Baptism in Infancy ; and how ungrateful a Thing it is for him to disown the Forgiveness of Sin, that was granted to him therein. *Your good Father, says he, [St. Austin had been acquainted with his Father] ran with you, little thinking how ungrateful you would be for that Mercy.*

Tho' *St. Austin* does over and over again tell the *Pelagians*, that no Body accus'd 'em of denying Baptism to Infants ; yet it is probable 'twas him himself they meant to have rais'd that Odium against 'em among the Vulgar. For he speaks here and at other Places, as if he

thought

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You af-  
thought they had a great Mind to deny it, if they could have had  
the Face. He had formerly in a Sermon (83), (which he had preach'd  
against 'em, and which was publish'd) after many Things said to prove  
that Infants have Sin, and that it is for that they are baptiz'd, add-  
ed this; *Nemo ergo vobis susurret Doctrinas alienas. Hoc Ecclesia sem-*  
*per habuit, semper tenuit: Hoc à majorum fide percepit; hoc usque in fi-*  
*nem perseveranter custodit: quoniam non est opus sanis medicus, &c.* 'There-  
'fore let no Body whisper (or, insinuate) any strange Doctrins to  
'you. This the Church has always had, and ever held; this it has  
'receiv'd from the Faith of its Ancients, and this it keeps constant-  
'ly to the End, that the Whole have no need of a Physician, &c.  
'What need then has an Infant, if he be not sick, &c.

But whoever it were that had rais'd this Report, the *Pelagians* did  
always carefully and industriously declare their Disowning of any such  
Thought or Purpose. For as *Pelagius* in his Letter before rehearsed,  
declares that neither he himself, nor any one in the World that he  
knew or had ever heard of, was ever so ignorant or so impious, as  
*either to say so, or have such a Thought*: So likewise *Julian* was so en-  
raged against any that insinuated that he or his Party denied, or e-  
ver meant to deny it; that he sticks not to Anathematize all that  
deny it: for so are his Words (84), *We are so far from denying it to*  
*be profitable to all Ages, that we allot an eternal Anathema to those that*  
*say it is not necessary even for Infants.*

Yet *Marinus Mercator* would needs have it, that their inward Sense  
was against it: only to keep up their Credit with Christians they in  
Words and Declarations own'd it. This he goes about to prove by  
Consequences from their other Doctrins (85), and then says, *So that*  
*'tis plain you must think that they need not be baptized: only you impose*  
*upon us in your Words, but in your Heart you hold the Impiety of Jews*  
*and Heathens.* This was hard, when they made such Protestations to  
the contrary. He had no other Reason, than that it would best  
have fitted with their other Doctrins. But *Mercator* wrote his Tract  
10 Years after this of *Julian*; so that it could not be him that *Ju-*  
*lian* meant.

331. §. 39. *Theodorus*, who was at this Time Bishop of *Mopsuestia* in  
*Cilicia*, was in this Question of the Mind of the *Western Pelagians*.  
And *Julian*, when he was deprived, retir'd to him. Some will have  
it, that he was elder in this Sentiment than *Pelagius* himself. It  
192. might be so, for he was Bishop from the Year 392 to 428. How-  
328. ever that be, he seems to have conceal'd this, as well as some other  
Heterodox Tenets he had, all his Life-Time: they were discover'd  
afterward by some Writings he left. He had such singular Opinions,  
especially about the Authority of some Books of Scripture; that he  
was,

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(83) Serm. 10. de verbis Apostoli. (84) Abud Augustinum. Operis imperfecti.  
lib. 1. c. 51. (85) Subnotationum in scripta Julian. c. 8.



was, after his Death, Condemn'd in some General Councils for a Heretic in greater Points than this. This Condemnation of him shews the Weakness of the Argument of a Modern Writer (86) who would prove that the Canon of Scripture was not settled in the Church at this Time, because he rejected some Books of it. He shews that he did that, forgetting to tell us that he was therefore condemn'd as a Heretic.

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As for the Book he wrote on the *Pelagian* Side; there is a particular Reason to conclude that it did not come abroad in the World till after St. *Hierom* and St. *Austin* were dead: because they never take any notice of it, tho' it be aim'd chiefly against them two without mentioning their Names.

This Book is not now extant: but an Abstract of it is given by *Photius* (87). If it be lawful to take a Quotation at second hand from any Author, later than our Period; it is from *Photius*: he was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Anno 858, and the Collections of so Learned and Judicious a Man are valued almost as much as if we had the Originals.

758.

The Title of the Book was, *Against them that say Men sin by Nature, and not by Will*. There are particular Reflections plain enough upon the two Fathers I mentioned. But one of the Opinions he there ascribes to his Adversaries as an absurd one, is, *That Infants, even when they are new-born, are not without Sin, because our Nature being by Adam's Fall become sinful, that sinful Nature is deriv'd to all his Posterity*. And one of the Arguments he makes them use to prove it, is this, *For what Reason are the holy Mysteries given to Infants? Why are they accounted worthy of Baptism [or, proper to be baptiz'd] but because they are full of Sin, Sin being implanted in their Nature? For it is for Forgiveness that these Things are done to them*.

The Answer that he gives, is, as *Photius* observes, the oddest that ever was given. He does not deny that they are baptized for Forgiveness. But he says there is one sort of Forgiveness which is for Sins past; and another to procure a State for us in which we shall no more Sin. And that is given, partly in this Life, and perfectly (as *Photius* recites his Words) *in that Restauration which is to be after the Resurrection; for the obtaining of which both we, and also new-born Infants are baptized*. He gave himself a great Latitude in the Use of Words, to call that *Forgiveness*.

I mention this Man, only to shew that he, as well as the *Pelagians* of the *West*, took it for granted that Infants are to be baptiz'd, tho' he thought they have no Sin. And even as for that Opinion against Original Sin, (whatever he thought or kept in Writing by him) he found it necessary for him to join with the Neighbouring Bishops,

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in

Year af- in a Synod held there, to Condemn *Julian* and his Opinions; as we  
ter the A- understand by *Mercator* (88).

321. §. 40. After this Time, the *Pelagian* Opinions being so universal-  
ly Condemn'd, none but some very few and very desperate Persons did  
venture to declare for them, or against Original Sin. But a consider-  
able Number did still oppose another Opinion that *St. Austin* held a-  
bout particular Prædestination. These were called by their Adver-  
saries *Semipelagians*, tho' they expressly renounc'd *Pelagius* as a Here-  
tic. And they call'd their Adversaries *Prædestinarians*. But as to the  
Matter we are treating of they all agreed, That there is Original Sin  
in Infants: That all baptiz'd Infants dying in Infancy are sav'd: and,  
that no Infant dying without Baptism goes to Heaven.

The Difference between them, as to the Case of Infants that die  
in Infancy was this; *St. Austin* and his Followers held that God, by  
his mere gratuitous Pleasure, does ordain that such or such Infants  
shall come to have Baptism, and so be saved, and others shall miss of  
it; without any Regard had to the Qualifications, which they would  
have had if they had lived.

But the *Semipelagians* (so called) said, that such Infants as God fore-  
saw would have been faithful Christians if they had liv'd, those he  
by his Providence procur'd to be baptiz'd; and suffer'd others to miss  
of it.

So both agreed that in both Cases Salvation attends Baptism.

344. This appears at large in the Works of *Prosper*, *Fulgentius*, *Cassian*  
407. and others of each Party; and in the latter Works of *St. Austin* him-  
324. self: wherein he labors to expose his Adversaries Opinion as absurd;  
since God, who in Scripture is said to judge every one according to  
what they have done, is brought in by these Men as judging Infants by  
what they did not do, but would have done, if they had lived. And  
they answer'd, that this is more reasonable than to judge without any  
Consideration at all.

He objects, that according to their Hypothesis it is to little Purpose  
which is said in the *Book of Wisdom* (89), of one that dies young,  
*He was taken away, lest Wickedness should alter his Understanding*, &c.  
if God will judge him according to what he would have done. To  
which they answer: that that is not *Canonical* Scripture: and he does  
not go about to maintain that it is.

I shall have Occasion to produce some of their Sayings hereafter (90),  
(where I give some Account of the Opinion of the Ancients, con-  
cerning the future State of Infants dying unbaptiz'd) and therefore  
omit them here.

323. In this Dispute the Popes and Clergy of *Rome* were generally zealous  
332. for the *Prædestinarian* Side, as *Celestin*, *Sixtus*, *Leo*, *Hormisdas*, &c. The  
340. other Side found most Abettors in *France*, especially about *Marseilles*.

414.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XX.

*Quotations out of St. Austin and Vincentius Victor.*Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

319.

**T**HERE were no need of quoting any more out of *St. Austin*, either of the Doctrin that he held, or of the Testimony that he gives of the Churches Practice in his Time or before; were it not that this *Vincentius*, saying some new Things about the Case of Infants that had never been said before, gave Occasion to *St. Austin* also, who answer'd him, to insist on some new Proofs and Defences of the Catholic Doctrin.

*Vincentius* seems to have been so inconsiderable a Person, that his Name would not have been remembred to the next Generation, if he had not ventur'd to write against *St. Austin*; which now by the Books which that Father vouchsafed to write in Answer to him, which are four Books, intitl'd, *Of the Soul and its Origin*, is likely to be spoken of as long as the World lasts.

He was a young Layman, remarkable for two Things, Malapertness in judging and determining of Controversial Points; and a certain Bombast in his Style, which *St. Austin* (1), out of his wonted Civility and Condescension, allows to be Eloquent; and would make him believe, he might, if he would use his Parts well, do God much Service.

He was lately come off from the Schism of the *Donatists*, which about this Time moulder'd away; but being of a restless Head, could scarce keep clear of the Heresie of the *Pelagians*, which had been (at the Time when *St. Austin* wrote his first Book against him) newly Condemn'd. For so are *St. Austin's* Words (2), *Juxta Pelagianam heresim, olim damnabilem, nuperrimeque damnatam*. 'According to the *Pelagian* Heresie, which always deserv'd Condemnation, and is just now Condemn'd.

I take Notice of this last Circumstance, to set the Time of this Dispute right: for inasmuch as the Year 418 was (as Bishop *Usher* expresses it) the fatal Year for the *Pelagian* Heresie (for it was in that Year that the Canons of the forementioned great Council of *Carthage* were publish'd on *May* the first. And the Imperial Edict on *April* 30. And Pope *Zosimus's* Circular Letter a little after) this Book of *St. Austin's* must probably have been written the latter End of that Year, or the Beginning of the next.

318.

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G g 2

I shall

(1) Lib. 1. de animâ & ejus origine, c. 2, 3. (2) Ibid. c. 19.

Year. I shall by and by make some use of this Observation about the  
 ter the A- Year, in explaining a Passage which will give some Light to this Ob-  
 postles servation, and receive some from it.

§. 2. Vincentius wrote two Books, chiefly against that Opinion (to which St. Austin inclined) that the Soul is by Propagation. He owned (3) Original Sin, which was the most material Point in which he differ'd from the Pelagians. The Soul, he said, is a corporeal Substance (4); and so is the Spirit (which he took to be different from the Soul): On which St. Austin observes, that according to him a Man consists of three Bodies. But he granted that God is of an incorporeal Nature: on which St. Austin says (5), *I am glad that in that Point however he keeps free from the Dotages of Tertullian*. It is to be noted that Tertullian said, that God also is a Body, or else he would be nothing at all.

When he came to speak of that Question, whether the Soul be propagated from the Parent to the Child, or be by immediate Creation; he determin'd, that it is immediately Created: and withal, express'd a great Contempt of the Dulness and Ignorance of those that did at all doubt or demurr on that Question. And he reflected on St. Austin particularly and by Name, as one that had confess'd his Inability to resolve it, because of that Objection; How it could consist with God's Justice to put a Soul that is not deriv'd from Adam, but is created pure, into the Body of an Infant, where it immediately contracts Guilt and Defilement.

We saw before (6) how much St. Austin was puzzled with this Objection; and how St. Hierom being desir'd by him, had refus'd to meddle with the Solution of it. But now here Vincentius undertakes easily to answer it. But St. Austin shews that unless he could have brought a more skilful Answer, he were better have demurr'd too; and were better have confess'd his Ignorance than betray'd his Folly.

The Answer he had given was this,

1. First, in respect to such Infants as do by God's Providence come to have Baptism; that (7) *they being by God's Prescience predestinated to eternal Life, it does 'em no Hurt to continue a little while under the Guilt of another's Sin*. That as the Soul contracts a Disease by sinful Flesh, so Sanctification [*viz.* that of Baptism] is likewise convey'd to it by Means of the Flesh; so that as by it the Soul lost its Merit, [or, Innocence] by it also it recovers its State. (8) *For shall we think that because it is the Body that is washed in Baptism, that [Benefit] which is believed to be given by Baptism, is not conveyed to the Soul or Spirit? Fitly therefore it does by the Flesh recover its former Disposition which by the Flesh it had seem'd for a while to have lost; that it may begin to be regenerated by that by which it had been defiled: So (9) that tho' the Soul, which could have no Sin of its own,*

*did*

(3) Ibid. c. 9. (4) Ibid. c. 5. (5) Lib. 2. c. 5. (6) CH. XV. Sect. 6. & 7.  
 (7) Apud Augustin. lib. 1. de Animâ & ejus origin. c. 8. (8) Lib. 3. c. 7. (9) Ib. c. 3.



did deserve [or, had the Fate] to be made sinful; yet it did not continue Year after the A-  
in a State of Sin, &c.

Against this Answer St. *Austin* objects, that if we examin it strict-  
ly, it makes God first do an ill Thing in bringing an innocent Soul<sup>319.</sup>  
into a sinful Condition; and then make Amends for it a little after  
by the Grace of Baptism. *Avertat* (10) *autem Deus, & omnino absit,*  
*ut dicamus quando lavacro regenerationis Deus mundat animas parvulorum,*  
*tunc cum mala sua corrigere;* &c. 'But God forbid, and far be it from  
'us that we should say, that God, when he cleanses the Souls of  
'Infants by the washing of Regeneration, does then make Amends  
'for his own Faults, &c. However, he says this is something; and  
may, after a Fashion, serve for such Infants as do come to be Ba-  
ptiz'd. *De his* (11) *quidem parvulis invenit qualitercunque quod diceret;*  
&c. 'He has found something to answer after a Fashion for such  
'Infants.

But the chief Difficulty is about those that miss of Baptism; of  
whom we are to see in the next place what *Vincentius* said.

2. In reference to such as are never baptiz'd, he, in his first Book  
(for he wrote two, as I said) determin'd thus (12), *Habendam dici-*  
*mus de infantibus istiusmodi rationem, qui predestinati baptismo vita pre-*  
*sentis, antequam renascantur in Christo, praveniuntur occiduo, &c.*—*Austin*  
*dicere istos pervenire posse ad originalium indulgentiam peccatorum; non*  
*tamen ut caeleste inducantur in regnum. Sicut latroni confesso quidem, sed*  
*non baptizato, Dominus non cælorum regnum tribuit sed paradisum; cum*  
*utique jam maneret;* &c.

'We must give some Account of those Infants which being design-  
'ed to be baptiz'd in their Life-time, are, before they be regene-  
'rated in Christ, prevented with Death.——I may venture to say  
'that they may obtain Forgiveness of their Original Sins; and yet  
'not be admitted to the Kingdom of Heaven. As our Lord grants  
'ed to the Thief, that owned him and was not Baptiz'd, not the  
'Kingdom of Heaven but *Paradise*; that Sentence being in force;  
'*He that is not born again of Water and the Holy Spirit, shall not enter into*  
'*the Kingdom of Heaven.* Especially when our Lord says, that his Fa-  
'ther has many *Mansions*; by which are meant the many and different  
'Merits [or, *Rewards*] of those that shall dwell in 'em. So that there  
'both the unbaptized may be admitted to Pardon, and the baptiz'd  
'to the Crown which is procur'd by the Grace.

'For such Infants indeed I give my Opinion, that there be offer'd  
'for them daily Oblations, and continual Sacrifices of holy Priests.  
'This I prove to be fitting to be done, by the Example of the  
'(13) *Macchabees* that fell in the Battle, &c.

(10) L. i. c. 7. (11) L. i. c. 8. (12) Apud August. l. 2. de Animâ, &c. c. 9, 10.  
(13) 2 Macchab. 12.

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On which Determination of his, St. *Austin*, in the next Words, makes this Remark, *Cernis hominem, paradysum atque mansiones quæ sunt apud Patrem, à regno separare cælorum; ut etiam non baptizatis abundent loca sempiternæ felicitatis, &c.* ' You see how the Man, that he may find Places of eternal Happiness for such as are not baptiz'd, is fain to separate Paradise, and the Mansions in God's House from the Kingdom of Heaven.

And a little after, *How can he hope that he himself shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, from which Kingdom he excludes the House of the King himself to what Distance he pleases?* And in the third Book written to *Vincentius* himself, he observes (14), *Christ does not say, as you cite his Words, My Father has many Mansions: and if he had said so, they could not be understood to be any where but in his Father's House. But he says expressly (15), in my Father's House are many Mansions.*

And having, a little after, observ'd also that our Lord does not say (16), *If any one be not born again of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* But, *he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* He then concludes, *So I suppose you may by this time understand how wide from Truth it is to separate any Mansions in the House of God from the Kingdom of God.*

To the Instance that *Vincentius* gives of the Thief who went to Paradise, tho' not baptiz'd, as he supposed; St. *Austin* answers (17), shewing how extraordinary his Case was. That he owning Christ at that Time when they were putting both Christ and him to Death, may well go for a Martyr baptiz'd in his own Blood; that St. *Cyprian* reckons him as such; that moreover we are not sure but that he had been baptiz'd, &c. and concludes, *Verum hæc ut volet quisque accipiat; dum tamen de baptismo non præscribatur Salvatoris præcepto hujus latronis exemplo: Et non baptizatis parvulis nemo promittat inter damnationem regnumque cælorum quietis vel felicitatis cujuslibet atque ubilibet quasi medium locum.*

' But of these let every one take which he pleases; always provided that the Example of this Thief be not made use of for a Prescription against our Savior's Rule concerning Baptism: and that no Man do promise to unbaptiz'd Infants a Place of Rest and Happiness of any sort, or any where, as a kind of middle Place between Condemnation and the Kingdom of Heaven.

§. 3. But *Vincentius* in his second Book went farther: For there, having reassum'd the Instance of the Thief, and of one *Dinocrates*, a Boy that died at Seven Years old; and a Sister of his that survived and suffer'd Martyrdom, named *Perpetua*, had, while she lay in Prison, a Dream or Vision, wherein she saw him in a Place of Darkness and Misery; and afterward having pray'd for his Soul, she had another Vision or Dream, wherein she saw him in a Place of Happiness.



Happinefs. This was recorded in a History (18) that was then 200 Years old, and is ftill extant) he fays of the Thief, and of this *Dinocrates* (who he fupposes died unbaptized, becaufe born of Heathen Parents, as the Story fhews) that they, for all their Want of Baptifm obtain'd Paradife: and then adds (19), *Or if any one do contend that the Soul of the Thief, or of Dinocrates were placed in Paradife only for a Time, and that they fhall have at the Refurrection the Reward of the Kingdom of Heaven; altho' that principal Sentence, He that is not born again of Water, &c. be againft this; yet he fhall have my willing Affent, if this do more fet forth the Effect of the Divine Mercy and Prefcience, and our Love of them.* Shewing hereby as *St. Auflin* takes it, his Opinion to be that unbaptiz'd Infants alfo may, after ftaying fome Time in Paradife, attain at the Refurrection to the Kingdom of Heaven.

On which *St. Auflin* fays, *Is it poffible for any one to fhew greater Boldnefs, Rafhnefs, Prefumption of Error in this Matter? He remembers our Lord's Sentence, he repeats it, he fets it down in his Book; he fays, Altho' that principal Sentence, &c. be againft this: and yet he dares exalt the Neck [or, Pride] of his own Opinion againft the principal Sentence. — I entreat you, Brother, confider, whoever gives Affent to any thing againft the Authority of the principal Sentence, what Sentence he deserves at the Hands of the Prince.* And, at another place (20), *You don't confider how much worfe you hold in this Matter than Pelagius. For he, ftanding in Awe of our Lord's Sentence, by which unbaptized Perfons are not permitted to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, does not dare fend Infants [viz. unbaptized ones] thither, though he think them free from all Sin.*

But *St. Auflin* does here fomewhat ftretch *Vincentius's* Words: For he does not fpeak this exprefly of Infants, but of the Thief and *Dinocrates*; and of them but doubtfully.

As to *Dinocrates*, *St. Auflin* answers (21),

1. That the Book that tells this Story, is no Canonical Book.

2. That *Perpetua*, or whofoever wrote it, does not fay that he died unbaptized. For that being feven Years old, he might have been baptiz'd by the Procurement of fome Body elfe, or by his own Choice, tho' his Father were a Heathen.

And he might have answer'd farther (as *Bifhop Fell* does (22) to fome Papifts that build the Belief of Purgatory, and the Duty of Praying Souls out of it on this Story) that here is no other Evidence of *Dinocrates* being remov'd from Torment to Happinefs, than a Dream of *Perpetua*, who, as the *Bifhop* fhews by fome Circumftances, was probably a *Montanift*; and they were a Sect that attributed more to their Dreams and Revelations than to the Scripture. Nor does any Author

(18) *Passio Sanctæ Perpetuæ & Felicitatis.* (19) *Apud August. lib. 2. de Animâ &c. c. 12.* (20) *L. 3. c. 13.* (21) *L. 1. c. 10.* (22) *Notis in Passionem Perpetuæ, &c. Edit. Oxon. 1680.*

Year after the Author before *Vincentius* quote this Book but *Tertullian*, who was himself  
 ter the A- a *Montanist*.  
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St. *Austin* shews also that *Vincentius* is the first that ever advis'd the Prayers of the Church to be us'd for any that had died unbaptized, or for any but Church-Members. They had then, and so they had in *Tertullian's* (23) and *Cyprian's* Time, a Custom of Commemorating at the receiving of the Eucharist, the Names of the Faithful deceased, and of making some general Prayers for them, such as *God rest their Souls, and grant 'em a happy Resurrection*: but nothing like those Prayers which the Papists make for Souls supposed to be in Purgatory; nor did they use 'em for any but Baptized and Faithful Christians. Therefore whereas *Vincentius* advises these Prayers to be us'd as an after Remedy for such Infants as had died without being Partakers of Baptism; St. *Austin* on this Account says (24), *Do not believe, nor say, nor teach, that the Sacrifice of Christians is to be offer'd for such as die unbaptized, if you will be a Catholic. For neither do you shew that that Sacrifice of the Jews which you mention out of the Books of the Macchabees was offer'd for such as died uncircumcised. In which your Opinion so new, and set up against the Authority of the whole Church, &c.*

1730.

§. 4. I have recited these Passages the larger, and in *Vincentius's* own Words, because there has been lately a hot Dispute between Colonel *Danvers* an Antipædobaptist, on one Side; and Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Wills* on the other; whether this *Vincentius* denied Infant Baptism. You may judge by what I have rehearsed of *Vincentius's* own Words, that the Colonel undertook a hard Task. Yet he maintain'd his Post a great while, referring the Reader for Proof to *Austin* and *Tho. Waldensis*, which latter lived but about 300 Years ago. But his Antagonists searching and reciting the Places to which he had refer'd, made it plain, that neither of 'em had said any other Thing of *Vincentius's* Opinions than what is to the same Purpose with that which I have here recited from himself. This had been enough to damp the Courage of an ordinary Man. But he being thus Home-charged, and not used to yield, said at last (25), *He denied it, as the Denial of Infant Baptism went in those Days, viz. that Children might be saved without it.* The Sense of which Words, if they have any, is this; That no Body in those Days denied Infant Baptism any otherwise than by saying that Children might be sav'd without it. Which is to yield the whole Matter in Dispute about the Practice of those Times, for fear of seeming to yield in one Particular.

The Truth of the Matter is; that if we except *Tertullian* (whose Words I shewed before to be ambiguous and inconsistent) this *Vincentius* is the first Man upon Record that ever said that Children might be saved without Baptism; if by being saved we mean going to Heaven:

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(23) *Tertull. de Monogam. pro animâ ejus orat, & refrigerium, &c.* (24) *L. 3. c. 12.*  
 (25) Second Reply p. 37.



ven: for that many before him thought they would be in a State without Punishment, I have shewed before.

§. 5. *Vincentius* does not speak positively neither; and that which he did say, he, sometime after he had received these Books of *St. Austin* wrote against him, recanted. This *St. Austin* lets us know in the *Review* of his own Works, written seven Years after this Time (26). For there speaking of these Books which he had wrote in answer to *Vincentius*, he adds, *Which Young Man I treated with all the Mildness possible, as one that was not hastily to be detested; but to be as yet instructed; and I received from him Writings in answer, containing his Recantation.*

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§. 6. Here is a proper Place to say something of that Clause, which I said even now (27) is found in some Copies of the Canons of the Council of Carthage, Anno 418. annexed as a Part of the second Canon. It is this,

*Item placuit, ut si quis dicit ideo dixisse Dominum, In domo Patris mei mansiones multæ sunt, ut intelligatur, quia in regno cælorum erit aliquis medius, aut ullus alicubi locus ubi beatè vivant parvuli qui sine baptismo ex hac vitâ migrarunt; sine quo in regno [l. regnum] cælorum, quod est vita æterna, intrare non possunt, Anathema sit.*

Also it has seem'd Good to us, that if any one affirm that our Lord did therefore say, *In my Father's House are many Mansions*; that it should be meant, that there will be in the Kingdom of Heaven any middle Place, or any Place any where, in which Infants may live in Blessedness that have died without Baptism; without which they cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, (which is all one as eternal Life) he should be Anathema.

Most part of the Copies have not, as I said before, this Clause. But it is found in several. Mr. *du Pin* mentions an old MS. that has it; and says that *Photius* cites it; and that the *Codex* publish'd by *Quæsnellus* has it in. Cardinal *Norris* quotes it, but thinks it spurious. And those Antipædobaptists that examin'd *Wills's* Appeal against *Danvers*, say that they find it in the *Collectio Regia. Tom. 4. pag. 559.* The Critics have not, as I know of, given any Account of this Difference in the Copies; of which I will here give my Conjecture.

I believe the Canon, as it was first Enacted and Publish'd (which was as I shewed before in the Council in May 418) had not this Clause. But *F. Garner* (28) and Bishop *Usher* before him (29), have plainly shewn that there was in June the next Year, viz. 419, another Council of the Bishops of all the Provinces of *Africa*, in which the Canons of the former Council were read over and confirmed; and also (as Bishop *Usher* has it) Some peculiar Matter against the Pelagian

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(26) *Retractat. l. 2. c. 56.* (27) CH. XIX. §. 37. (28) *Dissert. de Synodis in causâ Pelagianâ.* (29) *Eccles. Brit. Antiqu. c. 10. prope finem.*

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*Tenets enacted.* He does not give any Guess what that peculiar Matter should be: But he proves that there was some such Thing, partly from *Prosper*, and partly from this following Passage of *St. Austin* in his Letter to *Valentinus* (30), *What was written to Pope Zosimus from the African Council; and his Letter to the Bishops of all the World; and what we did in the following plenary Council of all Africa, enacted in short against that Error.* That plenary Council which he calls the following one, and places after *Zosimus's* Letter, must have been in 419. since I shewed before that that Letter was after the Council in 418.

I also shewed before, at §. 1. that this new Fanſie of *Vincentius* was publiſh'd and canvass'd in the Time that paſſed between thoſe two Councils, viz. in the latter End of the Year 418. or in the Beginning of the Year 419. And it was publiſh'd in *Mauritania Caſarienſis*, one of the *African* Provinces: For there *Vincentius* liv'd, as *St. Auſtin* tells us (31). And it had ſome Followers; for he ſpeaks of one *Peter* a Presbyter that among others embraced it.

I believe then that the Canon of 418. had only ſo much as is in the ordinary Copies; but that the Biſhops meeting in 419, and underſtanding that this Opinion had been, ſince their laſt Meeting, vented in one of their Provinces, to ſupport by a new *Salvo* the *Pelagian* Hypotheſis; they then added to the ſecond Canon, which ſpoke of the Caſe of Infants, this Clauſe.

My chief Reason is; becauſe this Addition recites the very Words of *Vincentius*, and does condemn 'em in almoſt the ſame Words which *St. Auſtin* had uſ'd in the Confutation of 'em: as will appear to any one that will turn back to §. 2, 3. And the Fanſie was ſo new and uncouth, that no Council could have thought of it, but on ſuch a particular Occaſion.

And I believe the Reason why moſt Copies of that Council do now want this Clauſe, is,

1. Becauſe the Canon having been firſt publiſh'd without it, many Copies went abroad before that Appendix was added. And,

2. Becauſe the modern Church of *Rome* has ſet up an Hypotheſis ſo like this of *Vincentius*, and their *limbus infantum* does ſo nearly reſemble his *feigned Paradise*, being as that was, a kind of *middle Place*; that thoſe of that Church who had the tranſcribing of Copies, did not like well of an Anathema denounc'd againſt ſuch an Opinion.

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(30) Epist. 47. (31) *Retractat.* l. 2. c. 56.



C H A P. XXI.

Year after the Apostles from 67 to 330.

*Irenæus, Epiphanius, Philastrius, St. Austin and Theodoret*, who wrote each of 'em Catalogs of all the Sects and Sorts of Christians that they knew or had ever heard of, do none of 'em mention any that denied Infant Baptism, except those who denied all Baptism.

§. 1. **T**HE Christians have always been of two sorts: *viz.* Catholics, who, tho' they inhabited several Countries, yet did all own Communion one with another, and so made one Catholic Body, or Church; and Sectaries or Heretics, who renounced the Catholic Body aforesaid, and separated into several Parties on Account of some Tenets, Opinions, or Practices in Religion, which they held different from the Catholic Church; or sometimes merely on account of some Quarrel with the Governors thereof. The Church of Christ never was, nor ever in this World will be so happy as to be without such Sects and Divisions. But woe be to the Men by whom they come.

The Quotations hitherto produced do concern the Practice of the Catholics in this Matter of Infant Baptism; saving that here and there by the By there has been Mention made of the Tenets of some of the Heretics or Schismatics. As of the *Donatists*, CH. IX. §. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 4. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. And of the *Arians*, CH. XII. §. 9, 10. And of the *Pelagians*, CH. XIX. *per totum*. Of all whom it appears that they practis'd Infant Baptism, as the Catholics did; and that without any Difference of Opinion concerning the Use or Effect of it; save that the *Pelagians* held that it was not for the Cure of Original Sin, but for other Purposes. Also we saw in the said CH. XIX. the several Declarations of St. *Austin* at §. 17. pleading, that he had never heard; and of *Pelagius* at §. 30. granting that he also had never heard, of any Sect or Sort of Christians that denied Infant Baptism. And that which they two do say there in general, I find to be agreeable to the Account that is given by all the rest that write Histories of the several Sects in particular. *viz.* That among all that vast Number of Sects; and their several Opinions which they recite, they mention none that denied Baptism to Infants.

They do indeed each of 'em mention some Sects that used no Baptism at all; of which Sects I do give a Catalog in the second

Year af- Part of this Work (1). St. *Austin* observes they were all of 'em  
ter the A- such as disowned also the Scripture, or a great Part thereof. But  
postles my Meaning is, that of all the Sects that own'd any Water Baptism  
from 67. at all, they mention none that denied it to Infants.

to 330. Now since they do all of 'em make it their Business to rehearse  
all the Tenets, Opinions and Usages, which these Men held different  
from the Catholic Party, and yet do mention no Difference in  
this Particular; one may conclude that they all of 'em practis'd in  
this Particular as the Catholics did. If the Catholics had not baptiz'd  
Infants, and the Sectaries had; it would have been noted. And if the  
Catholics did baptize 'em, and the Sects had not; that also would have  
been noted. For they recite all that each Sect had singular. And they  
mention Differences of much less Moment than this would have been.  
Now what Evidence there is of the Practice of the Catholics in this  
Matter, must be left to be judged by him that has read the foregoing  
Chapters: for the Authors cited in them were all Members of the Catholic  
Church, save that *Tertullian* afterward revolted from it, and *Pelagius*  
with his Followers were Excommunicated out of it.

20. §. 2. The first Treatise concerning Sects or Heresies, that is ex-  
67. tant, was written by *Irenaeus*. He, about 20 Years after St. *John's*  
Death, was a Hearer of *Polycarp* (St. *John's* Disciple and Acquaint-  
ance) at *Smyrna*; and about Forty Seven Years after that, was made  
Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*: so that having liv'd and convers'd in such  
distant Countries, and with such Men, he had an Opportunity of  
knowing what Sects there were or had been. He wrote this Tract  
about the Year after the Apostle's Death 76 or 77, as I shew'd be-  
fore in CH. III. §. 6. He mentions the Sects that arose in the Time  
of the Apostles, and those that had sprung up in the 76 Years that  
had passed since their Death.

They were all of 'em but a few in Comparison of the Number  
that arose afterward: but a great many considering the Time that  
had then passed. He takes most Pains in refuting the *Valentinians*;  
who, it seems, were most numerous at that Time and Place. But  
he says himself that his Purpose was to rehearse all that were, or  
had been; which was easie to do for so short a Space.

After much Discourse against the *Valentinians*, he goes to prove  
that they derived their Opinions, not from Christ or his Apostles;  
but from the former Heretics which had in the Apostle's Time set  
themselves against the Apostles. These are his Words (2).

Since then that there is manifold Evidence against all the Sects; and  
that my Purpose is to confute each of 'em according to their several Te-  
nets;



nets; I think it proper in the first place to recount from what Fountain and Original they sprung.

Then he declares how *Simon*, the Magician, mentioned by St. Luke (3), was the first, who, after he was rejected by the Apostles, set up a Sect; and taught that this World was made, not by the Good and Supreme God, but by inferior and evil Powers: and proceeds in the following Chapters to shew that this impious Tenet made a main Part in the Doctrin, not only of the *Valentinians*, against whom he was principally engag'd; but also of most of those Elder ones that had followed *Simon's* Example in setting up Sects. For the same Thing was taught by *Menander*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Carpocrates*, *Cerinthus*, *Cerdo*, and *Marcion*, as well as by *Valentinus*. And so it was, after *Irenæus's* Time, by *Manes* and the *Manichees*.

Year after the Apostles from 67 to 330.

Of these Heretics mention'd by him, the two first, *Simon* and *Menander*, do seem to have endeavor'd to obliterate the Memory of *Jesus Christ*. For each of them pretended himself to be (4) that great Power of God [viz. of the Supreme God] that was to redeem Men from the Malice and Tyranny of that Angel, or Inferior God that made the World, and gave the Law.

The two next, *Saturninus* and *Basilides*, owned *Jesus Christ* that came in *Judea*: but they owned only his Divine Nature (5). For they said he was not really a Man, nor did really die, but only in Appearance.

The two next, *Carpocrates* and *Cerinthus* (6), owned him to be a Man and a Savior; but not to be God, nor to have had any Being before his Human Birth. Only they said, a Divine Power from the Supreme God came down at a certain Time upon him, and dwelt in him, which enabled him to do what he did. This last Opinion is now going to be reviv'd.

All these three Branches of Heresie arose while St. *John* was alive: and so did the *Ebionites* and *Nicolaitans*, which he mentions (7) likewise. These did not join in the foresaid Blasphemy against the Creator of the World. But had other abominable Tenets. The *Nicolaitans* chiefly in reference to Practice: allowing Fornication, &c. And the *Ebionites* in Point of Faith: disbelieving the Divinity of our Savior, (as the *Cerinthians* and *Carpocratians*) and Renouncing and Railing at the Apostle *Paul*, and all his Writings; which do now make one half, and at that Time made the much greatest Part of the Scriptures of the New Testament: for St. *John* had not written when they set up their Sect. This would make one stand amaz'd at the Impiety of those Men now a-days, that calling themselves Christians, would yet perswade us that these *Ebionites* were the true Christians of those Times: that they were the Orthodox

(3) Acts 8. 9. (4) Irenæus l. 1. c. 20, 21. (5) Ibid. c. 22, 23. (6) Ibid. c. 24, 25. (7) Iren. l. 1. c. 26, 27.

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dox; and those whom we call Catholics, were Erroneous. The Tendency of such a Tenet is to perswade us, together with the Doctrin of Christ's Divinity to renounce also half the Books of the New Testament. As St. John liv'd to see all these Heresies vented; so one may perceive that he at several Places of his Writings opposes himself to such Opinions.

Of Sects that had arisen after the Death of the Apostles, he mentions (8) the *Encratites*, the *Caians*, the Sects of *Cerdo*, of *Marcion*, and of *Valentinus*. The four last of these were an Off-spring of those first mentioned (who were by a general Name call'd *Gnostics*) and did all agree with them in the Point aforementioned, That the Maker of Heaven and Earth is not the Supreme God; but that there is another far above him; and that it was that upper One that sent the Savior.

It was in Opposition to this Sort of Heretics, that the Catholic Church found it necessary to insert that Clause, THE MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, into the first Article of the Creed. For the most Ancient Creeds had no more in that Article than, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*. The *Eastern Church*, where those Heresies were most rise, inserted it first; and the *Latins* from them. The *Latins* had it not in their Creed at the Year 400. Without that Clause, the *Manichees*, *Gnostics*, &c. would say They believed in God the Father Almighty; but would mean a quite different God from him whom the Christians own'd: who always meant the Creator of the World, and Author of the Old Testament to be the same with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It pleased God by his Providence so to order it; that tho' some Heresies were very Ancient, yet they are all so absurd, that they can tempt no Man of ordinary Sincerity that reads the Scriptures.

The Points concerning Baptism in which *Irenæus* notes any of the said Sects to have held any Thing singular, are these:

*Menander* promis'd (9) that all that would be baptiz'd with his Baptism [*or, Baptism in his Name*] should presently have a Resurrection; and after that should never Die nor grow Old, but be Immortal. Whereupon *Tertullian*, about 100 Years after *Menander's* Death, challenges (10) that Sect to produce any of their Fellows that had been baptiz'd by *Menander* himself, that were yet alive.

The *Carpocratians* Ear-mark'd their Profelytes. And that, as I understand *Irenæus* (11), went for their Baptism. They burned a Hole in the hinder Part of the Lap of the Right-Ear. Here let me add a few of the next Words, tho' not to this Purpose. They call themselves *Gnostics*, [i. e. The Men of Knowledge] they use also certain Images,

(8) Ibid. c. 28, 29, 30, 35. (9) Ibid. c. 21. (10) De animâ, c. 50. (11) L. 1. c. 24.



images, some painted, and some carved; and say, they are Pictures of Christ drawn by Pilate, while Jesus liv'd among Men. On these they put Garlands, and set 'em up together with the Images of the Philosophers of the World, as Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, &c. And they use all such Ceremonies to 'em as the Heathens do. These Men, and some People at *Paneas* mentioned by *Eusebius* (12) to have had the like Heathenish Fancy, as he calls it, are the first Authors of the Worship of Christ by an Image, that are any where mentioned. *Epiphanius* also mentions the Ear-marks used by the *Carpocratians*, *Her.* 27.

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The *Valentinians* had several Under-sects, of which *Irenaeus* speaks particularly. And for their Baptism, he says (13) they had as many sorts of it as there were Teachers among 'em; but all contrary to the true. Some instead of Baptism dress'd up a Marriage-bed, and with certain profane Words acted a Marriage of the Person to Christ. Others put the Person into the Water indeed, but instead of the Christian Form of Baptism us'd a strange and uncouth one which I have Occasion to repeat at another place (14) and anointed the baptiz'd Person with Balsam. There are some of 'em, says *Irenaeus*, who think it needless to bring the Person to the Water at all; but mixing Oyl and Water together they pour it on his Head [by which Words of his, and by a thousand other Instances it appears that the Catholics did ordinarily put the whole Body into the Water] and they use certain Words not much different from those I mentioned before: and they will have this to be Redemption [or, Baptism] and these also use Balsam. Others of 'em used no Water at all, nor other external Ceremonies; but said; spiritual Baptism which consists in the Knowledge of the unspeakable Majesty is all in all.

§. 3. Some of 'em did pour Oyl and Water on the Heads of People newly dead, with such Words and Imprecations as he had before mentioned; and they told the dead Man's Soul what it should say, if in its Way to the supreme Heaven, it should meet with any of the Principalities or Powers that belong to him that made this World. The Soul was to say, That it was better than the Power that made them. And a great deal more such blasphemous Stuff.

*Irenaeus* excuses himself from descending to more Particularities: For that they inventing every Day new Ways and Opinions, it was endless to describe 'em all.

As to the *Cerinthians* and *Marcionites* he is very short, and says nothing about their Baptism. But *Epiphanius* (15) speaks of a Tradition that the *Cerinthians* did use to baptize some living Person in the stead of any Friend of theirs that had happen'd to die unbaptiz'd: and that it was in relation to such a Practice that the Apostle

(12) H. E. l. 7. c. 13. (13) L. l. c. 13. (14) Pt. 2. CH. V. §. 1. (15) Hæc.

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posible says (16), *If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, Why are they then baptized for the dead?* And St. Chrysostom in his Explication of that Text, says, that the *Marcionites* did the same. And *Tertullian* in his Fifth Book against *Marcion* (17), speaks of that Custom, and the Apostle's mentioning of it; but shews that his mentioning it is no Evidence that he approved it. The Comments ascribed to St. *Ambrose*, do also so interpret the Place.

There are two Objections against that Interpretation.

1. One is, that the *Marcionites* for certain, and probably the *Cerinthians*, were not in being when that Apostle wrote. *Corinthus* had a Party before St. *John's* Death; but this Epistle of St. *Paul* was a long time before that.

Therefore *Scaliger* and others think that some zealous, but ignorant People, among the Catholics had upon a Sense of the Necessity of Baptism begun this Custom in St. *Paul's* Time: and that in the Catholic Church it was quickly left off; but that it was continued afterward among the *Cerinthians* and *Marcionites*.

2. The other is, that St. *Paul* would not probably draw an Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead from so weak a Topic as the Practice either of abominable Heretics or mistaken Christians.

But these Men do not seem to have minded that St. *Paul* does sometimes take in the Suffrages even of Heathen Men in his Arguings. He might reasonably enough propose to himself to shame those among the Christians at *Corinth* that did not believe the Resurrection, by instancing in the general Assent that was given to that Article among all Christians; and even among those who how much soever they might be mistaken in thinking that that Vicarious Baptism would avail the Dead, yet did plainly shew that they fully believ'd the Resurrection of the Dead, when they practis'd this sort of Baptism for them.

This Interpretation is certainly the most obvious. And it is something confirm'd by the ill Success of those that have attempted any other. That baptiz'd for the Dead should stand in stead of baptiz'd for their Bodies (18). Or that for the Dead should be construd for the State of the Dead (19); or, for their dead Adam (20); or, *Why are they baptiz'd for the Dead?* i. e. Why are Persons ready to die desirous of Baptism that it may be well with 'em after they are dead (21)? Or, that *ὅτι περὶ νεκρῶν* should be Translated, over the Dead, i. e. Why do People choose to receive their Baptism at the Tombs of dead Martyrs (22)? Or that baptiz'd for the Dead should mean nothing but wash'd after the Touch of a dead Body (23). These are the Effects

(16) 1 Cor. 15. 29. (17) C. 10. (18) Tertullian contra Marcion. l. 5. c. 10. (19) Chrysost. in loc. (20) Vossius de baptismo, Disp. 12. th. 2. (21) Epiph. Hær. 28. (22) Pruden. hymn. 8. (23) Vasquez in tertium Disp. 157.



says of Learned Men. But the more one observes the Apostle's Phrase, the less probable they appear.

The latest that has been given, is, I think, the worst; *Why are they baptized for the Dead?* That is, *Why are new Christians baptized every Day in the room of those that die?* (24) For that fits neither the Phrase nor the Scope of the Place.

Ἰπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν for ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνέστην (25) upon the Faith of the Resurrection of the Dead, would fit the Sense very well: but it is a great Stretch of the Words. *Baptized for the dead*, i. e. buried under Water for dead, or, as if they were dead (26), is a mere *Anglicism*; that would never in Greek have been express'd by ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, but ἀπὸ νεκρῶν.

St. Chrysostom's Objection (27) against this Sense of the Place, that St. Paul should refer to such a Custom among some Christians, is this: *If Paul meant so, to what purpose is the Threatning of God against one that is not baptiz'd? For if this Shift [viz. of a living Person to be baptiz'd for one that is dead] be admitted, none will ever miss of Baptism; or, if he do, 'twill be the Fault of those that survive, and not of the dead Person.* But St. Chrysostom does not seem to have consider'd, that (as Tertullian says) the Apostle might mention this Custom without approving it. Tho' a mistaken Practice, yet it shew'd still the Faith of the Resurrection.

The Marcionites had also several other singular Opinions about Baptism. They would baptize no married Person till he did divorce his Wife: For they said that Marriage and all the Works thereof were wicked Things, and were order'd by that evil God or Angel that gave the Law, and made Mankind. Hence Tertullian jeers 'em (28), saying, that they reserv'd a Man's Baptism till he was divorc'd or dead.

What Irenæus here says of one sort of the *Valentinians* that they baptized some Persons after they were dead, Philastrius says (29), was the common Tenet of the *Montanists* or *Cataphryges*. *Hi mortuos baptizant.* These baptize People after they are dead. There were also here and there some in the Catholic Church, who, thro' a mistaken Zeal and Compassion to Persons that died unbaptiz'd, would sometimes do the same. For there is a Canon in the third Council of Carthage against that Practice. That Council allows sick People to be baptiz'd tho' they be speechless, if there be good Evidence of their Fitness and Desire of it (30). But yet they say (31), *Let not any Priests be so ignorant as to think that dead Persons may be baptiz'd.*

(24) Mr. le Clerc. Annot. in loc. (25) Hammond in loc. (26) Sir Norton Knatchbull. (27) In loc. (28) Contra Marcionem, l. 4. c. 11. (29) Har. Cataphrygum. (30) Canon 34. (31) Canon 6.

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Inasmuch as *Irenæus*, among all these Observations, says nothing *pro* or *contra* about baptizing Infants among the Heretics; it may, as I said, be concluded that they had nothing singular in that Point, but practis'd as the Catholics did. And for the Catholics, I produced before (32) the Saying of *Irenæus* himself, where he speaks of Infants Being, as well as grown Persons, the ordinary Subject of *Regeneration*. And that by *Regenerated*, he and all the Ancients did understand *Baptized*, whatever Pains might be necessary to shew it then in that Chapter, I suppose there is none needful now; because the Reader has since that seen that all the Authors do speak in that Language.

From  
265, to  
350.

§. 4. The other four, *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, *Austin* and *Theodoret* were all living at one Time; only *Epiphanius* was the eldest, and *Theodoret* the youngest. I shall not with these take the same Pains as I did with *Irenæus*, of setting down all the Customs or Tenets that they recount the several Sects to have held different from the Catholics, in the Matter of Baptism: It would be too voluminous. 'Tis sufficient that they do none of 'em mention any Thing concerning Infant Baptism either as practis'd, or as not practis'd by any of the Sectaries (a plain Proof that they held nothing in that Point different from the ordinary Practice of the Church) save that St. *Austin* notes of the *Pelagians* (which is in his Account the 88th and last Heresie that had risen) that tho' they agreed with the Church that Infants are to be baptiz'd, yet they held a different Opinion concerning the Ground or Reason of their Baptism. His Words are these (33), *Parvulos etiam negant secundum Adam carnaliter natos contagium mortis antiquæ primæ natiuitate contrahere. Sic enim eos sine ullo peccati originalis vinculo asserunt nasci, ut prorsus non sit quod eis oporteat secundæ natiuitate dimitti: sed eos propterea baptizari, ut regeneratione adoptati admittantur ad regnum Dei, &c.*

' They do also deny that Infants which are descended from *Adam* according to the Flesh, do, by their first Birth, contract any Contagion of the anciently threatned Death (for they affirm them to be born without any Bond of Original Sin) so that there is nothing in them that needs to be forgiven by the second Birth; but that they are baptiz'd for that Reason, that being by this Regeneration adopted, they may be admitted to God's Kingdom; being by this Renewal advanced from a good State to a better, but not absolved from any ill State of the old Obligation. For, tho' they be not baptized, these Men do promise 'em a certain eternal and happy Life; not in the Kingdom of God indeed, but of a peculiar sort.

This



This was the only Sect that he knew of, he says (34), that denied Infant Baptism to be for Original Sin. And for any that denied it absolutely, he knew of none at all.

Mr. *Tombs*, being to answer Mr. *Marshal*, who had produced a great many of the Fathers that speak of Infants as baptiz'd, makes this Exception; That there are several others of 'em that have nothing at all of that Matter. *It is wonder to me*, says he (35), *that if it were so manifest as you speak, you should find nothing in Eusebius for it, nor in Ignatius, nor in Clemens Alexandrinus, nor in Athanasius, nor in Epiphanius.*

The Objection is but weak. For there is no Age of the Church in which one may not find many Books that say nothing of that Matter; because they treat of Subjects on which they have no occasion to speak of that. *Ignatius* wrote nothing but a few Letters to the neighbouring Churches to exhort 'em to Constancy in that Time of Persecution. *Athanasius* was wholly taken up about the Trinity. *Clemens Alexandrinus* with the Heathen Philosophers. *Eusebius* writes the Chronicles of the Succession of Kings, Emperors, Bishops, and the State of the Church, either flourishing or persecuted, under each of them.

But I think Mr. *Tombs* could not well have said a more unlucky Thing for his own Cause, than to instance in *Epiphanius*. For since he wrote nothing to speak of, but a Catalog of those Opinions which the several Sectaries held contrary to the Church; to plead, that he says nothing of Infants Baptism, is in effect to give an Argument that there never was any Sect that in that Matter practis'd otherwise than the Church did in *Epiphanius's* Time, who died after the Year 400. And that the Church at that Time used Infant Baptism is so plain that the Antipædobaptists do seldom deny it.

§. 5. But Mr. *Tombs* gives an Instance of a Case in which he thinks it would have been proper for *Epiphanius* to have mentioned Infant Baptism, if it had then been in universal Use in the Church. For *Epiphanius* gives an Account (36) of a Sect, that had began about 100 Years before, called the *Hieracites*; who taught that no Infant dying before the Use of Reason could come to the Kingdom of Heaven. Their Reason was, *If any one strive, he is not crowned except he strive lawfully* (37). *How much less can an Infant be crowned, who never strives at all?* They thought of the Kingdom of God in Heaven, as the Antipædobaptists do of his Kingdom on Earth, that it is no State for Babes. Now Mr. *Tombs* thinks that *Epiphanius* among the Arguments he brings that Infants may be glorified, would have pleaded their Baptism, if the baptizing 'em had been usual in the Church.

I i 2

But

300.

(34) See CH. XIX. §. 17. (35) Examen. pag. 9. (36) Hær. 67. (37) 2 Tim. 2. 5.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

200.

But he seems not to have consider'd, that Heretics and Schismatics don't use to be prevailed on by Arguments drawn from the Practice or Doctrins of the Church. And as for Arguments from Scripture, *Epiphanius* uses those that do more expressly and immediately prove their Admission into the Kingdom of God; as that Saying of our Savior, *Of such is the Kingdom of God*, &c. and is but short in all.

It might be objected again, that in all Probability these Heretics did not baptize their own Children. If they did, it could be only in Prospect of some Benefit it might do 'em afterward, if they liv'd. And if they did not baptize 'em; it had been proper for *Epiphanius* to mention that, as a thing wherein they differ'd from the Catholics, supposing that the Catholics did baptize theirs.

But upon a more careful Reading of their Opinions there re-hears'd, it appears that they could have no Children. For one of their Tenets was, That all Marriage and getting of Children is unlawful under the New Testament; and that *no married Person can inherit the Kingdom of God. That the only end of Christ's coming was to settle an absolute Continence. For what new Thing did he bring into the World else? Against Malice, Covetousness, Injustice, Fornication, &c. the Law had well enough provided before.*

Whether these Men would have baptized their Children, if they had had any, is uncertain. But the first Body of Men we read of, that did deny Baptism to Infants, which were the *Perrobrusians, Anno Dom. 1150.* did it upon a Ground or Reason which they held common with these Men, *viz.* that Infants, baptiz'd or not baptiz'd, are incapable of the Kingdom of Heaven; as I shew in the second Part of this Work, *CH. VII. §. 5.*

274.

*Epiphanius* reckons in all 80 Heresies, which he says (38) were all that he had heard of in the World. He says nothing of their baptizing or not baptizing Infants. But in the End of his Work he recites the Faith held by the Church, in Opposition to all Heresies. In settling the Articles of Faith he is large; but he has also a few Words concerning the Rites of the Church. He mentions the Fasts and Feasts, &c. and he adds, *As for the other Ordinances concerning Baptism and the internal Mysteries; as the Tradition of the Gospel and of the Apostles is, so they are order'd.* And after some mention of the manner how the Catholick Church uses the Prayers, Psalms, ways of relieving the Poor, &c. He adds, *And for Baptism, she [the Catholick Church] accounts it to be in Christ [or, to the Christians] instead of the old Circumcision.* The like he says in his 8th Chapter, which is of the Epicureans; *the Law had the Patterns of things in it; but the Truth of 'em is in the Gospel. The Law had the Circumcision in the Flesh, serving for a time, till the great Circumcision*



*Circumcision came, that is, Baptism; which Circumcises us from our Sins, and seals us unto the Name of God.* Year after the Apostles

*Philastrius* makes above 100 Heresies. He makes a Difference in Opinion about any trifling Matter to be a Heresie. He mentions no Dispute about Infant Baptism.

200.  
280.  
330.

*Theodoret* has wrote in the best Method about Heresies. He has reduc'd 'em to some general Heads. He makes four. The first, of those before mentioned, and such others as have denied that the World was made by God. The second, of those that have attributed to our Savior no other Nature than the Human. The other two, of other Sects. He says, the first Sort had at that time hardly any that adhered to them: and the second Sort, none at all. He mentions some Sects that used no Baptism at all. But it was only some of the most absurd and impious. But of those that used Baptism, he has none that renounced Infant Baptism. After the four Books of these four Sorts of Heresies, he adds a fifth, which is, *Of the True and Orthodox Doctrins and Usages of the Church.* He mentions there the Baptism of Infants, not as a Thing disputed of, or denied by any Sect: but occasionally. Shewing the Advantages of Baptism, that it conveys, not only Pardon for the Sins of Mens former Life, but many other Graces; he proves it by the Baptism of Infants, who have committed no Sin. The Words I had occasion to recite before (39). There is another Catalog of Heresies at the End of *Tert. de Præscript.* But it hath nothing about Baptism; save that *Menander* said, none could be sav'd that were not baptiz'd in his Name.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Containing References to the Books of some Authors of the next succeeding Times.*

§. 1. **T**HIS is the best Account I can give of the Passages concerning Infant Baptism that are in the genuin Books of the Writers that flourished from the Apostles Time to the Year of Christ 400. The Reason that I go no farther, is; because for the next 700 Years the Matter is clear. Yet of those Years and of the

Year after the Apostles  
from 300  
to 400.

*Waldenses*

Year after the Apostles 1050. Waldenses that arose about the Year 1150, I intend to discourse something in general in the second Part of this Work (1).

And here, for the sake of those that have any Mind to trace the Quotations for about one hundred Years farther, I have set down some References to the Places where they are to be found. To set down the Words is too long; they being all to the same effect with those already rehearsed.

*Prosper*, in almost all his Works against the *Pelagian* and *Semipelagian* Tenets, makes use of the Argument taken from the Necessity of the baptizing of Infants. Particularly,

*Epist. ad Augustinum*, prefixed to *St. Austin's Book de Prædestinatione Sanctorum*.

*Epist. ad Demetriadem*, among the Works of *St. Ambrose*.

*De vocatione Gentium*, l. 1. c. 16, 22. l. 2. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, &c. I know it is question'd whether this be *Prosper's*, or *Pope Leo's*, or some other Man's Work, but 'tis much one to this Purpose, since whoever he were, he liv'd about this Time.

*Carmen de Ingratis*, cap. 1, 6, 21, 30, 31, &c.

*Contra Collatorem*.

*Epist. ad Rufinum*, circa medium.

*Defensio Augustini*.

316. *Orosius Apologetic*.

320. *Paulinus Diaconus, Libello ad Zosimum Papam*.

330. *Hilarius Arelatensis, Epist. ad Augustinum*.

318. *Marius Mercator. Commonitorii c. 1, & 4.*

*Prefatione ad Subnotationes*.

*Subnotat. c. 6. it. 8.*

323. *Celestinus Papa, Epist. ad Maximian. apud Acta Concilii Ephesini.*

*Epist. ad Gallos Episcopos*.

331. *Epistola Synodica Concilii Ephesini ad Celestinum Papam*.

335. *Autor Prædestinati, à Sirmondo editus, Par. 1643.*

330. *Possidius in vitâ Augustini*.

330. *Autor Hypognosticôn, inter opera Augustini, l. 4, 5, & passim*.

312. *Isidorus Pelusiota, lib. 1. epist. 125. l. 3. epist. 195, &c.*

324. *Cassianus, de incarnatione Domini, lib. 5. c. 11.*

312. *Cyrillus in Levitic. c. 8.*

323. *Theodoretus in 1 Cor. 7. 14.*

*Epitome Decret. Divin. lib. 5.*

340. *Leo magnus Papa, Epist. 37. ad Neonem.*

*Epist. 52. ad Rusticum, cap. 16.*

*Epist. 86. ad Nicetam Aquilejensem. It. Epist. 88. ad Episcopos Germ.*



All these were Contemporary with St. *Austin*, but younger than he, and wrote before the Year 450. And in the next 50 or 60 Years, these following.

*Fauftus Reienfis*. One of those then called *Semipelagians*, *de lib. Arbitrio*, l. 1. c. 1, 2, 14. 372.

*Gennadius*, One of the same, *de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, c. 52. 395.

And his Interpolator, a *Prædestinarian*, c. 31.

*Fulgentius*, a *Prædestinarian*, *de veritate prædestinationis*, l. 1. per totum. 407.

*De Incarnatione & gratiâ Jesu Christi*, c. 15. it. 30.

*De Fide ad Petrum*, c. 27, 30, &c.

*De remissione peccatorum*, l. 1. c. 14.

*Epistola Synodica Episcoporum in Sardinia exulum*; B. P. Col. 1618.

T. 6. *De prædestinatione & gratiâ*, c. 3.

*Joannes Maxentius*. *Catholica de Christo. Professio, prope finem*. B. P. 420.

T. 6.

The Council of *Gerunda*, Can. 5. 417.

The Council of *Nerda*, Can. 13. 424.

*Ferrandus* [a Deacon of *Carthage*] his Letter to *Fulgentius* about the Baptism of a certain *Negro*. 423.

*Fulgentius's Answer*. 423.

The Substance of this last mention'd Letter and the Answer to it, is this: A Gentleman of *Carthage* had bought a *Negro Slave*, that had been brought out of the inmost and savage Part of *Africa*, where Christianity was not then, nor is yet, known. His Master had caus'd him to be instructed in the Faith: He was a Catechumen for some Time, and at last was admitted among the Competents for Baptism. He had rehearsed in the Congregation the Creed, the Lord's-Prayer, &c. and had made the usual Renunciations of the Devil, &c. as the Custom of that Church was for the Competents to do some Days before their Baptism; and at the Time of Baptism they used to do it, by way of Answer, again. But just before the Time in which he was to be baptiz'd, he fell sick of so sudden and violent a Fever, that at the Time of Baptism he was speechless, and without Sense. They baptiz'd him however. And we, says *Ferrandus*, answer'd in his Name, as if it had been for an Infant. And he dying presently after, never understood, I believe, that he was baptiz'd. Now I intreat your Opinion, whether his Want of Speech will be no Hindrance to his obtaining eternal Salvation. For I am much afraid lest our Lord, to whom all Things are possible, did therefore deny him the Faculty of Speech, because he thought him unworthy of the Benefit of the second Birth. For how that Age of his that was capable of Reason, could be cleansed by another's Confession, I do not see. For it is Infants only, who have no Sin but Original Sin, whom we believe to be saved by the Faith of those that bring 'em, &c. And if it be said, that the Confession he made before, when he was well in his Senses,

Year af- Senses, will avail for his Forgiveness; I don't see how we can stand to that  
 ter the A for then another will conclude, that he would have been sav'd if he had  
 poibles had no bodily Baptism at all. And at that rate, Why might we not ba-  
 422. ptize People after they are dead, if they be such whose devout and faith-  
 ful Purpose was known before? I know the ordinary Canon (2) prescribes  
 that sick Persons that are not able to make the Answers may be baptized;  
 provided their Friends will at their own Peril testifie that they had such a  
 Purpose before their Sicknefs. This indeed justifies the Minister in giving  
 the Baptism: but I make some Question concerning the Benefit that such a  
 Person receives by it.

The Answer which the Bishop *Fulgentius* gives to this Scruple, tends all toward the comforting *Ferrandus* concerning his Doubt of the Man's Salvation. He argues, that all the Condition requir'd by our Savior for adult Persons, being, that they should believe and be baptiz'd; this Man had both. That Faith and the Profession of it are the Act of the Man: The baptizing him is the Act of the Minister. And tho' this Man had not his Senses when the Minister perform'd his Act; yet he had when he himself perform'd his own. That God's taking away his Senses was not so great a Sign of his rejecting him, as the Continuance of his Life till he could be baptiz'd, was of his receiving him. 'Tis true, says he, that we believe none but Infants are saved by the Faith of those that bring 'em, &c. And that in the Age of Reason one's own Confession is requir'd, &c. But this Man had his Senses when he profess'd, and he had yet Life when he was baptiz'd.

He grants in the following Discourse that if he had died before he had been actually baptiz'd, he could not have been saved: which is very hard, and contrary to the Determination of St. *Ambrose* and other Fathers in a like Case, as I shew in my second Part (3).

The Reason why I recite this at large, rather than the other Passages to which I have given References, is not that this speaks more plainly than the rest about Infant Baptism: on the contrary, the rest speak more directly to that Matter than this does. But I recite it, that the earnest Concern that this Master, and Minister, and Bishop do shew for the Salvation of this poor Slave may fly in the Face, and strike with Shame and Terror the Consciences of such profane Traders of our Nation, as having Plantations in the *West-Indies*, do keep hundreds of such Negroes, and are so far from any Concern for their Souls, that on the contrary they do all they can to hinder 'em from Christian Faith and Baptism, and discourage those that would procure 'em Means of it.

I do not conceive that all the Masters there are of this Temper. But for those that are, and are resolv'd to continue so; as I doubt they have but little Belief of the Truth of the Scripture; so it were for

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(2) Concilii Carthag, tertii Can. 34. (3) CH. III. §. 3. it. CH. VI. §. 3.



for their Interest that it were not true. For there is nothing plain-  
er by the Tenor of it, than that such Masters are in God's Sense a  
much worse Sort of Heathens than their Slaves, and liable to a far  
greater Condemnation; and that, beside their own Personal Sins, the  
Blood of those poor Creatures will be required at their Hands. I  
would crave Leave to recommend to these Gentlemen the Reading  
of a little Book, publish'd about 20 Years ago, by a Clergyman that  
had liv'd in *Barbados*, call'd, *The Negroe's and Indian's Advocate*.

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422.

That I may tell the Reader in short the Substance of the Places to  
which I have referr'd him; they do all speak of Infant Baptism, as  
of a Thing taken for granted. And those of 'em that do at all en-  
large on the Matter, do speak of it as absolutely necessary to the In-  
fants obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven. And this, whether they be  
of the *Predestinarian*, or *Semipelagian* Opinion. And I am confident  
there is no Passage in any Author from this Time to the Year of  
Christ 1150, or thereabouts, that speaks against it; save that *Wala-*  
*fridus Strabo*, about the Year 850 (tho' he were for Infant Baptism,  
and thought it necessary for their Salvation, yet) gave his singular  
Opinion, that it had not been practis'd from the Beginning, but had  
come into Use first in *St. Austin's* Time; which, how palpable a Mis-  
take it was, I suppose every Reader is by this time satisfied. I give  
you his Words hereafter (4). And save that *Mr. Stennet* produces  
one *Macaire*, an unknown Author, living in the ignorant Times, who  
talks much as *Strabo* do's. Of whom I must also speak hereafter.  
*Pt. 2. ch. 2.*

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## CHAP. XXIII.

*Quotations out of some Books that are spurious, i. e. were  
not written by those whose Name they bear; but yet are  
proved to be Ancient.*

§. 1. **L**ET the first of these be that out of the Book call'd *Clement's* Year af-  
*Constitutions*. They are call'd his, because he is feigned to have ter the A-  
been the Compiler of 'em from the Mouths of the *Apostles*. The postles  
History of which Book, as near as Learned Men have traced it, is 300.  
this,

K k

There

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
300.

There were in the very early Times certain Traditionary Accounts handed about as the Preachings, Doctrins, or Rules that had been deliver'd by such or such an Apostle or Apostolical Man; something like the Short-hand Notes of Sermons, which it was the late Custom in *England* to take from the Mouths of celebrated Preachers. One of which would be called, for Example, *Διδασκίαι Πέτρου*, the *Doctrin* of Peter: Another, *Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος*, the *Preaching* of Clement, &c. And several of these being by some studious Persons collected and put together, were intitl'd, *Διατάξεις Αποστόλων*, The *Rules*, or, *Constitutions of the Apostles*.

If they had been all of 'em judicious and sincere Persons that first took these Notes of the Preachings or Sayings of the Apostles; and they that collected 'em into Volumes had been the like; there is no doubt but the Collections would have been highly valuable. And as they are, they do for the most part consist of pious Rules and Exhortations. But according to the various Memories, or Judgment, or Honesty of the first Recorders, or After-compilers, these Compositions were in many Things various uncertain, and by Men of different Inclinations differently interpolated, and so of no Authority.

220. In *Eusebius's* Time, Anno 320, there was a Volume of this Nature,  
270. called *Διδασκαί Αποστόλων*, *Doctrins of the Apostles*; which he reckons (1) among the spurious Books. *Epiphanius* 50 Years after, cites a Book call'd, *Constitutions of the Apostles*; which he says was of doubtful Credit; and it has also been alter'd since his Time. About the Year 400  
300. it seems to have been lick'd and brought into that Form of Eight Books, in which we now have it, and to have been set forth with that confident Title, as if the whole had been put into Form by St. *Clement*. This is confirm'd by the Quotations of it by the Author of the *Opus imperfect. in Mat.* who liv'd about that time.

Hence it appears that for any particular Clause or Chapter of it, one does not know how long, or how little While before the Year 400 it has been insert'd. The Clause to the present Purpose, is this,

*Constitut. Apostolic. lib. 6. cap. 15.*

The Apostles are there brought in speaking. And after they have disallow'd of such as baptize twice; and also set forth the Wickedness of those that despise all Baptism: They say;

*And he that says, I will be baptiz'd when I am going to die, that I may not sin after it, and defile my Baptism; such a Man has no true Knowledge of God, and is ignorant of his Nature. For, Delay not thou*

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(1) H. E. l. 3. c. 25.



thou to turn to the Lord ; for thou knowest not what to Morrow will bring forth.

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And then they add,

Βαπτίζετε ὃ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Θεοῦ. Ἀρετὴ γὰρ φησὶ, τὰ παῖδια ἐρχέσθαι πρὸς μὲν, καὶ μὴ κολύετε αὐτά

300.

And baptize your Infants, and bring them up in the Nurture and Admonition of God. For he says, Suffer the Little Children to come to me, and forbid 'em not.

How little Assurance soever there is from the Credit of this Book, that these are the Apostles Words ; yet they shew that it was the received Doctrine at the Time when they were put into the Book.

§. 2. The Quotation of the Book of *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is commonly thought worth the While by those that write on this Subject. Otherwise I for my part should hardly think it worth the setting down.

Partly because of the Abhorrence one should have of so gross and impudent a Forger ; who having, about the Year 400, if not later, compos'd some Books remarkable for nothing but affected high-flown Expressions, thought them fit to be father'd upon *Dionysius the Areopagite* mention'd *Acts* 17. 34. Unless we are to think that the Author himself was not guilty of this Imposture ; but that some Body else having got the Copies of these Books into his Hands, did thrust in here and there a Sentence which should represent that *Dionysius* as the Author. Which I have sometimes thought.

300.

And partly because what he says on this Subject seems to me spoken with less Judgment than usual : tawring in Words, but shallow in Sense.

I shall forbear setting down the Original (for it is not worth reciting twice) only give the Translation of his Bombast *Greek* in as plain *English* as I can.

He in this Treatise gives an Account of the several Rites used at the Eucharist, at Ordinations, &c. and among the rest, at Baptism (which he generally calls by the Name of the *Divine Birth*) and of the Reasons of 'em. What he has of Baptism does mostly concern the Baptism of the Adult, and their Professions. What he says of the Baptism of Infants, is in Answer to the Objections the Heathens made against it, and is as follows.

*Ecclesiastic. Hierarchy. cap. 7. in fine.*

But that Children also, who cannot yet understand the Divine Mysteries, should be made Partakers of the Divine Birth, and of the most sacred Signs of Society with God, does seem, as you say, to Men that are profane and ill-affected to our Religion, a Thing fit to be laugh't at : That the Bishops should teach the holy Things to those that are incapable of 'em, and should

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bestow the Things which by sacred Tradition they have received, upon such as have no Sense of 'em. And, What is more ridiculous, that others should pronounce the Renunciations and holy Professions for them, in such a Fashion as if they were doing it for themselves.

Now your Episcopal Wisdom ought not to be angry with those that are in Error; but to Answer their Objections with a Religious Meekness for their Instruction and Edification: adding this also as from our holy Religion; that our Knowledge is not able to comprehend all Divine Things: and that a great many Things which we cannot understand, have ready Reasons that are worthy of God, unknown to us, but known to the higher Beings: and even those higher Natures are ignorant of many Things which are known only to the All-wise Deity, the Author of all Wisdom.

And yet, as to this particular Matter; that we do say the same Things which our Divine Ministers of holy Things have deliver'd down to us as they were taught 'em from Ancient Tradition. For they say, and it is true, that Children, if they be brought up to holy Rules and Institutions, will come to be of a good Temper of Mind; free, and disentangled from all Error, and out of the Danger of an unclean Life. Our Divine Instructors considering this, have thought fit that Children should be admitted after this holy manner.

That the Natural Parents of the Child which is brought, should deliver him to some one that is himself baptiz'd, as to a good Instructor in the Things of God; and that the Child should afterward learn of him, as of his Father in God, and his Sponsor in Things that are for Salvation. And then of this Person who undertakes to instruct the Child in Holiness of Life the Bishop does demand, as I may call it, the Declaration of his Renouncing, and the other holy Professions. Not that he does (as they jeeringly represent it) initiate the one in the other's stead in the holy Rites. For he does not say thus, 'I do in the stead of this Child renounce or promise, &c. But, 'this Child does renounce, profess, &c. that is, I promise to persuade this Child, when he shall come of Age to understand the holy Things, by my religious Instructions, to renounce the adverse Powers, and keep clear from them, and to profess and fulfil the Divine Proposals.

It is therefore, as far as I can see, no Absurdity that the Child should be enter'd into the Divine Life; whenas he has a Guide and Sponsor that will instruct him in the Knowledge of Divine Things, and keep him safe from the adverse Powers. And the Bishop does make the Child Partaker of the holy Mysteries, that he may be educated according to them, and may lead no other Life but such as has always a Regard to those Divine Things, and an Agreement with them, and is in a holy manner habituated to 'em. And to this he is led by his Divine Sponsor.

His mentioning Ancient Tradition in this Matter, would make one think what I hinted before, that the Author had no Purpose of putting on the Vizor of Dionysius the Areopagite: for to make him talk of

Ancient



Ancient Tradition in any thing of Christianity which was all new in his Time, was to betray his own Cheat. Beside, it is not in this Book of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, that there are any Tokens of its being written by *Dionysius*, but only in some of the other Books of the same Author.

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The Interpretation he gives of the Professions made by the Godfathers is very singular: he will not have it that the Godfather does renounce, profess, &c. in the Child's Name or Stead. But both the Ancients generally, and the Moderns, do so understand it as that he does. But perhaps both of these may be reconcil'd. The Godfather does not profess in the Child's Stead, so as that the Godfather's Performance of those Professions should be in stead of the Child's Performance of 'em: and in this Sense this Author denies it. But the Godfather does profess in the Child's Stead, so as to declare the Obligation of the Child to perform, and does in his Name own that Obligation, and make the Promise: And in this Sense the other Ancients affirm it. To the Intent it may more fully be declar'd that the Benefits of Baptism are convey'd to the Child not absolutely, but on Condition that if he live, he do perform his Part of the Covenant; the Godfather expresses those Things that are the Child's Part. As if a great Benefactor will settle a large Estate of Inheritance on a Child, upon Condition that he pay a small Quit-rent in Acknowledgment; this is so beneficial to the Child, that there ought to be no Doubt of his Acceptance. The Contract is therefore made in the Child's Name; and because he is not of Age, his Guardian Seals in his stead. This the Church of *England* does more plainly express; who puts the Words thus, *Dost thou in the Name of this Child renounce, &c?* And so did the Ancients, who put 'em thus, *Does this Child renounce, &c?*

As for the Age in which these Books were written, it is best gather'd from *Photius*: who gives the Abstract of a Book written by *Theodorus Presbyter*, wherein he pretended to maintain that these Books are the genuine Work of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, against some that then oppos'd the Authenticalness of 'em. The Man must have had a hard Task. But yet it is a Proof that they were known then; and for some Time before. This *Theodorus* liv'd, as *Dr. Hammond* says, (2) *Anno 422*, but others place him much later, in the 7th Century.

§. 3. There does not lie any such Prejudice for any Design of Forgery against the Author of the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos*, which commonly go among the Works of *Justin Martyr*: only that Piece going about, as it seems, without the Name of the Author, some Body in the early Times ascribed it to him. It cannot be his, because it makes

(2) Six Queries. Infant Baptism.

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makes mention of *Irenæus*, and of *Origen*, who liv'd something after his Time; unless those Passages that mention *Irenæus* and *Origen* have been since the first Writing of the Book foisted into it. I shall not pretend to guess at the Time of the Writing of it; only it is known to be Ancient. The Passage I would quote is this,

*Questiones ad Orthodoxos. quest. 56.*

Ἐὰν τὰ περὶ ὁπῶντα βέβηκεν ἔπαινον ἢ μέμνην ἐκ ἔχουσιν εἰς ἔργων, πῶς ἡ διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν ὑπο ἄλλων μὲν βαπτισθέντων καὶ μηδὲν περᾶντων, καὶ τῶν μὴ βαπτισθέντων καὶ ὁμοίως μηδὲν περᾶντων;

Απόκρισις.

Αὕτη ὅτιν ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν βαπτισθέντων πρὸς τὰ μὴ βαπτισθέντα, τὸ πλεονεκτήειν μὲν τὰ βαπτισθέντα πῶς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ βαπτισθέντα μὴ πλεονεκτήειν. Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τῇ πίσει τῶν περισφερόντων αὐτὰ πρὸς βαπτίσματι.

Question.

Since Children that die in Infancy have no Praise nor no Blame from any thing that they have done, What Difference will be made at the Resurrection between such of them as have been by the Means of others baptiz'd but have done nothing themselves, and such as have not been baptiz'd and have likewise done nothing?

Answer.

This will be the Difference between those that have been baptiz'd, and those that have not: that the baptized will be made Partakers of the Blessings granted by Baptism; and the unbaptiz'd not. And these Blessings of Baptism are vouchsafed to 'em for the sake of the Faith of those that bring 'em to Baptism.

He speaks of the Case of unbaptized Infants after the rate that most Greek Writers do, viz. That they will lose all Reward, without mentioning any positive Punishment. This was the general Opinion of the Christians of the Greek Church, that Infants dying unbaptized would miss of Heaven, but not be under any positive Punishment: as appears by the Words of *Greg. Nazianzen* cited before (3), and as I shall more fully shew at another Place (4).

There is a spurious Book ascribed to *Athanasius*, call'd *Questiones ad Antiochum*, which gives their Opinion in this Matter very particularly. Some Quotations out of that Book ought to have had a place here,



# Chap. XXIII. *The Case of Infants dying unbaptiz'd.*

here, but that it seems to have been written after our Period, and by ignorant Men crowded in among the Works of *Athanasius*. But the following Passage I recite because of its Affinity to the foregoing.

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Year after the Apostles 300.  
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*Quest. ad Antiochum, qu. 114.*

Πῶς ἰπύγκσι τὰ τελευτῶντα νήπια; εἰς κόλασιν, ἢ εἰς βασιλείαν; καὶ πῶς τὰ τῶν ἀπίστων νήπια; καὶ περὶ τὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἀβάπτιστα σπονήσκοντα τίτιονται; καὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ἢ ἀπίστων;

*Αποκρίσις.*

Τὸ κυεῖν λέγει. Ἀφῆς τὰ παῖδια ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς μὲ, τῶν ᾧ ποιεῖτων ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ πάλιν τὸ Ἀποστόλου φάσκον. νῦν δὲ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἁγιά ἐστ. Πρέσβυτον ὑπὸ ὡς ἄσπλα καὶ πιστὰ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέρχονται τὰ τῶν πιστῶν βεβαπτισμένα νήπια. Τὰ δὲ ἀβάπτιστα καὶ τὰ ἐθνικὰ ἢ εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσέρχονται; ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς κόλασιν. Ἀμαρτίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔπραξαν.

*Question.*

*Whither do Infants go when they die, into Punishment, or into the Kingdom? And particularly whither go the Children of Heathens? And where are placed the Children of the Faithful that die unbaptized? Are they placed with the Believers, or with the Unbelievers?*

*Answer.*

*Inasmuch as our Lord says, Suffer little Children to come to me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. And again the Apostle says, Now are your Children Holy, [Or Saints,] it is plain that the Children of Believers do, if they be baptized, go as spotless and faithful into the Kingdom. But those of 'em that are not baptiz'd, do not enter the Kingdom, as also neither do the Children of Unbelievers. But yet neither on the other side do they go into Torment; for they have committed no Sin.*

They that would read any more of those spurious Passages that are later than the Year 400, but ascribed to Authors before that Time, and yet are not very scandalous, as being really within a Century of it, or thereabouts, in which there happens to be Mention of Infant Baptism, may have some of 'em in the said Book.

*Athanasii Questiones ad Antiochum. quest. 2. it. qu. 66. And also,*

*Athanasii Dicta & interpretatio Parabolarum Script. qu. 94. And more in Books ascribed to St. Chrysostom, as Chrysostom in Psal. 14. One brings an Infant to be baptiz'd; presently the Priest requires a Covenant, &c. Idem, Homiliâ de Adam & Evâ. Let us consider the Meaning of what the Church all over the World practises in the baptizing of Infants or Adult Persons, &c.*

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There is also commonly produc'd a Passage very Ancient indeed; if one might rely upon it: an Order of *Hyginus*, Bishop of Rome; That in all Baptisms there must be one [Patrinus] Godfather, and one Godmother. But as this is of no Credit for Authenticalness, having no Voucher elder than *Platina* (5); so also it does not necessarily relate to Infants: for they had Witnesses that are sometimes called *Patrini*, in the Case of Adult Persons.

This sort of Testimonies is better omitted. For in any Cause whatever, Evidences of no good Credit do more Hurt than Good.

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(5) In vita Hygini.

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*The End of the First Part.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Infant Baptism.

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PART II.

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CONTAINING  
Several Things that do help to Illustrate the said HISTORY.

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By *W. WALL*, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent.

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The Second Edition with Additions.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *Joseph Downing*, for *Richard Burrough*, at the *Sun* and *Moon* in Cornhill, near the *Royal-Exchange*, 1707.





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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
INFANT BAPTISM.

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PART II.

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CHAP. I.

*Of some other Passages which are cited, and pretended to be to this purpose, but are not.*

§. I. **T**HE Passages produc'd in the first Part are all that I Yearn have met with in Authors that wrote in the four first ter the A-Centuries; saving that in St. Austin's Works there postles are, as I said, a great many more; but all to the same Purpose.

In some Collections of this Nature I have seen several other Quotations pretended to be out of Authors within the said Term. But they are either,

1. Out of such Books as are now discover'd to be Forgeries of late Years. Or,
2. They are nothing to the Purpose. Or,
3. Wrested and alter'd by those that cite 'em to another Sense than what they carry in the Authors themselves. Or,
4. Such wherein the Author does not say that for which he is cited: but he says something from whence the other does draw it as a Consequence;

Year after the Apostles sequence; and then sets down that Consequence, as if it were the Author's own Words. Or,

§. Quotations absolutely false.

First, Out of such Books as are now discover'd to be no true Works of the Authors, whose Name they bear, but Forgeries of later Years.

So there are Quotations for Infant Baptism, taken out of the *Decretal* Epistles, which have been set out under the Name of the most ancient Bishops of *Rome*, but were, as I shewed before, (1) really forg'd long after that time. As for the spurious Quotations that are of any tolerable Credit for Antiquity, I gave before some account of 'em (2).

§. 2. Secondly, Many that are produc'd are nothing to the Purpose.

As when the Antipædobaptists do fill their Collections of this Nature with Passages out of the Ancient Fathers that relate to the Baptizing of adult Persons. There is no Pædobaptist, but does grant that there are innumerable such Places; For in the First 300 or 400 Years of Christianity (in which Space of time it was that the greatest Part of the Heathen World, being converted, came into the Church) the Baptisms of grown Persons Converted were more in Number than the Baptisms of the Children of Christians: As it must needs be; since the Apostles, at their Death, left the World in such a State, as that there was probably a hundred Heathens left for one Christian; even in the *Roman* Empire, where they spent most of their Pains: But at the End of 300 or 400 Years there were probably ten Christians for one Heathen. Now in that Space of time there are recorded a great many Sermons and other Discourses, perswading People to come in and be baptiz'd: and in those Discourses they instruct 'em in what is necessary thereto, as that they must first understand and believe the Principles of Christian Religion, and resolve to forsake their wicked Courses and idolatrous Worships. And commonly when they are upon this Theme, they speak of Baptism just as the Church of *England* does in the Catechism; that there is requir'd of Persons to be baptiz'd, Repentance and Faith. There are also extant many Sermons made to the Persons newly baptiz'd, putting 'em in Mind of their Vow and Covenant. And 'tis common for the Antipædobaptists to cite some Passages out of such Discourses, which, taken by themselves, look as if those Authors were against Infant Baptism, and allow'd it only to grown Persons; but the contrary appears in that the same Authors, in other Places, when they speak of the Case of Infants, do shew their Opinion and Practice to have been otherwise; and that they look'd upon that as a particular and excepted Case. For this Sort of Quotations is often made out of *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and even *St. Austin* himself.

In short, they have in this Matter dealt with those ancient Authors just as they did lately with Mr. *Baxter*; who being busie in Writing something in Defence of Infant Baptism, heard the Hawkers cry under

his



his Window (3), Baxter's *Arguments for Believers Baptism*: being a Pamphlet of Collections taken out of some of Mr. Baxter's Works, wherein he, speaking of the Terms of the Baptismal Covenant, had shewn the Necessity of a justifying Faith in order to Baptism; tho' in the same Books he had declar'd he spoke in Reference to adult Persons only. On which Occasion Mr. Baxter says, *The Men that cite Authors at this Rate, cite me against my self with the like Confidence.*

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ter the A-  
postles

Indeed Mr. Tombs wrote a Piece against Mr. Baxter, call'd, *Felo de se*, or, *The Self Destroyer*: in which he endeavor'd to shew, that tho' Mr. Baxter intended these Proofs of the Necessity of Faith, only in the Case of the Baptism of adult Persons; yet his *Arguments prove more: and that the middle Terms of his Arguments do beat down his own Tenet of Infant Baptism.* If the Antipædobaptists had dealt only thus in their Quotations out of the Ancients; and had declar'd their Purpose to be, to improve these Sayings of the Fathers to confute the Opinion and Practice of the said Fathers themselves; none could deny 'em the Liberty of making their best of such a Course. And they may, if they think fit, Indite the Fathers of being *Felones de se*. But 'tis common with them to cite such Passages, as Evidences that the Authors were against Infant Baptism; or, that there was no Baptism of Infants practis'd in those Ages, or those Churches, because they find such Passages concerning the baptizing of Grown Persons, and concerning the Qualifications requir'd in them.

Such Places as these I have left out, inasmuch as they only prove that there were frequent Baptisms of adult Persons in those times; which no Body denies.

Yet I shall here set down for Instance two of 'em, which do in Appearance, the most of any that I have met with, make for the Purpose of the Antipædobaptists.

*Basil. contra Eunomium, l. 3.*

Πιστεύου ὅς δὲ περὶ πρῶτον εἶτα τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐποσφραγίζουδαί.

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*For one must believe first: and then be sealed with Baptism.*

*Hieronym. in Matt. 28.*

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*Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intingunt aqua: Non enim potest fieri ut corpus recipiat baptismi Sacramentum, nisi ante anima susceperit fidei veritatem.*

' They first teach all the Nations, then when they are taught they baptize 'em with Water; for it can't be that the Body should receive

Year after Year receive the Sacrament of Baptism, unless the Soul have before received after the A. C. the true Faith.

postles

St. *Hierom* here commenting on the Commission given by our Saviour to the Apostles (4) of carrying the Gospel to the Nations that were Heathens, explains the Method they were to use; viz. First, to teach those Nations the Christian Religion, and then to baptize 'em; which all Pædobaptists grant to be the Method that ought ever to be us'd. For if there be any Nation of *Indians* to be converted now-a-days, they use the same: and yet when they have Converted and Baptiz'd the Parents, they do also at the Parents Desire, baptize what Children they have. And it is of such Heathen People or Nations that St. *Hierom* here speaks, that their Minds must be instructed before their Bodies be baptiz'd.

St. *Basil* is there proving against the Heretic *Eunomius*, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit by this Argument, that we are baptiz'd in the Name of them as well as of the Father; and consequently are to believe in them: For that Baptism supposes Faith in that Deity in whose Name the Baptism is. And applying this to the Case of one that learns the Faith of the Christians, shews that he must be taught to believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (viz. that each of these Persons is God) or else ought not to be baptiz'd with those Words; and that consequently the *Eunomians* did in Effect renounce their Baptism by renouncing this Faith. As there was no Dispute between the *Catholics* and *Eunomians*, about Infant Baptism; so St. *Basil* will appear to any one that reads him, not to have had any Thought *Pro* or *Contra*, at that Place, about it.

But it happens very unluckily for the Purpose of those that produce these Sayings, that both of these Fathers are known by other Passages to have owned Infant Baptism; as I have shewn plainly in the first Part of this Work (5).

§. 3. Thirdly, Some Quotations that are brought, are wrested and alter'd by those that bring 'em to another Sense than that which they carry in the Authors themselves.

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As for Example; *Danvers* (6) cites out of *Eusebius* (7), that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writing to *Sextus*, Bishop of Rome, testifies, That it was their Custom to baptize upon Profession of Faith; and that one who had been baptiz'd by Heretics, not upon Profession of Faith, did desire to be so baptiz'd, accounting his former for no Baptism.

This, as it is here by Mr. *Danvers* brought in and worded, would seem to be an Instance of a Man that having been baptiz'd in Infancy, desir'd now to be baptiz'd again. But that which *Dionysius* does there write, is in these Words, and no other (8).

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(4) Matt. 28. 19. (5) CH. XII, XV, XIX. (6) Treatise of Baptism, pag. 50. Second Edition. (7) H. E. l. 7. c. 8. (8) Apud Eusebium loc. citat.



The Man being present when some were baptiz'd, and hearing the Interrogatories and Answers, came to me weeping; and falling down at my Feet, confess'd and declar'd, that the Baptism wherewith he had been baptiz'd by the Heretics, was not this [or, this sort of] Baptism, nor had any Likeness to this of ours, but was full of Impieties and Blasphemies. He said, he was sore troubled in Conscience, and durst not presume to lift up his Eyes to God; for that he was baptiz'd with those profane Words and Ceremonies.

Year after the Apostles

Now this is clearly the Case of a Man that had been baptiz'd by the *Valentinians* (or some such Heretics) who, as *Irenæus* tells us (9), did not baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but with strange and profane Forms of Words which he there recites, and some of which I do hereafter (10) recite. All which is nothing relating to the Case of Infant Baptism: And he that compares the Words, will observe how foully they are quoted.

§. 4. Fourthly, Some Quotations are yet more unfair: as, when the Author cited does not say that for which he is cited; but he says something from whence the other does draw it as a Consequence, and then sets down that Consequence as if it were the Author's own Words.

Thus *Danvers*, in the foresaid Treatise (11) says, that *St. Hierom*, in his Epistle against the Errors of *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, says, *That in the Eastern Churches the adult were only baptiz'd*; and again, in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, says, *That they are to be admitted to Baptism to whom it does properly belong, viz. Those only who have been instructed in the Faith.*

278.

Now if one read over that Epistle of *St. Hierom's* to *Pammachius* against the Errors of *John Bp. of Jerusalem*, and all the other Epistles of his to *Pammachius*, (for such Work one has with Quotations set down after such a blundering Manner) there is no such thing.

But this there is (12): the said Bishop having said, that in a certain Sermon of his he had fully discours'd of the Faith and all the Doctrins of the Church: *St. Hierom* takes Occasion to reprove this as a confident Saying, that he should pretend to do all that in one Sermon: and then adds, *We have a Custom to discourse for forty Days together, to those that are to be baptiz'd, concerning the Holy Trinity, &c. If you on that Text could in one Hour discourse of all the doctrinal Points; what need is there to continue such Discourses for forty Days? But if you did re-capitulate all that you us'd to preach in the whole Lent, &c.*

There is also another Passage toward the End of the Epistle, where he thus expostulates with the said Bishop; *Do we divide the Church, who but a few Months ago, about Whitsontide (when the Sun being Eclips'd, People thought the Day of Judgment was coming) did present forty Persons of both Sexes, and several Ages, to your Presbyters to be baptiz'd? And yet we had five Presbyters then in the Monastery, who might have done it by their own right;*

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but

(9) Lib. i. c. 18. (10) CH. V. §. 1. (11) Treat. of Bapt. pag. 56. (12) Epist. 61. ad Pammachium de erroribus, &c. Prope medium.

Year after the Apostles *but they would do nothing to anger you. Or do you rather divide the Church; who order'd your Presbyters at Bethlehem, that they should not give Baptism to our Candidates at Easter, whom we therefore sent to Diospolis to Bishop Dionysius to be baptiz'd.*

Here is indeed a plain Account of adult Persons baptiz'd in those times; and that they us'd to be Catechized all the *Lent* before their Baptism. But he that shall conclude from hence, that they *only* were baptiz'd, and then shall quote the Place, and set it down as *St. Hierom's Words*, [*That in the Eastern Churches they only were admitted to Baptism*] is by no Means to be trusted with the quoting of Authors.

§. 5. Fifthly, Some of the Quotations brought in this Case, are absolutely false: And neither the Words cited, nor any like 'em, are at all to be found in the Books mention'd.

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So *Danvers* in his said Treatise (13) cites *St Hilary* for three several Sayings. The first whereof is found in the Book mention'd: The second is not; but there is a Sentence to the same Purpose in another Book. These two are not so material as to need reciting here. The third (which is very material, if it were true) is, that *St. Hilary* should say, *That all the Eastern Churches did only baptize the Adult*. The Book he seems to refer to, is *St. Hilary's second Book de Trinitate*; for that only is mention'd. But neither there (nor, as I am very confident, any where else) does *St. Hilary* say any such thing.

Both these last Quotations out of *St. Hierom* and *Hilary* are amended in a Postscript by (14) *Danvers*: and for *Eastern* he says we must read *Western*. But this mends not the Matter, but makes it worse: for there is no such thing said of either of 'em. Indeed if either *Hierom* or *Hilary*, or any other Author of those times had said that it was the Custom either of the *Eastern Church*, or *Western Church*, or any Church at all, to baptize only the Adult; and the Places where they said so could be produc'd; it would be a Quotation more for the Purpose of the Antipædobaptists than any they have yet brought.

And for *Mr. Danvers* (after that *Mr. Baxter* and *Mr. Wills* had so publicly Challeng'd him for a Forger of Quotations; and *Wills* had put in an Appeal to his own Party against him) to amend in a P. S. to the Answer to the said Appeal these Quotations by putting *WESTERN* for *EASTERN*, as if the Authors had really said so of one of 'em: This, if joined with a great many other Instances in the said Book, was the boldest Attempt upon the Belief of a Reader that ever I knew made.

It would have been a very tedious thing both to me and the Reader, to recite all such Quotations, and then to shew the Falseness or Mistake of 'em. But instead of doing that, I do declare that all that

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(13) Part 1. Cent. 4. (14) Postscript to the Baptist's Answer to *Wills's Appeal* against *Danvers*.



that I have seen that seemed to be to the Purpose, I have searched; Year after Year and the Search after such as have proved False, Spurious, &c. has cost me as much Pains as the Collecting of these true ones. And of those that I have so seen or search'd, I have left out none in this Collection, that make *for*, or *against* the Baptism of Infants, but such as are (and, I think, plainly) of some of the five sorts before mentioned. And if any one that meets with any other which I have not met with, will be so kind as to inform me of it, by Word or Letter, I will (if I live to see any more Editions of this mean Work) add it to the rest; and that indifferently, as I said, whether it make for or against Pædobaptism: provided it be genuine, and to the Purpose, and out of Authors within the time limited.

## C H A P. II.

*The Opinions of modern Learned Men concerning the ancient Practice or Omission of Pædobaptism.*

§. 1. **A**S for what later Authors have said concerning the Practice of these Primitive times; it would be a Voluminous Work to Collect all their Opinions or Verdicts. Neither would it answer so much Pains, to have the Account of the modern Writers, as to what they judge may be Collected from the ancient Writings, when we our selves have the Writings themselves to recur to. Yet it may be worth the while to spend a few Words on that Matter in general.

1. And first, it is notorious, that almost all the Learned Men in the World that have Occasion to mention this Matter, do conclude from what they read, that it has been the general Practice of the Christian Church from the Beginning, to baptize Infants. To name any particulars were endless and frivolous.

2. Some few (as it happens in all Matters) are of a different Opinion concerning the ancient Practice. And they are of two sorts.

Some have thought that there was a time in the Christian Church when no Infants were baptiz'd; but that Pædobaptism was brought in after a certain Term of Years.

Others, that Baptism of Infants was practis'd from the Beginning, but not universally; but that some Christians would baptize their Infant Children, and others would not. And that it was counted indifferent.

Of the first sort, *viz.* of those that have thought that there was a time when no Baptism of Infants was us'd, I know of none (beside

Year af- Mr. Tombs himself) but *Walafridus Strabo* and *Ludovicus Vives* : Unless  
ter the A- we are to add to them *Curcellanus* and *Rigaltius*.  
post'es  
750.

§. 2. *Strabo* has some Favor shew'd him, when he is reckoned among Learned Men. He lived in a very ignorant Age; and for those times might pass for a Learned Man. He had read *St. Austin's* Book of *Confessions*, and finding it mentioned there that *St. Austin* was baptized when he was of Man's Age, he seems to have concluded from thence, that it was in old time the general Use for Christians to defer their Childrens Baptism till they were grown up: though he might with a little more Advertency have found by the same Book, that *St. Austin's* Father was a Heathen when *St. Austin* was born, and for many Years after; and did not turn Christian, nor was baptiz'd himself, till a little before he died.

Of that Instance of *St. Austin*, and some others, I shall speak in the next Chapter. *Strabo's* Words are these, *Libro de exordiis & incrementis rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, cap. 26.

288. It is to be noted that in the Primitive Times the Grace of Baptism was wont to be given to those only who were arrived to that Maturity of Body and Mind, that they could know and understand what were the Benefits of Baptism, what was to be confessed and believed, and, in a Word, what was to be observed of those that are regenerated in Christ. For the Reverend Father *Austin* relates of himself in his Book of *Confessions*, that he continued a Catechumen till he was almost 25 Years old: which he did with that Intention, that during that Space being instructed in all particulars he might be led by his own Free-Will to choose what he thought fit; and that the heat of his Youth being now abated, he might better observe that which he had purposed.

But when the Diligence about our Divine Religion increased; the Christians understanding that the original Sin of Adam did involve in Guilt, not only those who had added to it by their own wicked Works, but those also who having done no Wickedness themselves, yet because (as the Psalmist says) They were conceived and born in Iniquity, cannot be free from Sin, since they spring from a polluted Root; so that the Apostle had Reason to say concerning all Persons, All have sinned, and have need of the Glory of God, being justified freely by his Grace; and to say of Adam, In whom all have sinned. The Orthodox Christians, I say, understanding this, lest Children should perish if they died without the Remedy of the Grace of Regeneration, appointed them to be baptized for the Forgiveness of Sins.

Not as some Heretics, Enemies of God's free Grace, maintain'd, that there was no Necessity for Infants Baptism, because they had never sinned. If that Doctrin were true, either they would not be baptized at all; or, if they were baptiz'd without having any need of it, the Sacrament of Baptism would be imperfect in them, and not the true Baptism which we in the Creed confess to be given for the Forgiveness of Sins.

Therefore since all Persons do perish by original Sin, whom the Grace of God does not free (even such as have added no Increase of their own Wickedness) Infants are of Necessity to be baptized. Which both *St. Austin* shews in his



*Book de Baptismo parvulorum, and the African Councils testifie, and is manifested by a great many other Proofs from the other Fathers.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles.  
315.

This Man, with his little reading, seems to have suppos'd that both the Doctrin of Pædobaptism, and also that of original Sin, had their Beginning but about St. *Austin's* Time. His Mistake in the first may appear by the Quotations here produced; and in the other by those mention'd by *Vossius* in his *Pelagian History*. He also invents a Reason for St. *Austin's* Delay of his Baptism after he was grown up, which is utterly contrary to St. *Austin's* own Account; who relates at large in that his Book of *Confessions*, that it was because he was in Suspence whether he should be a Christian, or a *Manichee*. He miserably mistakes the Doctrin of the *Pelagians*, as if they had denied Infants Baptism to be necessary. He himself owns it to be necessary; and yet says that the Ancients us'd it not.

But indeed there appears thro' all his Book an Affectation to shew how all the Doctrins and Mysteries of the Christian Religion have come to more and more Perfection by Procefs of Time; as he makes the Title of his Book to be, *Of the Beginning and Advancement of Ecclesiastical Matters*. And he was willing to say some such thing of Baptism, that this Chapter might be like the rest.

§. 3. What *Ludovicus Vives* says of this Matter, is in his Commentaries upon St. *Austin's* Book *de civitate Dei*, l. 1. c. 27. 1422.

*In former times no Person was admitted to the Holy Font, till he were of Age, and did understand what that mystical Water meant, and did himself desire to be washed with it, and did express this Desire more than once. A Resemblance of which Custom we see still in our Baptisms of Infants. For an Infant born that Day, or the Day before, is ask'd the Question, whether he will be baptiz'd? And that Question they ask three times over. In whose Name the Godfathers answer, that he does desire it. I hear that in some Cities of Italy the old Custom is still in great Measure preserv'd.*

Since this *Vives* liv'd so little while ago, and produces no Proof out of any Author to confirm his Opinion; his affirming any thing concerning any old Custom is of no more Authority, than if any one now living should say the same without producing his Proof. Especially since he was but a young Man when he wrote these Commentaries, and, tho' Learned in Philology and secular History, yet confesses himself in his Preface to them, that as for Divinity, which was none of his Profession, he minded it only so far as his other Studies would give him Leave.

It is certain that the Occasion given him, from St. *Austin's* Words, on which he there comments, to say any such thing is very slender. For St. *Austin* is only speaking of some baptiz'd at the Age of Understanding, without the least Intimation that they were Children of Christian Parents.

And for the Cities of *Italy* that he mentions, I think no Body ever heard of 'em before, nor since: Unless we will suppose that some

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ter the A-  
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1050. Remainers of the *Petrobrusians*, who are said about 400 Years before *Vives's* time, to have been Antipædobaptists, and of whom I shall by and by give some Account (1), might continue that Practice in some of the Valleys of *Piedmont*. But if it were so, these Men were too late, for any Opinion concerning the ancient Practice to be founded on what they did.

1550. §. 4. *Curcellæus* says the same thing as *Vives* does. And there is to be said of him not only what was said of *Vives*, that affirming a thing of Antiquity, he produces no Quotation for Proof, but also that he brings it in to maintain another Tenet as paradoxical as this it self is. He has a *Dissertation concerning original Sin*. He denies that there is any such thing: as most that are inclin'd to *Socinianism* do. He brings as an Objection against his own Doctrin, the Custom of baptizing Infants for Forgiveness of Sin. He answers (2), That *the Custom of baptizing Infants did not begin before the third Century after Christ's Birth; that in the two first there appears no Footsteps of it*.

Whether that be true or no, will be partly judg'd by what I have here produc'd. It is best for any one that can't prove what he says, to affirm it Dictator like.

1578. §. 5. It is doubtful in which of the two forementioned sorts, of those that have thought the Practice of Infant Baptism to have been, either not from the Beginning, or not universal, one is to place *Rigaltius*: He, in his Annotations on those Places of *St. Cyprian*, which I recited in the former Part of this Work (3), seems willing to have it believ'd that in the Apostles time there was no Pædobaptism; but not willing to speak this plainly.

His Discourse of this Matter from Texts of Scripture is too large to repeat here: he uses no Arguments but those that are common, and have their Answers as common.

100. But what he speaks plainly of the Matter of Fact, as he takes it to have been, is this (4), *From the Age of the Apostles to the time of Tertullian, the Matter continued in ambiguo, doubtful. [or, various]. And there were some, who on Occasion of our Lord's saying, Suffer little Children to come to me, (tho' he gave no Order to baptize 'em) did baptize even new born Infants; and, as if they were transacting some Secular Bargain with God Almighty, brought Sponsors and Bonds-men to be bound for 'em, that when they were grown up they should not depart from the Christian Faith. Which Custom Tertullian did not like. For, What need is there, says he, that the Godfathers should be brought into Danger, &c. [and so he recites at large the Place of Tertullian, which I produc'd above (5), and then proceeds], Most Men thinking this Opinion of Tertullian unsafe,*  
150. *were of St. Cyprian's Mind, that even new born Children ought to be made*  
Par-

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(1) CH. VII. §. 5. (2) §. 56. (3) Pt. I. CH. VI. §. 1, & II. (4) Annot. in Cypriani Epistolam ad Fidum. (5) Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 5.



*Partakers of the Laver of Salvation: which was also pitch'd upon in the Decree of this Synod; and so the Doubt was taken away.*

Year after the Apostles' 150.

And in his Annotations on the other Place of St. Cyprian (6) he passes this Censure upon the Practice of those times. *They gave the Sign of Faith to a Person before he was capable of Faith it self: they made the Sign without the thing to stand instead of the thing it self.*

The zealous Bishop of Oxford, who since wrote Annotations on the same Father's Works, and who generally treats *Rigaltius* with that Respect which his great Learning deserves, yet on this Account spares not to say, *That he has in this Matter acted the Part, not of an Annotator on St. Cyprian, but a Prævaricator with him: And that what he says here, is no other sort of Stuff than what some Phanatic of the Anabaptist Crew would have said.*

Indeed it is a Wonder that since he knew that which he would insinuate (that there was no Baptism of Infants in the Apostles time) to be contrary to the Sentiments of all the Learned Men in the World; he should so take it for granted on the ordinary Pretences, without taking Notice of what they say in Answer. And that he should conclude that in the next Century of Years, which passed from the Apostles to *Tertullian's* time, it was held and practis'd variously, or indifferently; only because *Tertullian* spake against what was then done about it: when almost all Learned Men do take that Opposition of his for no Evidence that the Delay of Infants Baptism, or Virgins Baptism, or Widows Baptism, was then practis'd by any Body (neither does *Tertullian* pretend it was) but only for an Evidence that *Tertullian* was a Man of a singular Opinion in this, as well as in forty other things that were then practis'd or taught. Neither can *Tertullian* himself be well understood to have advis'd that Delay, but only when there is no Danger of Death (7), which in the Case of Infants is very seldom.

This Annotator is also partial in the Account he gives of the Writers of this Century: in that he mentions *Tertullian*, who wrote at the latter End of it, and gives his Opinion against the ordinary Practice of Pædobaptism; without taking any Notice of *Irenæus* who wrote in the middle of it, and speaks of Infants, as being ordinarily baptiz'd, or regenerated. Or, of *Origen*, who was Contemporary with *Tertullian*, and wrote but a little after him; and who having travell'd in all the noted Churches then in the World, speaks of their Baptism both as being generally practis'd, and also appointed by the Apostles.

'Tis plain that the Place on which he there comments, does shew that the Baptism of Infants was then look'd on as undoubted, and not (as he would represent) that *the doubt about it was then taken away, or solv'd.* For *Fidus*, who doubted whether they might be baptiz'd before the 8th Day, and St Cyprian and his Fellow Bishops who resolved.

Year as- solved that Doubt, had both of 'em taken it for undoubted, that  
 ter the A- they are to be baptiz'd in Infancy (8).  
 postles

This Partiality shewn by him for the Antipædobaptists side, makes one have the less Opinion of his Fidelity in that Alteration which he has made in their Favor, in the Text of *Tertullian's* Book of Baptism, in his Edition thereof; which does much alter the Sense, and of which I gave an Account when I recited the Place (9). I, tho' I knew it was otherwise in *Pamelius's* Edition, and that *Pamelius* testifies his Edition to agree with *Gaigneus's* (who first publish'd this Book of *Tertullian*) in that Place; yet was of Opinion that so Learned a Man would not have alter'd the Words without some good Authority from the Manuscripts; and I set 'em down accordingly. But since he quotes no Manuscripts to confirm that Alteration; and besides, shews himself otherwise to have such a Byass: I do now think it were proper for Learned Men to examin better how much Credit is to be given to that Amendment, which makes *Tertullian* advise the Delay of Baptism *absolutely*, which in the first, and some following Editions was express'd, *except in Case of Necessity*. P. S. And I find already that Mr. *Stennet*, a learned Antipædobaptist, is convinc'd that no Credit is to be given to it. For he quotes the Place as it stood in the former Editions, *Quid enim necesse, si non tam necesse, Sponsors, &c.* For what need is there, except in Case of Necessity, that Godfathers, &c. in his Answer to Mr. *Russen*, Ch. 4. pag. 76.

§. 6. There were no need of mentioning Bishop *Taylor* among these, were it not for some importunate Antipædobaptists, who cite him in this Controversie against his Will. He, in the times of the Rebellion in *England* (when the *Parliamentarians*, tho' divided among themselves into several Sects, did all join in oppressing those of the Church of *England*) wrote a Treatise call'd, *The Liberty of Prophecyng*: in which he pleaded that they, how earnest soever they were in maintaining the Truth of their Opinions, yet ought to grant a Toleration to those that differ'd from 'em; because many other Opinions had at least a Probability, such as might well sway the Conscience of a great many honest Inquirers after Truth.

And among the rest he undertook (10) to shew how much might be said for two sorts of Dissenters, the Antipædobaptists, and the Papists: saying thus; *These two are the most troublesome, and the most disliked: and by an Account of these we may make a Judgment what may be done towards others, whose Errors are not apprehended of so deep Maliginity.*

And in his Plea for the Antipædobaptists, though he there declares himself well satisfied with the Principles of Pædobaptism, of which he gives a Summary Account, and says, that he *takes the other Opinion to be an Error*; yet under Pretence of reciting what may be said for

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(8) See the Place Pr. I. CH. VI. §. 1, &c. (9) Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 8. (10) Sect. 17. 18.



for that Error, he draws up so Elaborate a System of Arguments against Infant Baptism, and sets them forth to the utmost, by such Advantage of Style, that he is judged to have said more for the Antipædobaptists than they were ever before able to say for themselves. And Dr. Hammond (11) says, *It is the most diligent Collection, and the most exact Scheme of the Arguments against Infant Baptism, that he had ever met with.* And (12) that he has therein in such Manner represented the Arguments for and against it, that the latter have seem'd to many to be successful and victorious.

Year after the Apostles

'Tis generally suppos'd that he did this with a Politic Intention (commonly practis'd by those of the Church of Rome) to divide the Adversaries of the Church of England among themselves; and to that End put Arguments into the Mouths of one Sect, in order to puzzle the others. A sort of Prevaricating in the things of God, which few Protestants or sincere Christians will account justifiable on any Account whatever. Therefore Dr. Hammond, who was too great a Lover of Sincerity to approve of such a Method, quickly wrote an Answer to this Piece, solving each Objection particularly (13).

And afterward, Bishop Taylor himself, having premis'd that he was sorry if any one had been so weak as to be misled by such mean Objections, and that he counted it great Charity and Condescension in Dr. Hammond to bestow an Answer on 'em, wrote also his own Answers to his own Objections, and inserted them in a later Edition of the said Treatise; and in another Treatise, call'd, *The Consideration of the Church in baptizing the Children of Believers.* He does also in his *Great Exemplar*, and in his *Ductor Dubitantium* (14) expressly declare his Opinion, and affirm that *it is necessary that Infants be baptiz'd*; and reckons *Infant Baptism, and the keeping the Lord's Day, among those things that are confirmed by this Rule.*

Whatsoever the Catholic Church has kept in all Ages by-gone, may rightly be believ'd to have descended from the Apostles.

Which, he says, is a good Rule for Rituals [among which he reckons Baptism] tho' not for Matter of Doctrin. The Reason of which Distinction he had given before (15). *Because there is no Doctrin so delivered but what is in Scripture: indeed some Practices and Rituals are. Because the public Exercises and Usages of the Church being united and notorious, public and acted, might make the Rule Evident as the Light.*

Notwithstanding all which, it is a common thing with the Antipædobaptists to cite the Passages in that Treatise of the *Liberty of Prophecy* that make for them, as if they had been spoken by the Author from his own Judgment, and had never been answered by him.

There is not much said either in the Objections or Answers about this

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(11) Six Queries. Infant Baptism, §. 49. (12) Ibid. §. 139. (13) Six Queries. (14) L. 2. c. 3. R. 14. n. 41. it. R. 18. n. 1. (15) Rule 14. n. 38.

Year of this Point of Antiquity; they being chiefly taken from Scripture.  
 ter the A- What he has is mostly from *Grotius*.

100. 100.

He objects (16), that *all Arguments from Tradition are much decry'd by Protestants in other Cases, and therefore ought not to be made Use of in this.*

To which Dr. *Hammond* and he answer, that *Protestants did never renounce the Arguments from Tradition in general: but on the contrary, whatever appears to be the Tradition of the Apostles, or to be the Practice of the Christians in those first Times, they willingly own. And that what they decry, is either the Traditions of later times, or else the false Pretences to the elder ones.*

290. 290.

He had objected likewise, that there is but a weak Proof of any such Tradition, and that *whereas Origen says, that the Apostles gave Order to the Churches that they should baptize their Infants, and St. Austin says the same; yet that probably St. Austin took this from Origen's Writings: and so it depends on Origen's single Testimony.*

At which Rate of arguing, if forty had said it, one might pretend that probably thirty nine of 'em had it from the first; and so there were but one single Evidence.

67. 67.

But he, as well as Dr. *Hammond*, answers, that *Irenæus*, and the Author of the *Questions in the Name of Justin Martyr*, and Abundance of others (*tho' they do not speak expressly of the Apostles appointing it, yet*) do confirm it to have been the Practice in those times. To which I have added a Testimony of *St. Ambrose* (17) that speaks expressly of the Apostles times.

274. 274.

The Bishop also knew, or might have known, that *St. Austin* was no Reader of *Origen's Works*.

318. 318.

He objected moreover, that Pædobaptism was first establish'd by Canon of the *Milevitan Council* (as he calls it; meaning that Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, which I recited *Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 37.*) in the Year of Christ 416. So he dates it.

But both he and *Hammond* answer that, to this Effect; That since it was the known Custom of the primitive Church to make Canons only about Points that had been question'd by Heretics; it is a great Proof that this had never been questioned (as *St. Austin* concludes it was from the Beginning, because *not instituted by Councils*) for none can deny that it was a common Practice long before.

And I think I have shew'd it also to be a Mistake to think that it was then decreed that Infants *should be baptiz'd*; whereas the Decree was, that they are in a true Meaning baptiz'd for *Forgiveness of original Sin* (which the *Pelagians* denied; but their Baptism they denied not) and that they may be baptiz'd before the 8th Day, when new born; of which some in *Africa* had doubted (18).

214. 214.

He had also in his Plea for the Antipædobaptists cited the Canon of the *Neocasarean Council*, which I recited *Part I. CH. VIII. §. 1.* and

(16) N. 25. (17) *Pt. I. CH. XIII. §. 1.* (18) See the Canon *Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 37.*



and had drawn from it Reasons against Infant Baptism, such as are there rehears'd. Year after the Apostles

And the Answer which he and Dr. *Hammond* make, is in Substance the same that is there also given.

Yet after all this, this Bishop is to be reckon'd among the second sort, that I mention'd, of those that have denied the Practice of Infant Baptism to have been general or universal in the Primitive times; as appears by his later Works, which I shall have Occasion to cite when I speak of that second sort of Men.

§. 7. It is tedious to spend time in speaking of Dr. *Barlow* the late Bishop of *Lincoln*. What he had said on this Subject (of which the Antipædobaptists do so serve themselves that one shall see his Name brought in twenty times by some one of their Writers) he himself fairly recanted.

He had, in these hopeful times that were in *England* in the Year 1656, wrote a Letter to Mr. *Tombs*, wherein he had said thus; *I do believe Pædobaptism (how, or by whom I know not) came into the World in the second Century; and in the Third and Fourth began to be practis'd (tho' not generally) and defended as lawful from that Text grossly misunderstood, John 3. 5. Upon the like gross Mistake of John 6. 53. they did for many Centuries both in the Greek and Latin Church Communicate Infants, and give 'em the Lord's Supper. And I confess they might do both as well as either.* 1556.

This Letter being handed among the Antipædobaptists came afterward to be printed (18) to the said Dr's great Discredit, who was now *Margaret Professor* in the University of *Oxford*, and accounted a very Learned Man. 1573.

Therefore in the Year 1675, he wrote a Letter to Mr. *Wills* with Consent that it should be publish'd, in which he says thus (19), *I acknowledge that such Words as are cited by Mr. D. (and such others, spoke and wrote then with more Confidence than Judgment or Discretion) are in that Letter; which had been secret still, if some had not betray'd that Trust which was repos'd in 'em. ————— Lastly, It is to be consider'd, that that Letter was wrote about twenty Years ago (when I talk'd more and understood less) and yet whatever Doubts and Objections I had then against Infant Baptism, I never thought them so considerable as to warrant any Division, or Schismatical Disturbance of the Peace of my Mother the Church of England. And therefore I did then, and since, and (when I have a just Call, God willing) ever shall, baptize Infants.* 1575.

§. 8. I am unwilling to name *Bilius* among these: because I believe that was not his steady Opinion, which may seem to be the most obvious Sense of an Expression of his in his Commentary on the 19th Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*; where there is an Account of the Baptism of the said *Gregory's* Father, which was after his Marriage.

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And

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(18) In *Danvers's* Treatise of Baptism, Cent. 4. (19) *Wills's* Infant Baptism farther vindicated, pag. 87.

Year af- And *Bilius* there speaking of the Danger of sinning after Baptism, says,  
 rer the A- *I mention this because in those times Persons came later to Baptism than now*  
 postles *a-days; when by a commendable Custom they are baptiz'd in Infancy, lest*  
*Delay should bring Danger with it.*

What a Word did that Learned Abbot suffer to escape the Hedge of his Lips? Was not that *Gregory* the Father a Heathen till that time, and his Parents before him? I believe if one were to look over *Bilius's* Writings, one should find that this was not his settled Opinion. But I have not time to do that at present.

Since the first Edition of this Book, one *Antony van Dale*, a Dutch *Minnist* or Antipædobaptist, has written a Tract call'd, *The History of Baptisms*. Wherein he has one Chapter against Infant Baptism. And in that [at p. 375.] a Quotation of a Letter of *Salmasius*, written to *Justus Pacius* under the Name of *Simplicius Verinus*. Where *Salmasius* says; 'In the two first Centuries none received Baptism, but such as  
 ' being instructed in the Faith, and made acquainted with the Do-  
 ' ctrin of Christ could declare their Belief of it; because of those  
 ' Words, *He that believeth and is baptized*: so that believing is to be the  
 ' First. Thence was the Order of Catechumens in the Church. There  
 ' was then also a constant Custom, that to those Catechumens, pre-  
 ' sently after their Baptism, the Eucharist should be given. After-  
 ' ward there came in an Opinion, that none could be saved that was  
 ' not baptiz'd. And so there grew a Custom of giving Baptism to In-  
 ' fants. And because the adult Catechumens, as soon as they were ba-  
 ' ptiz'd, had the Eucharist given 'em without any Space of time pas-  
 ' sing between; It was, after that Infant Baptism was brought  
 ' in, order'd that this should be done also with Infants.

Having not any Copy of *Salmasius's* Letters, I can judg nothing of the Authenticalness of this Quotation; nor can give any Guess (if *Salmasius* did write such a Letter) what Age he might be of when he wrote it, or whether he publish'd it himself. I know that many Learned Men have suffer'd much in their Memory by having all their Letters and Posthumous Pieces printed after their Death: Some whereof were such, as being written in their Youth, they themselves would have been ashamed of afterward, and would, upon better Information and reading, have recanted: An Instance whereof I gave just now in one that in his Youth wrote a Letter so like this, that one may seem to be drawn from the other. And I have also known several Persons who have own'd that before their Reading the ancient Books they have been inclin'd to such an Opinion against the Antiquity of Infant Baptism, as is express'd in these two Letters; but afterward found their own Mistake. And this is the more probable in the Case of *Salmasius*, for that he never did in his Conversation or Books (that I ever heard of) shew any Inclination to Antipædobaptism. But if this were his steady Opinion concerning the Beginning of Pædobaptism;  
 then



then we must add him to those 3 or 4 Men that have said this without giving any Proof from Antiquity of their Saying.

I find this very Passage quoted by Mr. Stennet [Answer to *Ruffen* p. 66.] as from *Suicerus's Thesaurus*, *sub voce Συναγῆς*. Who it seems took it from *Salmasius*.

§. 9. There is, as I said, another sort of Learned Men, who, tho' they think with the rest of the World, that Infant Baptism was ever practis'd in the Church of Christ, yet think that it was not general or universal; but that in the elder times some Christian Parents baptiz'd their Children in Infancy, and others not: and that it was counted indifferent.

I take *Grotius* to be the Author of this Opinion. For tho' some before him did observe that many Persons of Note in the Primitive times were baptiz'd at Man's Age, some of whom they took to be born of Christian Parents (which last, whether they did not take to be so without due Examination, shall be discours'd afterward) yet they suppos'd 'em to be not enow to make any considerable Exception to the general Rule and Practice of the Church.

So tho' Dr. *Field* in his Treatise *Of the Church* (19), do say that *besides those who were Converted from Paganism, many that were born of Christian Parents, put off their Baptism a long time*. An Instance of which he makes *St. Ambrose*. Yet these (whom he calls many) he takes to be so few in Comparison, that he still speaks of the other as a *continued Practice* or Tradition. As where he treats purposely of Tradition (20), he says,

*The fourth kind of Tradition, is the continued Practice of such things as neither are contain'd in the Scripture expressly, nor the Example of such Practice expressly there deliver'd; tho' the Grounds, Reasons, and Causes of the Necessity of such Practice be there contain'd; and the Benefit or Good that follows of it. Of this sort is the Baptism of Infants, &c.*

But *Grotius* from this and some other Arguments frames an Hypothesis of the Indifferency (*libertas* he calls it) of the ancient Church in this Matter (21). And tho' *Rivet* do suppose that *Grotius* was a Convert of Cardinal *Perron* in this Point; for the said Cardinal in his Reply to King James had (as *Rivet* (22) observes) *pleaded the Cause of the Anabaptists with all his Might: And I see, says Rivet, that he has brought over Hugo Grotius*. Yet I count it proper to reckon *Grotius* as the Author, because what the Cardinal had said was very probably not from his real Opinion, but from a Design to embroil the Protestants by giving Strength to the Schism of the Antipædobaptists, who then began to grow rise in *Holland* and other Places. A Design which the Papists have since earnestly promoted; industriously putting it into their Books, that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scripture, but only from the Practice of the Church: and as some

Year of 'em will have it, not from any Evidence of the Practice of the ancient Church neither, but only from the Authority of the present Church.

I am not willing to think that *Grotius* had so ill a Design. But he being naturally inclined to trim all Controversies in Religion that came in his Way, and using that vast Stock of Learning which he had (as Princes that would hold the Balance, do their Power) to help the weakest side, he maintains (23) (not that there was ever any Church or any time in which Infant Baptism was not us'd, but) that in the Greek Churches many Persons from the Beginning to this Day do observe the Custom of delaying the Baptism of their Infants till they are able to make Confession of their own Faith.

The Mistake that he is here guilty of in Reference to the modern Practice of the Greek Churches, in which (as all Men are now sure) there neither is, nor lately has been any such thing known as the Delay of Infants Baptism (especially if he mean the Greek Churches properly so call'd; for what Dispute is rais'd concerning the Georgian Christians I do mention hereafter) (24) makes one take less Notice of what he affirms concerning the ancient Practice thereof. As he produces no Proof at all of what he says of the late Times, so what he urges for this Indifferency of the elder Times consists in these Particulars.

214. He cites the Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, mention'd above (25), and expounds it to make against Infant Baptism.

300. But this, if it proves any thing, proves too much: not a Liberty, but an Unlawfulness of Infant Baptism in the Opinion of those 17 Bishops. He himself says, that it is plain that in *St. Austin's* time *Pædobaptism* was received in all Churches; because the *Pelagians* being press'd with that as an Argument never could deny it. And was it not obvious likewise for him to observe, that the *Pelagians* being press'd with this Argument, That no Christian ever was against *Pædobaptism*, could not deny it, but expressly granted it (26)? And could *Pelagius* and *St. Austin* too have forgot that a Council of 17 Bishops had determin'd against it but 80 Years before, if they or any Body else had at that time gather'd any such meaning out of their Words? The *Pædobaptists* say, that this Meaning lay hid for 1300 Years after the Men were dead, till he pick'd it out. But of this, and of the Use that he makes of the Words of *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* thereupon, was discour'd before (27).

318. He observes also that in the Councils one shall find no earlier Mention of *Pædobaptism* than in the Council of *Carthage*. From whence he would infer, that it did not universally obtain, but was more frequent in *Africa* than any where else.

And

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(23) Annot. in Mat. 19. 14. (24) CH. VIII. §. 2. (25) Pt. 1. CH. VIII. §. 1.  
(26) See Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 30. (27) Pt. 1. CH. VIII. §. 6, 7.



And St *Austin*, as was above cited (28), proves that it must have been instituted by the Apostles; because it did and ever had universally obtain'd, and yet was not instituted by any Council. Mentioned it was by a Council under St. *Cyprian* (29), which did not enact it, but take it for granted. Year after the Apostles 150.

I mention'd before (30) his other Argument, which is nothing else but the perverting of the Sense of a few Words of *Greg. Nazianzen* (where he speaking of several sorts of Persons that die without Baptism, names among the rest, *those that are not Baptized sed immatura, by Reason of Infancy*) as if *Nazianzen* had thereby intimated his Opinion to be, that Infancy did incapacitate one for Baptism. Whereas, if the Reader please to turn back to *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.* where I have cited the Place at large, he will see that *Nazianzen* there reckons *those who are not baptiz'd* [or, have mis'd of Baptism] *by Reason of their Infancy*, among those whose own Fault it is not, that they are not baptiz'd; and therefore their Punishment shall be less in the World to come. Whoever has an Opinion of *Grotius's* Sincerity must blush to read that Place, together with his Annotations on *Mat. 19. 14.* There can no Excuse be made for him except this, that possibly he might take the Quotation from some Body at second Hand.

The most material thing that he brings, is the Instance of *Gregory Nazianzen* and St. *Chrysostom*, born, as he takes it, of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd till of Age. Which shall be discuss'd in the next Chapter.

He concludes, *That all that he has brought, is of no Force to prove that Infant Baptism should be denied; but only to shew libertatem, vetustatem; & consuetudinis differentiam, the Liberty, Antiquity, and Difference of the Custom.*

§. 10. I said before, that Bishop *Taylor* is to be reckon'd in this Rank; if one knows where to reckon him, or can reconcile what I have quoted from him with that which I am going to quote.

He, in his *Disswasive from Popery*, one of his latest Works, being busy in defending the Protestant Doctrin against the Papists, who plead the Necessity of Tradition to prove Infant Baptism; and having answer'd, that it is prov'd enough from Scripture as to the Lawfulness of it, goes on to shew that Tradition does not do so much Service in the Matter; for that it delivers it to us as the Custom of some Christians in all times, but not of all. His Words are these (31):

*In the first Age they did, or they did not, according as they pleas'd; for there is no Pretence of Tradition that the Church in all Ages did baptize all the Infants of Christian Parents. It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first Age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierom*  
and

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(28) *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3.* (29) *Cypriani Ep. ad Fidum.* (30) *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 9.* (31) *Pt. 2. Lib. 2. Sect. 3. pag. 117.*

Year of Birth of St. Austin, were born of Christian Parents; and yet not baptiz'd until the full Age of a Man, and more.

And a little after (32), That it was the Custom so to do in some Churches, and at some times is without all Question; but that there is a Tradition from the Apostles so to do, relics but on two Witnesses, Origen and Austin: and the latter having receiv'd it from the former, it relies wholly on one single Testimony; which is but a pitiful Argument to prove a Tradition Apostolical. He is the first that spoke it: But Tertullian, that was before him, seems to speak against it, which he would not have done, if it had been a Tradition Apostolical. And that it was not so, is but too certain, if there be any Truth in the Words of Ludovicus Vives. And then he recites what was above (33) cited out of *Lud. Vives*.

The most of this, is what he said before (34), and on which I did before make what Remarks are necessary: as I shall do in the next Chapter on what he says of *Ambrose, Hierom, Austin*, born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd in Infancy. From the whole, one may here see some of the Workings of that singular Phancy that this Bishop had about original Sin. I forgot when I saw his *Diffusive from Popery*, to look the Date of the Edition of it, and to see if it were not a posthumous one: which I suspect, because what he says in it of this Indifferency, is contrary to what I quoted before §. 6. out of his *Great Exemplar* and *Ductor Dubitantium*; and is more agreeable to what he had said in his Youth, but afterward recanted.

§. 11. Mr. Thorndyke also in the third Book of his *Epilogue* (which is of the *Laws of the Church*) yields, that the *Eastern Church* (tho' they held Infant Baptism necessary in Case of the Danger of Death) yet did sometimes defer it when there was no such Danger. But that the *Western Church* injoin'd it, as the present Church does, to be given presently.

He, as well as *Grotius, Taylor, &c.* seems to be mov'd to this Concession by the Instances of *Nazianzen, Nestarius, &c.* baptiz'd at Man's Age; of which I shall speak in the next Chapter, and shew the most of 'em to be Mistakes.

§. 12. Monsieur Daille has also something to this Purpose. He says (35), *In ancient times they often deferred the baptizing, both of Infants, and of other People, as appears by the History of the Emperors, Constantin the Great, of Constantius, of Theodosius, of Valentinian and Gratian out of St. Ambrose. And also by the Orations and Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen (36), and of St. Basil (37), on this Subject. And some of the Fathers too have been of Opinion that it is fit it should be deferred; as namely, Tertullian, as we have formerly noted out of him.*

I shall have Occasion in the next Chapter to discourse concerning those Instances of the Emperors. And whereas he speaks of the Delay

(32) Pag. 118. (33) §. 3. (34) §. 6. (35) De usu Patrum, l. 2. c. 6. (36) Orat. 40. (37) εἰς βαπτισμὸν περὶ τρεπλῆ.



lay of the Baptism of Infants, and other People; it is fit for the Reader to observe that the Orations which he cites, are indeed a Proof that many grown People converted, did put off their Baptism a long time; because those Orations or Sermons are made on Purpose to convince People of their Sin and Danger in so doing. But there is nothing in 'em that gives any Evidence, that those who were once baptiz'd themselves, did ever delay the baptizing of their Children: save that in one of 'em *Gregory Nazianzen* gives his Opinion, that in Case the Children are in good Health, and there be no Fear of their Death, one may do well to defer their Baptism till they be about three Years old; but otherwise to baptize 'em out of Hand. The Place I have set down at large, *Pr. 1. CH. XI. §. 7.*

§. 13. Mr. *Baxter* also, who has shewn a great deal of Zeal, and spent a great deal of Pains in maintaining the Cause of Pædobaptism, yet when he is in a complying Humor allows thus much (38); *That in the Days of Tertullian, Nazianzen, and Austin, Men had Liberty to be baptiz'd, or to bring their Children, when and at what Age they pleas'd; and none were forc'd to go against their Consciences therein. And that he know's not that our Rule or Religion is chang'd: or, that we are grown any wiser or better than they.*

The Days of *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen* are pitcht on, I suppose, because of their Sayings, which have been mention'd. The Days of *Austin* have no Reason to be brought in here; but only because Mr. *Baxter* thought that his Parents were Christians (a Mistake common to him with many others) and that they not baptizing him in Infancy, it was probable that many other Christians omitted it likewise.

The same thing, as I hear, is maintain'd by those Remonstrants that are Authors of *Censura Censura* in their 23d. Chapter.

§. 14. Since the Writing of the rest, I find that *Garner* the Jesuit, is, or would seem to be, of this Opinion; by what he says in his Notes upon a Sermon of *Nestorius* publish'd with *Mercator's* Works (39): *In those old times Baptism was not given presently after the Birth, as it is now: but was many times deferr'd a great while; not only by the adult (who came to it at their own time) but also by the Parents of Infants till they were grown up.*

This Race of Men at first pretended to no more than this; that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scripture, without having Recourse to the Proof that is taken from the Practice of the ancient Church. And this they did, that they might force the Protestants to own the Traditions of the ancient Church to be necessary in determining Points of Religion; for that without them the Protestants could not defend their Cause against the Antipædobaptists. But now that the Protestants have largely shewn that that Recourse to the Traditions of the ancient Church does turn the Scale on the Protestants Side against the

Year of the Papists; and that they find it necessary for their Cause to decry  
 ter the A- both Scripture and the Traditions of the ancient Church, as being both  
 1 of 'em together insufficient; and that we must throw our selves on the  
 Authority of the present Church, *i. e.* the Church of *Rome*: They do,  
 in Order to force this down, set their Wits to maintain that Infant  
 Baptism cannot be prov'd neither from Scripture, nor from the Pri-  
 mitive Practice, but only by the Infallibility of the present Church.

But, as such subtle Men do sometimes forget themselves, especially  
 if they be Voluminous Authors; this same Jesuit in his Notes on ano-  
 ther Book (40) says, *When the Apostle writes to the Romans, of whom se-  
 veral had been baptiz'd in Infancy, and yet says, So many of us as have  
 been baptiz'd into Christ Jesus, have been baptiz'd into his Death, &c.  
 under those general Words he comprehends those that were baptiz'd before the  
 Use of Reason.* By making some that were grown Men at the time of  
 this Epistle, *viz.* 23 Years after Christ's Death, to have been baptiz'd  
 at *Rome* in their Infancy, he supposes Infant Baptism there practis'd as  
 soon as the Gospel can be reckon'd to have been preach'd there, and  
 perhaps (if we compute the times) sooner.

Mr. Danvers, Book 1. Ch. 7. produces one Boemus, who should say,  
 that in the Christian Church, and Mr. Stennet *Answ. to Russen* pag. 85.  
 one Macaire, who should say, that in the Church of *Alexandria*, no  
 Infants were in the first Ages baptiz'd. 'Tis the Unhappiness of vul-  
 gar Readers, that if they see a strange Name quoted, they think it  
 a great Authority: but 'tis a very disingenuous thing to take Advan-  
 tage of this their Weakness. 'Tis like putting off bad Wares upon ig-  
 norant Chapmen. For Boemus, I could never hear who he was, nor  
 when he liv'd. Macaire (as Mr. Stennet says) was Bishop of *Memphis*  
 656. in *Egypt*, Anno 756. But we have no Account from him, how or  
 when this new found Book of his came to Light, or how it appears to  
 be genuin. This is certain, that at that time there was no such  
 Place as *Memphis*; and that the *Saracens* had above a hundred Years  
 before that over-run all *Egypt*, whose Custom was to destroy all Chri-  
 stian Books and Learning. And can we think that this unknown Man  
 in such a time of Ignorance is able to tell us any News of the Primi-  
 tive Practice, which *Origen* (who liv'd in *Alexandria* 5 or 600 Years  
 before that) and the other Fathers who had a clear Light of History  
 to their own times, had never heard of? Such Authors serve only  
 to fill up a Crowd of Names; and to put an Abuse upon a plain honest  
 Reader: the Prevention of which is my only Excuse for mentioning  
 these, who are by no Means to be reckon'd among Learned Men.

There is also a Passage in the former *English* Editions of *Camden's  
 Britannia*, which, if every Reader knew who is the Author of it,  
 would for the same Reason have no need of being mention'd here.  
 But many Readers take all that is there put into the Text, for *Cam-  
 den's*



den's own: whereas Dr. *Holland* the Translator has inserted Abundance Year af-  
of his own Additions. And, among the rest, he has in *Cumberland* in-ter the An-  
terpolated among *Camden's* Words, a Fancy of his own against the Anti-  
quity of Infant Baptism. *Camden* is there speaking of the Font at  
*Bridekirk* in that County, *Which is*, he says, *a large open Vessel of green-  
ish Stone, with several little Images curiously engraven on it*; having also an  
Inscription which he could not read. He guesses it to have been made,  
originally for a Font (to which Use it is still employ'd) and (to account  
for the Images engraven on it) he says, *We read that the Fonts were an-  
ciently adorn'd with the Pictures of holy Men, whose Lives were propos'd as a  
Pattern to such as were baptiz'd*: For which he quotes in the Margin *Paulinus*.  
Then follows in the Text this Addition of Dr. *Holland's*, *For in  
the first Plantation of Christianity amongst the Gentiles, such only as were of  
full Age, after they were instructed in the Principles of Christian Religion,  
were admitted to Baptism*.

*Camden's* Words quoted from *Paulinus*, do intimate no more than this;  
that there were in ancient times many Baptisms of adult Persons: but  
that such only were admitted, is said only by Dr. *Holland*, who seems  
to have concluded it too hastily from what *Camden* quoted.

But it appears since by a more accurate View taken by the pre-  
sent Bishop of *Carlisle*, of the Inscription, and of those which *Camden* calls  
Images, on the said Font-Stone, that the contrary to what Dr. *Hol-  
land* thought, is proved from them. For he, in a Letter to Sir *William  
Dugdale* (Printed in the Additions to the last Edition of that Book) ex-  
plains both the Inscription and the Images: by which latter he says,  
*We have there fairly represented a Person in a long sacerdotal Habit dipping a  
Child into the Water; and a Dove (the Emblem, no doubt, of the Holy  
Ghost) hovering over the Infant, &c.*

§. 15. Of the professed Antipædobaptists (for all that I have yet  
mention'd were Pædobaptists, notwithstanding some of their Sayings  
concerning the ancient Use) Mr. *Tombs* was a Man of the best  
Parts in our Nation, and perhaps in any: but his Talent did not  
lie much in ancient History or Reading. All that I have seen of his  
of this Nature, has been consider'd in speaking of the Authors to  
whom he refers (41).

Mr. *Danvers* has heap'd together a vast Rhapsody of Quotations  
(42); but having seldom consulted the Authors themselves, but ta-  
ken them at second Hand, and out of any sort of Writers, such as  
he calls by the Names of *Twick*, *Frank*, &c. and a Book call'd *Dutch  
Martyrology*, &c. Books of no kind of Credit, he has for the most Part  
strangely misrepresented them.

(41) Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 8. CH. V. §. 7. CH. VI. §. 1, 2, &c. CH. XXI. §. 5. &c.  
(42) Treatise of Baptism.

Year after the Apostles He was publicly accus'd by Mr. *Baxter* (43), and Mr. *Wills* for a wilful Forger of Quotations; and the Book would tempt one to think so. But upon second Thoughts I hope it was partly his Authors, and partly Want of good Heed or Skill that misled him. Mr. *Wills* went so far as to put in an *Appeal* to his own Party against him, that they ought to renounce him: and he Printed it. But he and they answered as well as they could, and made the best of a bad Matter. And indeed Mr. *Wills* in that *Appeal* (for Want of Books I suppose) made not his best Advantage of the Charge that might have been brought against him: for he instanc'd in some of his false Quotations that were of the least Consequence; omitting those of greater, and such as it had been impossible for him or them to reconcile: and also in some of 'em was mistaken himself.

Most of the rest of 'em do, as much as may be, avoid speaking of the Practice of the Primitive Church, and do except against any Argument brought from thence as a human Authority. A Method, which, if they be resolv'd to continue in their Opinion, is much for their Purpose; provided they meet with Adversaries so weak as to let it so pass over.

§. 16. I have produc'd all the modern Learned Men that I know of, that have thought that Infant Baptism either was not from the Beginning, or was not universal. And tho' I propos'd to manage impartially, yet I hope no Reader that is a Pædobaptist will expect that I should do the like with those Learned Men that give their Verdict for it. Instead of that I must declare that all the rest that I have seen that have Occasion to speak of this Matter, are of Opinion that the Sayings of the Fathers are a sufficient Evidence that it was always in Use, and that as the general Practice of the Church of Christ.

Indeed they will many of 'em say thus: That there may perhaps be produc'd here and there a singular Instance of a Person that did omit it through Carelessness, or some Accident, &c. and that *Tertullian* also is an Instance of one Man that advis'd the Delay of it till the Age of Reason, in Case there appear'd no Danger of Death in the mean time: and that this is ordinary in all Customs, however allow'd and establish'd, that some one in an Age happens to speak or act against them: and that a few such stragling Instances are not to be esteem'd of Force sufficient to weaken the Authority of a general Rule.

But it seems to me that the Instances which the Antipædobaptists give, of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy, tho' born of Christians, are not (if the Matter of Fact be true) so inconsiderable as this last Plea would represent.

On the contrary, the Persons they mention are so many, and such noted Persons; that (if they be all allowed) it is an Argument that leaving Children



Children unbaptiz'd was no unusual, but a frequent and ordinary thing. For it is obvious to conclude that if we can in so remote an Age trace the Practice of so many that did this; it is probable that a great many more, of whose Birth and Baptism we do not read, did the like. This I will own, that it seems to me the Argument of greatest Weight of any that is brought on the Antipædobaptists side in this Dispute about Antiquity. And I believe the Reader has observed in the Places I have last quoted, that it is that which has most prevail'd, both with *Strabo* and *Vives* to think it was once the general Practice to leave Infants unbaptiz'd; and with *Grotius*, Bishop *Taylor*, and the others, to think it was once counted indifferent. It deserves therefore not to be so slightly pass'd over; but if one had time and Opportunity, to be thoroughly examin'd.

The worst is, it is a Business of a great deal of dust and tediousness to search after the Birth and Parentage of so many Men (who, tho' they were Conspicuous Persons, yet many of 'em sprang from obscure Originals) and not to be well done by any who has not a good Library at hand. I have in my Reading taken some Observations of this Matter, which I shall communicate in the next Chapter.

### C H A P. III.

*Of those who are said to have been born of Christian Parents and yet not baptiz'd till of Man's Age.*

*Sect. I. An Account of the Persons, and State of their Case.*

§. 1. **T**HE Instances of this that are commonly given, are the five Emperors mention'd before by Mr. *Daille*, viz. *Constantin*, *Constantinus*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the II. and *Theodosius* the I. and also four noted Persons of the Greek Church, viz. St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Nectarius*, and S. *Chrysostom*; and three of the Latin, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Hierom*, and St. *Austin*. Mr. *Tombs* mentions also *Alypius* and *Adeodatus*; one the Friend, and the other the base Son of St. *Austin*; and both baptiz'd at the same time with him.

Many of the Pædobaptists make but weak Answers to the Argument that is drawn from the Example of these Men. They content themselves to say, that it was from some erroneous or corrupt Principles that many in those times thought fit to defer Baptism a great while; and some till just before Death: either that they might gain a longer

Year af- longer time for their Lusts, or because they thought that wilful Sins  
ter the A- committed after Baptism could not be forgiven.  
postles

That many new Converts did do this, is too plain; and is a thing grievously complained of by the Preachers of those times: and the granting of it to be true does not at all affect the Question in hand; which is, not whether adult Persons did defer their own Baptism: but whether such adult Persons as were come to a full Resolution of being Christians and were accordingly baptiz'd themselves, did use to baptize their Children in Infancy, or not. And to grant this latter, that they who were once baptiz'd, did frequently use to let their Children grow up without Baptism, is to weaken in great Measure the Argument for Infant Baptism that is drawn from the Practice of these Ancients. For if many did omit it, tho' upon erroneous Grounds, the Argument from the general Practice is lost.

But some others have attempted a better Answer, by shewing these Instances, or some of 'em, to be Mistakes: and that not all the Persons mention'd were born of Christian Parents, particularly *Constantin* and *Austin* have been excepted; as it was indeed easie to shew that those two ought to be. I shall make some particular Search concerning each of 'em.

And the thing to be inquir'd concerning each of 'em, is,

1st, Whether his Baptism were delay'd till Years of Age. And if so, then,

2dly, Whether his Parents were baptiz'd Christians at the time of his Birth. I say, *Baptiz'd*: because it was, as I said before, a very common thing for Men in those times to be Christians in their Intention, and in their Conscience, *i. e.* they were convinc'd that that was the Truth, and did resolve sometime or other to be baptiz'd into it; and yet did put this off from time to time (as luke-warm Men do now-a-days their Repentance, or their receiving the other Sacrament) knowing that Baptism would engage 'em to a very strict Course of Life. And in this State many liv'd for a long time after their Conversion: being, in some Sense Christians, *i. e.* they declar'd for that Religion as the Truth, they favor'd it, they spoke for it, and in many things liv'd according to the Rules of it; but for all that, were not as yet baptiz'd, and so not accounted in the Phrase of those times, *Fideles*, Faithful, or, Brethren.

These Men, while they were in this State, had oftentimes Children born to 'em: and for such, it cannot be expected that they should bring their Children to Baptism before they could find in their Heart to be baptiz'd themselves.

Also many such Children (being not baptiz'd in their Infancy, because their Parents, tho' Believers, were not yet baptiz'd) when they grew up, delayed their Baptism as their Fathers had done; and so the Mischief was continued. To these it often happened that they were instructed



structed from their Youth in Christian Religion, and yet not baptiz'd. Of such St. Basil speaks in the Place cited, *Pr. i. CH. XII. §. 3, 4.* Year after the Apostles.

Therefore you see I had Reason to say that our Inquiry is of Infants born of Parents that were at that time baptiz'd Christians. And that is all that any Pædobaptist would have to be done now, viz. that when any Man is baptized himself, he should baptize his Infant Children.

Mr. Walker endeavouring to shew that the Instances brought by the Antipædobaptists do 'em no Service, because the Ancients that delayed their Childrens Baptism, did it not on the same Principles that they do now, viz. of the Unlawfulness of it; reckons up (1) several Reasons which moved some formerly to delay the Baptism of their Children: whereof the first is doubtless a plain and true one, viz. That some were as yet Heathens themselves when their Children were born; and no Marvel if they would not make their Children Christians, &c. And the same is the Case of such as tho' in Heart and Purpose Christians when their Children were born, yet kept off from being baptiz'd. But he gives three Reasons more, for which some that were baptiz'd themselves might delay the Baptizing of their Children.

Any Reader would from what he says conclude or suspect that many did this; at least that for these three Reasons there were an Account of three Persons that had done it. But upon Search, I believe, it will appear that there is no Proof of so many as three; and that there is but one, viz. the Father of Gregory Nazianzen, that makes an Instance for this: and he not a plain one; for it depends on an obscure Point in Chronology, whether the Son were born before his Father's Christianity, or after?

In making this Inquiry I shall begin with the Emperors. Of whom it is proper to note, that whereas Mr. Daillé having, as I cited before, spoke of the frequent deferring the Baptism of Children and of other People, names the Emperors; I suppose he means them among the other People, not among the Children whose Baptism was deferred. For all take him to be a Man of another Pitch of Reading, than that he should think Constantine's Father, for Example, to have been a Christian. But the Antipædobaptists take this from him; and they understand it so; and do very tenaciously maintain that it was so.

*Seet. 2. Of Constantine and Constantine his Son; that they were not born of baptiz'd Parents.*

§. 1. That Constantine was not baptized in Infancy, but on the contrary in his Old Age, is a plain Case. Eusebius, who was familiar with him, tells us (2) when and how it was. viz. That when he thought him

(1) Preface to Modest Plea. (2) De Vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 62.

Year af- himself near Death, he went to *Nicomedia*, and having assembled the Bi-  
 ter the A- shops in the Suburbs of that City ; he spoke thus to 'em ;  
 postles

237. ' This is the time which I have long expected with earnest Desire  
 ' and Prayers, to obtain the Salvation of God. It is time that I al-  
 ' so should enjoy the Badge of Immortality ; time that I should be  
 ' made Partaker of the Seal of Salvation. I purposed once to receive  
 ' it in the Waters of the River *Jordan*, in which our Savior is recorded  
 ' to have been baptized for our Example. But God, who knows  
 ' what is fittest for me, is pleased to grant it me now in this Place.  
 ' Therefore let me not be delayed : for if he that is Lord both of Life  
 ' and Death, be pleas'd to continue my Life in this World, and if he  
 ' have determined that I shall any longer hold Assemblies with the  
 ' People of God, and shall once in the Church communicate in the  
 ' Prayers together with the Congregation ; I will henceforward keep  
 ' my self to such Courses of Life as become a Servant of God.

*This he spake. And they performing the Ceremonies, put in Execution the  
 Divine Ordinance, and made him Partaker of the unspeakable Gift, requiring  
 of him the Professions that are usual. And so Constantin the only Man of all  
 the Emperors that ever were, being regenerated by Christ's Ordinance, was ini-  
 tiated ; and being made Partaker of the Divine Seal, he rejoiced in Spirit,  
 and was renewed and filled with the Divine Light, &c.*

It is not material to mention the Story which *Nicephorus* (3), a thou-  
 sand Years after, sets on Foot ; that he was baptiz'd at *Rome*, by Pope  
*Sylvester*, near the Beginning of his Reign : because it is all one to our  
 Purpose. *Baronius* (4) greedily embraces this latter Account ; I sup-  
 pose, because it makes for the Credit of the Church of *Rome*, and helps  
 to dress up the Fable of the *Donation*. But *Perron*, *Petavius*, and others,  
 forsake him in this, as being too improbable, since it was so lately in-  
 vented.

§. 2. But since both by the one and the other of these Accounts he  
 was not baptized in Infancy ; we must inquire of the Religion of his  
 Parents ; and first of his Father *Constantius Chlorus*.

To think that *Constantin*, whose Name all People both Learned and  
 Unlearned remember by the Token that he was the first Christian Em-  
 peror (at least of his Race) should have a Christian Emperor to his  
 Father, does appear so great and so palpable a Blunder ; that any one  
 would pass a severe Censure on it, were it not that the learned *Cam-  
 den* has let drop an Expression sounding that Way. He having Oc-  
 casion, in his Account of the City of *York*, to speak of *Constantius*, the  
 Father of *Constantin*, calls him an excellent Emperor, endowed with all *Mo-  
 ral and Christian Virtues*—after his Death Deified, as appears by the old  
 Coins.

The



The latter Part of this Sentence does not suffer one to think that *Camden* did in the former Part of it mean that *Constantinus* was really a Christian (but only that he favor'd the Christians, and had himself Virtues something like those of a good Christian;) for no Christian Emperor was ever Deified by the Heathens. And accordingly, when *Fuller* had, in his *Church History*, at the Year 305, reflected on this Saying of *Camden*, as going too far; since *Constantinus* was no otherwise a Christian than by that Rule, *He that is not against us, is on our Side*: *Heylin* in his *Animadversions* on that Book, tho' he rebuk'd *Fuller* as being too tart upon so great a Man as *Camden*, yet grants the thing, viz. that *Constantinus* was not a thorough-paced Christian.

What *Camden* spoke, he spoke only by the By. But some Antipædobaptists do go about seriously to justify this, and make an Argument of it for their Tenet. And if only *Danvers* had done so, I should not have taken any Notice of it: for he is us'd to such Arguments. But *Mr. Stennet* also has not shewn the Candor to throw away such a false Prop to their Cause: but reckons *Constantin* among those whose not submitting to this Ordinance till they were adult, tho' born of Christian Parents, shews, he says, that Infant Baptism was not universally received. *Answ. to Ruffen*, p. 47. Of the rest that he there reckons up, I must speak in the following Sections; but *Constantin* they ought of their own Accord to have left out: for it does but hurt their Cause to build on a Supposal which almost every one knows to be a Mistake in Matter of Fact.

Yet something *Mr. Danvers* has to say for this too, that *Constantinus* was a Christian. He takes out of the *Magdeburgenses* a Piece of a Sentence of *Eusebius*, where speaking of *Constantin*, he, says he, was *bonus à bono; pius à pio*, 'A good Man, Son of a good Man; a pious Man, Son of a pious Man. It is not worth the while to look whether this be truly quoted or not. 'Tis certain that *Eusebius*, out of his Desire to honor *Constantin*, and all that belong'd to him, did stretch his Expressions to farther Reaches than this: As where he says (5), *Constantin became a Follower of his Father's Piety* [or, pious Favor, or, Respect] toward our Religion. And at another Place (6), *He consider'd unto what God he should address, &c. and so he resolv'd to reverence his Father's God only*.

These Places being pick'd out by themselves, would make one think that *Constantinus* had professed Christianity. But whoever reads the whole Account will (whether he be prejudic'd for one or the other Side of this Controversie) agree, that all that is meant by these Complements amounts but to this; that at the time when his fellow Emperors did bitterly persecute the Christians, he on the other side favor'd 'em, and skreen'd 'em as much as he could, and on all Occasions shew'd a good Opinion of them and their Religion. And so it is in the

Places

Year af- Places themselves explain'd; not that he ever made it his own Religi-  
ter the A- on. He died a Heathen, and that he was by the Heathens deified af-  
pottles ter his Death, appears not only by the Coins, but also by *Eusebius's*  
Words.

And besides, *Eusebius* himself determin's this Matter clearly and fully (as far as concerns our Purpose) in the Place before recited (7), when having related *Constantin's* Baptism, he adds, *That he was the first of all the Emperors that ever were, that being regenerated, &c.* And again (8), *That he only of all that had been, did profess the Gospel of Jesus Christ with great Liberty of Speech, i. e. did make open Profession of it.*

So little do some Scraps of Sentences pick'd here and there out of Authors for one's Purpose signifie to give an Account of their true Meaning.

204. Beside that if *Constantius* had embrac'd the Christian Religion when  
174. he was Emperor; yet there is no Appearance that he had any Inclination to it when his Son *Constantin* was born, which was 30 Years before.

As for *Helena*, *Constantin's* Mother, tho' the Inquiry concerning her Religion be not very material; because not many, especially great Men, suffer their Wives to chuse what Religion their Sons shall be enter'd into; yet I made some Inquiry. And after I had, in order to discover her Religion, search'd into the Accounts of her Condition and Parentage, which are so variously given, (some making her a *Bithynian*, others a *Briton* (but these last marr their own Story by relating her to be a King's Daughter; whereas all about that time speak of her as one of a mean Quality, she being in Scorn call'd *Stabularia*) some taking her for a Wife, others for a Concubine (9), others for an absolute Harlot (10) to *Constantius*; and those that call her a Wife, must consequently grant that he had two at a time, or else that *Helena* was divorc'd when he married *Theodora*) I found it was needless to inquire any farther, when I saw that *Eusebius*, a Witness unquestionable in this Matter, says (11), that her Son *Constantin* first brought her to be a godly Woman [or, Christian] which she was not before. In her old Age all agree that she prov'd a very zealous Christian. And it does something excuse her former Way of living, that it was before her Christianity.

217. §. 3. And as for *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantin*, what has been said of *Constantin's* late Baptism does without more ado satisfy us of the Reason why his Son *Constantius* was not baptiz'd in Infancy. *Constantin* probably was not resolv'd what Religion to be of, but certainly was not baptiz'd when *Constantius* was born, nor a long time after.

And concerning *Fausta*, the Mother of this *Constantius*, the Daughter of *Maximianus Herculinus* (the bloodiest Enemy the Christians ever had)

(7) De vitâ Const. l. 4 c. 62. (8) Ibid. c. 75. (9) Oros. l. 7. c. 25, (10) Nicephorus, l. 7. c. 18. (11) L. 3. de vitâ Const. c. 47.



had) whom *Constantin* was forc'd to marry for Reason of State; there is no Probability that she was a Christian when this Son was born, and very little that she was ever so at all; for *Constantin* put her to Death not long after. On the contrary, some Histories speak of her Endeavors to alienate her Husband's Mind from that Religion (12).

So *Constantius* not having been baptiz'd into the Christian Religion in Infancy (as 'twas impossible he should) but coming afterward to the Knowledge of it, and approving it, yet he did as his Father had done before, *i. e.* he deferred his Baptism to the End of his Life: for it was but just before (13) his Death that he was baptiz'd by *Euzoius*, the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*.

About 5 or 6 Years before, *Lucifer*, Bishop of *Caralis*, had wrote his Mind very plainly and bluntly to him in Defence of *Athanasius*, whom he grievously persecuted; and told him, that instead of abusing *Athanasius*, he had (14) great need to desire that holy Priest of God to pray to God for him for the Forgiveness of his Impieties, as *Job's* Friends desired *Job*; and to procure himself to be baptiz'd by him or some of his Fellow Bishops. And *St. Hilary* had complain'd, (a) that he *credendi formam ecclesijs nondum regeneratus imponeret*: should pretend to prescribe a Form of Faith to the Churches, when he was not yet regenerated [*i. e.* baptiz'd] himself.

Indeed both he and his Father *Constantin*, were guilty of such Wickedness, even after their declaring for Christian Religion, (*Constantin* in murdering so many of his Kindred; and he in doing the like, and also in persecuting the Catholic Christians) that it is no wonder if a guilty Conscience kept 'em from Baptism till they could find in their Heart to repent of such Barbarities. And when the Papists object to us our Reformation begun under such a King as *Henry VIII.* they may reflect, that *Constantin*, by whose Means the allowed Profession of Christianity it self was brought into the World, has not a much better Character. And that it does not please God always to chuse good Men, but sometimes to make wicked Kings Instruments of bringing his Purposes to pass.

But yet there is, I think, no Christian Writer that presses so hard upon the Credit of *Constantin* in this Matter, as *Baronius*, and they of the Church of *Rome* that follow him. They strike in with that scandalous Story which the Heathen Writers of that Time did dress up on a purpose of Spite and Slander to the Christian Religion, and to *Constantin* for embracing it. Which was, that he, after the Murder of his Son *Crispus*, and his Wife *Fausta*, and his Sister's Son *Licinius*, &c. was terrified in Conscience, and sought among the Heathen Priests for some Body that would expiate him, and give him Hopes of Par-

P p

don.

(12) *Mic. Glycas*, l. 4. Hist. (13) *Athanas.* de Synodis Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. ult.  
 (14) *Lucifer pro Athanasio*, l. 1. (a) *De Synodis prope finem.*

Year af- don. But that these told him that they had Rites of Expiation for  
ter the A- very great Sins, and for ordinary Murders; but none for such Par-  
postles. ricide as his was: and so left him in Despair. And that then it was  
that he was inform'd what large Offers of Pardon the Christian Re-  
ligion made to all Comers that would be baptiz'd; and embraced that,  
not out of any liking to its Doctrins, but because no other would re-  
ceive him.

It is questionless no Discredit to any Religion (but the Excellen-  
cy of it) to have such Sacraments to which is annex'd the Promise  
of Forgiveness of the greatest Sins; provided it does lay severe Injun-  
ctions against practising the same for the future. Yet since this Story  
is set on foot by *Zosimus* (15) and other Heathens out of Spite to  
*Constantin* and the Christian Religion; and is false; and is shew'd to  
be so by *Sozomen* (16), and other Christian Historians (for *Constan-*  
*tin* favor'd Christianity, and made Laws in favor of it, before this  
time) it discovers an ill Byass in *Baronius*, who (to make the Fable  
of his Baptism at *Rome* more probable) embraces it. But the Men  
of that Court make no scruple to advance the Repute and Pride of  
it, by treading not only on the Necks of present Emperors, but al-  
so on the Credit of the most ancient Ones. For, according to this  
Character, What Difference is there between *Constantin* and *Julian*;  
save that the one did actually go over to Heathenism, and was wil-  
lingly received by the *Pagan* Priests; the other would have done the  
same, but was not admitted by them?

### Sect. 3. Of *Gratian* and *Valentinian the Second*.

*There is no proof that their Father, Valentinian the First, was a ba-*  
*piz'd Christian when they were born.*

§. 1. The Import of some Sayings of the Authors which I shall  
have occasion to produce in the Case of these two Emperors, will not  
be so well understood by the ordinary Reader, unless I first give a  
short History of their Father and them, as far as concerns this Matter.

*Valentinian* the First came from a mean Original (17) to the Im-  
perial Dignity. He gained his Preferment by Degrees in the Army.  
He is not taken notice of by the Historians till such time as being an  
261. Officer in the Guards, when *Julian* came to the Crown, he lost his  
Place for his Religion. For *Julian* being resolv'd to set up the old  
Religion again, gave Order that none should serve (especially in those  
Places nigh his Person) but such as would go to the Heathen Sa-  
crifices, and partake of 'em.

There.



There were a great many in the Army, by this time well instructed in the Christian Religion, who rather than go to this sort of Masses, would leave their Places. Among the rest, this *Valentinian* and *Valens* his Brother, threw away (18) their Sword Belts. Three Years after, both these Brothers came to be Emperors. For *Valentinian* being chosen by the Army, chose his Brother his Partner; and leaving him to govern the *East*, went himself to govern *Rome* and the *Western* Parts.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

264.

A Reader that is not well acquainted with the Custom, that Persons converted in those Times had, of delaying their Baptism, would think by the Zeal for Christianity that they shew'd under *Julian*, that they both had been at that time baptiz'd. But 'tis certain they were not both; for we find *Valens* baptiz'd afterward. His Baptism is mention'd by the Historians because of an unusual and wicked Circumstance of it. He was by his Wife, who was an *Arian*, perswaded to be baptiz'd by *Endoxius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*: and they together prevail'd on him to swear (19) at his Baptism, that he would always continue to be on the *Arians* Side, and expel the Catholics out of the Churches. An impious Practice! Instead of baptizing into the Christian Religion, as Christian, to baptize into a Sect.

269.

But *Valentinian's* Baptism is not mention'd at all by the Historians: neither should we be sure whether he was ever baptiz'd, were it not for a Passage in a Letter of *St. Ambrose*, which I shall have occasion to cite by and by. He was born in *Pannonia*, a Country where Christianity had at that time but little Footing; and probably of Heathen Parents. Who, or what they were, we hear no more than that his Father's Name had been *Gratian*, that he was nicknam'd *Funarius*; and that he had been an Officer in *Britain*, in the Time of *Constantin*.

217.

§. 2. Now as to his Sons: *Gratian* was (a) born to him before he was Emperor (20), and on the (b) fourth Year of his Reign was taken by him into Partnership. But *Valentinian*, his younger Son, was born to him the (c) third Year of his Reign; so that he was nine Years old when his Father (d) died. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says he was but Four. But it must be a Mistake, both because *Socrates* (21) names the Consuls of the Year in which he was born, which were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*, for the Year of Christ 366; and also because the third Year after, 369, this young *Valentinian* was Consul himself (according to the Custom of those Times) which was before the Year on which *Ammianus* makes him to be born.

a 259.

b 267.

c 266.

d 275.

266.

269.

When *Valentinian* the Elder died, the Army proclaimed this young *Valentinian* Emperor together with his Brother. So they rul'd the

275.

278.

P p 2

West,

(18) *Socrat.* l. 3. c. 13. (19) *Theodoret. Hist.* l. 4. c. 11, 12. (20) *Socrat.* l. 4. c. 10. (21) *L.* 4. c. 9.

279. West, and their Uncle *Valens* the East. And when *Valens* died, *Gratian* quickly after chose *Theodosius* to govern the East.

282. Four Years after, the Usurper *Maximus* set up in *Britain* for Emperor. And when *Gratian* march'd against him, his Army deserting, he was overcome by *Maximus*, and slain. *Valentinian* kept *Italy* and some other Countries for a few Years; during which time being rul'd by his Mother *Justina*, a bitter *Arian*, he favor'd the *Arians*, and persecuted the Catholics, particularly St. *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*.

283. Among other Indignities, he summon'd St. *Ambrose* to come and dispute before him concerning the Faith with *Auxentius* the *Arian*; and he with his Courtiers would judge between 'em. To which Summons St. *Ambrose* answers in a (22) Letter to him; which has this Passage in it to our Purpose.

When did you hear, most gracious Emperor, that Laymen have pass'd Judgment on a Bishop in a Matter of Faith? Do we then by a sort of Fawning so debase our selves, as to forget what is the Privilege of the Sacerdotal Office? And that I should commit that into the Hands of another, which God has intrusted with me my self? If a Bishop must be taught by a Layman, What will follow? Then let a Layman preach, and the Bishop give Attention; let a Bishop learn of a Layman.

This is unquestionable, that if we search either into the Tenor of the holy Scriptures, or into the Account of past Times, there is none can deny that in Matters of Faith, I say, in Matters of Faith, Bishops are wont to judge of Emperors that are Christians, and not Emperors of Bishops.

You will, by the Grace of God, arrive to a better Ripeness of Age; and then you your self will pass an Estimate, what sort of Man for a Bishop he must be, that will put the Sacerdotal Right under the Judgment of Laymen.

Your Father, a Man, by God's Mercy, of a more advanced Age, said, It does not belong to me to judge between Bishops. Does your Grace now say, It does belong to me to judge? And he, tho' at that time baptiz'd in Christ, yet thought himself unable to bear the Weight of so great a Judgment. Does your Grace, for whom the Sacrament of Baptism is yet reserved to be obtained by you, take upon you the Determination of Matters of Faith, when as yet you are not Partaker of the Sacrament of Faith?

This Scuffle between the Court on one side standing for the *Arians*, and the major Part of the People on the other for their Religion, their Church and their Bishop, increased so far (the Emperor demanding the Church for the *Arians*, the People continuing Day and Night in it; the Court giving out that Bishop *Ambrose* meant to set up for an Usurper (23), St. *Ambrose* declaring, that as he abhorr'd the Thoughts of Resistance (24) or of stirring up the People, so he could not on the other side run away from his Church and Flock in that Danger of their

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(22) Epist. 32. (23) Ambrosii Epist. 33. (24) Idem Oratione in Auxentium].



their Souls, but was ready to suffer Death quietly) that *Maximus* the Year at-  
 Usurper, who had already, since the Defeat and Death of *Gratian* set- ter the A-  
 tled himself in *Britain* and *France*, and gaped for an Opportunity of In- postles  
 vading *Italy*, took his Advantage of these Discontents: and he publish'd  
 a DECLARATION in Behalf of the true Religion, and threatening  
 War to *Valentinian* (25) if he did not forbear to persecute the Ca-  
 tholics.

The Court, for all their Anger against St. *Ambrose*, yet could not find a fitter Man to avert this Storm than he, because of the Influence which they thought he might have upon *Maximus*. They sent him therefore on an Embassy of Peace. Which he perform'd with all that Fidelity that became a good Christian, who would shew himself Loyal to his Prince, that had despitefully us'd him and his Religion.

But as to his Errand, he could do no good (for Usurpers, when they find their Advantage, don't use to be kept back by Reasons of Conscience). On the contrary, when *Maximus* saw that St. *Ambrose* would not communicate with him, nor with the Bishops that communicated with him; he commanded him to be gone. And St. *Ambrose* sent an Account of his Embassy to *Valentinian* (26), advising him to look to his Safety *Adversus hominem pacis involucro bellum tementem*, 'Against a Man that under Pretence of Peace [or, doing good Offices] cover'd his Design of War, [or, Invasion].

And so it prov'd: *Maximus* invaded *Italy*; and *Valentinian* had nothing to do, but to flee.

But *Theodosius*, who had, ever since he heard of the Death of *Gratian*, resolv'd to revenge it, having now his Army ready, came from the East; and tho' the Usurper had strengthened himself by humoring all Parties of Christians, Jews and Pagans; yet he overcame him, 288  
 slew him, and resettled *Valentinian*, and brought him off from his Fondness to the *Arians* (his foolish Mother being now dead) and reconcil'd him to St. *Ambrose*, whom he ever after honored as a Father.

This Quietness had lasted but three Years, when a new Usurper 291  
*Eugenius* started up; with whom *Argobastes*, one of the greatest Men at Court, traiterously join'd. *Valentinian* being then in *France*, was seiz'd by *Argobastes*, and after a while murder'd by him. This was 292  
 in the Year 392, so that he was, when he died, 26 Years old.

§. 3. He had, a little before this Treason broke out, resolv'd to be baptiz'd before he went for *Italy*. He had a particular Desire to receive it from the Hands of St. *Ambrose*, and had lately sent to *Milan* to him, to desire him to come and give it him. St. *Ambrose* was on his Way to *France* when he heard the fatal News, which render'd his Journey now too late.

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One shall hardly read a more compassionate Lamentation than St. *Ambrose* makes on this Account in his Funeral Sermon for *Valentinian*. What with the Object that was present, and what with the Occasion it gave to remember *Gratian*, he says all that could be said by a Man that had lost his own Children by a like Fate. He perswades himself, that if he could have arriv'd before the murderous Blow was given, he might have prevail'd with the Tyrants to spare his Life at least. I doubt he was mistaken in that; for who ever read of an *Oliver* that did that?

But as to *Valentinian's* dying unbaptiz'd; he comforts his Sisters, that were present at the Sermon, by assuring 'em, that in such a Case God accepts of a sincere Faith join'd with a hearty Desire of Baptism, as if the Person had been actually baptiz'd. Which Saying of his is often cited for the Resolution of like Cases. *I hear*, says he, *you are troubled that he did not receive the holy Rites of Baptism. Tell me, What is there in our Power but the Will and Desire? And he, both a good while ago had a Purpose of being baptiz'd before he returned into Italy; and also lately express'd his Desire of being baptiz'd by me: And it was for that Reason especially that he would have me sent for.*

*Hath he not then that Grace which he desir'd, and which he endeavor'd to have? Inasmuch as he desir'd it, he has received it.*

Upon the News of this Rebellion and Murder, *Theodosius* came once more from the East, and obtained a Victory over *Eugenius*, which (counting the Numbers that sided with *Eugenius*) the Historians count almost miraculous, and slew him. As for the Traytor *Argobastes*, he sav'd the Hangman a Labor.

And this was one of the last good Acts of that noble Emperor. He died quickly after. And St. *Ambrose* had the Sorrow of preaching his Funeral Sermon too.

I can't but observe from that Sermon the different Grounds on which St. *Ambrose*, from those on which *Baronius* does condemn *Maximus*. *Baronius's* way is, when any great Man in History comes to an ill End, or other Calamity, to find something in his Life which may be suppos'd to be the Cause for which that Judgment fell on him: and it is commonly something done against the Church of Rome. And speaking of the ill End of *Maximus*, when he looks backward for the Cause of it, he takes no Notice of his Rebellion and Usurpation, and Murder of his Prince; like the Man, who, pretending to tell the Faults of a Horse that he sold, forgot to mention that he was blind; and observes how once on a time, a great while before, being appeal'd to by some Bishops, he had meddled in Ecclesiastical Matters more than became him (27).

But



But St. *Ambrose*, in the foresaid Sermon (28), having spoken of *Gratian* and *Theodosius* as being then in Heaven, adds, *Contra autem Maximus & Eugenius in inferno, docentes exemplo miserabili quam durum sit arma suis Principibus irrogare.* 'But *Maximus* and *Eugenius* are now in Hell, teaching by their dreadful Example how heinous a thing it is for Men to bear Arms against their Sovereigns.

§. 4. From this whole Relation it appears,

1. That *Valentinian* the younger was never baptiz'd.
2. That *Gratian* probably was baptiz'd some time of his Life, or other. Because St. *Ambrose*, in *Valentinian's* Funeral Sermon makes frequent Comparisons between the two Brothers, and often mentions *Valentinian's* Want of Baptism; but observes no such thing of *Gratian*. Besides, he calls him there *Fidelis*; which is a Term never given by the Ancients but to a baptiz'd Person.

But yet 'tis probable his Baptism was not in Infancy. For what should make *Valentinian* the Father baptize his eldest Son in Infancy, and not his Youngest? Unless we may judge that *Justina*, the Mother of the Youngest being an *Arian* (for the Mother of the Eldest was not so) and the Father himself being a Catholic, they could not agree into which Faith he should be baptiz'd. For the *Arians* were like the *Donatists* for that; that they had so ill an Opinion of Baptism given by the Catholics, that they baptiz'd such over again; as may be seen by St. *Ambrose's* Discourse against *Auxentius* (29). And therefore,

§. 5. 3dly. The chief Question is, Whether *Valentinian* the Father were baptiz'd himself at the time when his youngest Son was born. We have heard already (30), that he was a baptiz'd Christian at a certain time, when he said, that *he did not think himself fit to judge between Bishops*. But what time of his Reign this refers to, we have no way to know certainly. The Passage that looks most like it in all that we read, is that which happen'd at the Election of St. *Ambrose* himself to the Bishoprick of *Milan*: and St. *Ambrose* was more likely to know that, and to refer to that, than any other. For then, as *Theodoret* tells us (31), the Bishop of *Milan* being dead, the People were much divided about the Choice of a new one, some setting up one, and some another: so that to avoid Confusion, *Valentinian* order'd the neighbouring Bishops that were then in that City to choose one for them. The Bishops desir'd that he himself would pitch upon some Person. But he answer'd, *This is a thing too great for me to undertake. You that are filled with the Grace of God, and illuminated by the Light thereof, may much better do this Office of choosing a Man for a Bishop.*

274.

If

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(28) Orat. in funere Theodosii. (29) Orat. in Auxentium, in fine. (30) §. 2.  
(31) Hist. l. 4. c. 6.

Year af- If this were the time that St. *Ambrose* means, at which he was then  
 ter the A- a baptized Person; this was but a Year, or thereabouts, before his  
 postles. Death: For St. *Ambrose* was made Bishop in the Year of Christ 374,  
 274. as *Baronius*, or the Beginning of 375, as *Petavius* computes; and *Va-*  
 275. *Jentinian* died November the 17th. 375.

So that he might for all that be unbaptiz'd when his Son *Valenti-*  
*nian* was born, which was, as we said (32), nine Years before, viz.  
 266. *Anno Dom.* 366.

#### Sect. 4. Of Theodosius the First.

*His Father was not a baptized Christian when he was born.*

§. 1. *Theodosius* (of whom we had occasion to speak in the last Se-  
 279. ction) who was chosen by *Gratian* to be his Fellow Emperor, is ano-  
 ther of the Instances of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy. What I  
 have to say of him, may be dispatch'd in a few Words. He was  
 baptiz'd quickly after he was chosen Emperor (33), and in a Fit of  
 Sickness, by *Acholius* (or, as the *Greeks* write his Name, *Ascholius*)  
 Bishop of *Theffalonica*: being then 34 Years old, as *Victor* counts;  
 44 as *Socrates* reckons; or about 50, if the *Chronicom Alexandrinum*  
 be to be relied on.

§. 2. His Father, who was also named *Theodosius*, had been put to  
 270. Death by Order of *Valens* nine Years before. Whether he [the Fa-  
 ther] had ever been baptiz'd I think we should not have known but  
 for *Orosius*, who, (because he was a *Spaniard*, his Countryman) speaks  
 more particularly of his Concerns. So that we know by him that  
 he was baptiz'd before he died: but not till 25 Years (by the lowest  
 Account) after this his Son was born. And whether he was, at that  
 time of his Son's Birth, a Christian in Intention, or an Unbeliever,  
 is not to be known.

*Orosius's* Account is this (34), that he being a Commander in the  
 Army had done good and faithful Services: but yet that on a sudden,  
 and, for what Reason no Body knew, there came an Order that he  
 must be put to Death. Which when he understood, he desired to be  
 baptized first, for the Forgiveness of his Sins. And when he was made  
 Partaker of that Sacrament of Christ, as he desired; being, after a lau-  
 dable Life in this World, secure also of an eternal Life, he willingly of-  
 fer'd his Neck to the Executioner.

Other Authors, tho' not mentioning his Baptism, give the same  
 Account of his Death. And the Occasion of it they relate to be such  
 as gives us an Idea of the Mischief that superstitious Jealousies do,  
 when they get into the Head of a cowardly Prince. *Valens* had had  
 some



some Attempts made to dethrone him. And there was a Report ran up and down that some that us'd curious Arts had found, that he should quickly have a Successor: and the first Letters of his Name should be *THEOD*. The Names of *Theodorus*, *Theodoret*, *Theodosius*, *Theodulus*, &c. were then very common Names. And this Fancy cost a great many of 'em their Lives; and this Captain among the rest. His Son *Theodosius* was not, it seems, at that time a Man noted enough to come into Danger. When he came to the Throne, he manag'd his Affairs so well both in Peace and War, that none that went before, or that came after, did ever excel him.

The Reason why he was not baptized in Infancy, must have been because his Father was not then baptized, and perhaps not a Believer. I know that *Socrates* (at the forecited place, l. 5. c. 6.) says, that he (the said Emperor) had *Christian Parents* [or Ancestors] *ἐν πρεσβύτοις Χριστιανὸς ὑπάρχων*. But this was a Phrase commonly us'd in the Case of those whose Parents became Christians at any time before their Death, tho' they were not so at the Time of the Birth of those their Children: As I shall, out of many Instances that might be given, have occasion to give some presently.

### Secl. 5. Of St. Basil.

*There is no Proof to the contrary but that he was baptized in Infancy.*

§. 1. I did in the 10th Chapter of the first Part of this Work produce the Evidences that are in Antiquity, that St. Basil was baptized in Infancy. But it is necessary to consider those also that are brought to the contrary.

I know of but one Man of the Antipædobaptists that does pretend him for an Instance of one baptized in his adult Age, tho' born of Christian Parents: and he does it very unfairly. He found in *Osiander's* Epitome of the *Magdeburgenses* (35), that *Vincentius* in his *Speculum* tells a Story of St. Basil's going to Jerusalem, and being baptized in Jordan by *Maximus*, the Bishop there. But tho' *Osiander* and the *Magdeburgenses* (36) too do, when they mention this, declare that this is a Story of no Credit; and that *Vincentius's* Collection, being of late Years, is of no Repute; and that there is no Historian of Credit or Antiquity that speaks of any such thing; yet Mr. *Danvers* (37), sets down the Quotation in such Manner and Words, as if they had recited it as a credible History: whereas they do both of 'em at the Places cited, declare that it seems to them that he was baptized in Infancy by his Father (of which I also have, in the Chapter foremention'd, given some Confirmation) or by some other Minister.

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He quotes also at the same Place and for the same thing, *Socrates*, l. 4. c. 26. and *Sozomen*, l. 6. c. 34. who neither there nor any where else have any Word tending that way.

§. 2. As *Vincentius* made his Collections of historical Matters without any Judgment, taking them out of any sort of Books, genuin or spurious; so the Author, out of whom he (38) owns to have this, is *Amphilochius's* Life of *St. Basil*. And that is known by all to be a *Grub-street* Paper, a gross Forgery; and is sufficiently detected to be such by *Rivet* (39), *Baronius* (40), *Bellarmin* (41), *Possevin*, and before them all by *Bishop Jewel* (42).

The Author thereof had, I suppose, read or heard that *Amphilochius*, Bishop of *Iconium*, had wrote an Account of *St. Basil's* Life (as he did indeed, and *Greg. Nazianzen*, and *Greg. Nyssen* did the like; but that which was written by him is lost, as are most or all his other Works). He therefore put forth his Stuff under the Name of that great Man. But it betrays it self by many Tokens, of fabulous Miracles, Incongruities in History, &c. And in that Fable which he gives of his Baptism, there are such silly monkish Quibbles and Witicisms put into the Discourse that pass between *Basil* and *Maximus*, who is made to be his Baptizer, (as one asks, *Quis est mundus?* The other answers, *Qui fecit mundum, &c?*) that one might guess from what Shop they come.

*F. Combes* has publish'd this Piece in *Greek* and *Latin*, and endeavor'd to vindicate it by saying, the main Part of it might be genuin, tho' it be interpolated and mixt with some fabulous Additions: but as *Mr. du Pin* observes (43), he brings no kind of Proof of his Opinion.

§. 3. The true Account wrote by *Nazianzen*, *Orat. 30. in laudem Basilij*, nor that by *Nyssen*, have no Mention of any such thing; nor that under the Name of *Ephram Syrus*. On the contrary, *Nazianzen* seems plainly to refer to his Baptism in Infancy by his own Father; as I shewed before.

Their reciting all the remarkable Passages of his Life, after he came to Age, without mentioning any thing of his Baptism, is a strong Argument that there was no such thing: since in all that are baptiz'd at Age, their Baptism makes a considerable Circumstance for a Writer, whose chief Subject is their Christianity. And therefore the Monk who fram'd a Life for him that might sell well, would not omit it: and to dress it up the better, made it to be in *Jordan*, where Christ was baptiz'd, and *Constantin* desir'd to be.

§. 4. If the 29th Chapter of *St. Basil's* Book *de Spiritu Sancto* be genuin

(38) *Vincent. spec. Hist. l. 14. c. 28.* (39) *Crit. Sac. l. 3. c. 27.* (40) *Ad ann. 363.*  
(41) *De Script. Eccl.* (42) *Apolog. Eccl. Angl. Artic. 1. Div. 33.* (43) *Nouv. Bib. T. 2. Amphiloch.*



nuin (which is question'd by *Erasmus* and others) then it is certain Year af-  
 that the same Man that baptiz'd him did also put him into the Mi-ter the A-  
 nistry. For so he says in that Chapter. He is there shewing that postles  
 the Custom us'd by him and some Churches of saying the *Doxology*,  
 thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit* (instead  
 whereof others said, *and to the Holy Spirit*) was no Innovation. He  
 quotes several ancient Authors that had spoke so: And begins thus,

*I my self, if it be proper to say any thing of my self in this Case, do keep  
 the use of this Expression ὡς περ τινὰ κληρον παρέφεν, as an Inheritance left me  
 by my Father, having received it from a Man who liv'd a long time in the  
 Ministry of God, by whom I was both baptiz'd, and also put into the Mini-  
 stry of the Church.*

This could not be *Meletius* (whom *Dr. Cave* reckons to be the Man  
 by whom he was ordain'd Deacon) because he afterwards reckons  
*Meletius*, as another of his Authors for the same Usage; and says,  
*That the famous Meletius is of the same Sentiment, they that have con-  
 vers'd with him do affirm.*

That *St. Basil* himself did use to baptize Children, I shewed be-  
 fore in the first Part of this Work, CH. XII. §. 9, 10.

### Sect. 6. Of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

*He was not baptiz'd in Infancy, tho' probably born of baptiz'd Parents.*

§. 1. When fourteen Instances are produc'd to prove any thing,  
 and one can shew that thirteen of 'em are Mistakes, he is apt to su-  
 spect that there is some Mistake in the other too, tho' he cannot find  
 it out. Yet here can be none in this Matter, if this *Gregory's Carmen  
 de vitâ suâ* be a genuin Piece (as I never heard of any that question'd  
 it) and if there be no Mistake in the Reading of it.

I shall represent impartially, and as briefly as I can, the Proofs that  
 are brought of his being born before his Father's Christianity; and  
 those to the contrary.

That he was not baptiz'd in Infancy is plain, both from the fore-  
 said Poem *de vitâ suâ*, and also from the Sermon that he made at his  
 Father's Funeral (44), and also from the History of his Life by *Gre-  
 gorius Presbyter*. For in all these a full Relation is given how he in  
 a Voyage by Sea from *Alexandria* to *Athens* was in great Danger of  
 Shipwrack by a Storm; And whereas all the rest in the Ship were terri-  
 fied with the Fear of their bodily Death; I, says he, did more dreadfully  
 fear the Death of my Soul. For I was in great Hazard of departing this  
 Life unbaptiz'd: amidst the Sea Waters that were to be my Death, want-  
 ing that spiritual Water. And therefore I cried out, intreated, besought,  
 that

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Year after the Apostles that some Space of Life might be granted to me. He goes on to shew how his Lamentation and Dread on that Account were so great and so moving, that the People in the Ship forgot their own Danger in Compassion to those Terrors which they saw were upon his Soul. And how he then vowed to God; that if he were deliver'd from that Danger, he would offer himself up to God; and did so accordingly.

§. 2. That his Father was not a Christian when he married, nor for some time after, is plain from the said Funeral Oration (45). He was of the Religion call'd *Hypofitarian*. These Men, as is there related, did so renounce the Worship of Idols and Sacrifices, as that they retained nevertheless the Worship of *Fire* and *Torches*.

Mr. *Le Clerc* (46), being busied in finding Contradictions in the Fathers, thinks he has found one here: because *Gregory* in another place (47), says, his Father *ὁ πατὴρ ἐιδωλοῖς πάρετος ἦεν ζῶν* which he translates, *Was Subject to the Idols of Animals*: Not minding that *ζῶν* there is the Participle of the Poetical Verb *ζῶν* and not the Genitive of *ζῶν* tho' *Bilius* had noted that Criticism.

225. He continued in that Superstition till the Year of the Council of *Nice*, *Anno Dom.* 325. his Wife had before us'd her Perswasions and Prayers for his Conversion. But then, when *Leontius*, Bishop of *Casarea*, and some other Bishops were going by that Place for *Nice* to the Council, she got them to instruct him in the Grounds of Christian Religion; and he was baptiz'd into it quickly after: and not long after that took Priest's Orders: And when the Bishop of *Nazianzum* died became his Successor. In which Office he lived 45 Years, and died, near 100 Years old. All this is clear in the Oration aforesaid.

§. 3. Now the Question is, Whether our *Gregory* his Son were born before that his Father's Conversion in the said Year 325, or after?

289. And the Solution of it must be collected by knowing, if one could, how old he [the Son] was when he died. For we know justly the Year on which he died by St. *Hierom*, who wrote the Tract *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. (48) the 14th Year of *Theodosius*, *Ann.* 392. and says there (49), that *Gregory Nazianzen* had been dead but 3 Years. He died therefore in the Year 389.

The Difficulty is to know what Age he was of when he died.

*Gregorius Presbyter*, who wrote his Life, says, he died *very old*. And *Suidas* (who mistakes the Time of his Death two Years, making him to live till the 13th Year of *Theodosius*) says (50), that he was then 90 Years old. By that Account he must have been born in the Year 300, which is 25 Years before his Father was a Christian.

But

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(45) Orat. 19. (46) Life of Naz. Bibliot. T. 10. (47) Carm. 1. de rebus suis.  
(48) Verb. Hieronymus, (49) Verb. Gregor. (50) Verb. Γρηγόριος.



But *Baronius* (51) finds Reason, as he thinks, to correct this Chronology from a Passage out of *Gregory* himself; who in the aforefaid *Carmen de vitâ suâ* speaking of his studying at *Athens*, and of his Resolution to leave that Place, says, it was then *his 30th Year* [or, the 30th Year]. This *Baronius* concludes to be the Year 354 by *Julian* the Apostate's being a Student there at the same time (for he was made *Cæsar* and sent into *France* the next Year). From whence he infers that *Gregory* was born in the Year 324 (which was the Year before his Father's Conversion) and that he was but 65 Years old when he died.

Year af-  
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§. 4. But *Papebrochius* in his *Acta Sanctorum Maii* 8vo (52) corrects this Correction, and sets the time of his Birth back to the old Account: bringing a great many probable Evidences that *Gregory's* Age must be greater than 65 Years; since he himself so often speaks of his being unfit for Business by reason of his great Age.

When *Maximus* the Cynic oppos'd his being made Bishop of *Constantinople*; *Gregory* in his Oration on that Subject (53) brings in his Adversaries, objecting to him his *Sickliness and Old Age*.

When he desir'd to resign the said Bishoprick (which was 8 Years before he died) and perswaded the Bishops then present at the Council to consent to his so doing; he us'd this Argument (54), *Let these my grey Hairs prevail with you: Which looks as if he were then more than 57 Years old*. 281

This Learned Man does also answer the Reason that *Baronius* brings to the contrary, by endeavouring to shew that the foresaid Mention of the 30th Year is not meant for the 30th Year of his Life (of which it was the 54th, as he thinks) but the 30th of his Studies. And indeed the Words, as they stand, do bear that Sense very well: They are these-

ὃ γὰρ πόλυσ τέθειπεν τοῖς λόγοις χροῖον  
ἤδη τετακωσέν μοι χρόνον τὸτ' ἢν ἔτθ.

*For I had already spent a long time in study of Learning:  
This was almost the 30th Year* [or, my 30th Year].

*Gregorius Presbyter*, who wrote the Life of St. *Gregory*, and took it for the most part out of his foresaid Poem, seems to understand it so: And yet his Words are capable of the other Construction too. He expresses it thus, *τετακωσέν ἤδη πληρώσας ἔτθ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν* Having now completed 30 Years, [or else, his 30th Year] in the Study of Learning. (55).

Moreover

(51) Ad Ann. 354 & 389. (52) Chronologia vitæ Sancti Greg. expensa Steuch-  
data. (53) Orat. 28. (54) Orat. 32. (55) In vitâ Gregorii.

Year after the Apostles. Moreover *Rufinus*, who was Contemporary with him, says (56), He died *fessâ jam atate*, 'being spent with Age. Which hardly can be said of one that was but 65 Years old.

These Reasons, join'd with some others of less Weight, prevail'd with *Papebrochius* to embrace the old Account as the truest, *viz.* that he was 90 Years old when he died; and consequently that he was born *Anno Dom.* 300. And that was 25 Years before his Father was a Christian.

Mr. *Le Clerc*, who writes a sort of Life of this Saint (57), manages this Argument of his Age, after a heedless and absurd manner. For first, he, following *Pagi*, who had followed *Papebrochius*, says, that he was born *Anno* 300, which is 25 Years before his Father's Conversion: And accordingly supposes with the foresaid Authors, that the Year on which he left *Athens* was the 54th of his Age. And the use he makes of this, is, to wonder that he would spend so great a part of his Life in studying Rhetoric, forgetting in the mean time all Care of his aged Parents, and of the Church of God. And yet afterward in the same Life, he wonders why, since it was the Opinion of that Age, that those that die unbaptized are damn'd, his Father and Mother being such zealous Christians did not get him baptiz'd in Infancy. Which is to suppose that he was born after his Father's Conversion, which he and every Body place at the Year 325; or else it is the Wonder of a Man that doats. One of these Suppositions helps a Man that would expose *Gregory* to Censure; which seems to be the Design of this Writer of *Lives* for this and some other Fathers. And the other serves to raise Objections against the Universality of the then Practice of Pædobaptism. But it is very unfair to serve both these Intentions from this Instance: because one of 'em supposes him to be born after his Father was a Christian, and the other 25 Years before.

There is another Reason to make one believe that he was born before his Father's Conversion: which is this. In the foresaid Oration at his Father's Funeral, he tells how his Mother being desirous of a Son, had begg'd one of God in her Prayers, and that in answer to those Prayers, he was born to her. And afterward he comes to speak of those Prayers that she made for her Husband's Conversion: in which Prayers she was encourag'd to the greater Hope of being heard, as having, says he, already made trial of the Divine Liberality. On which Words *Bilius* makes this Comment (58), namely when she obtain'd her Son *Gregory* of God, by her Prayers, as he had said a little before. And indeed that is the only Instance mention'd before in that Oration, to which one can suppose him to refer.

Also this Reason: He often mentions his Mother's pious and christian Care and Dedication of him to God in his Infancy and from the Womb (59), but never any such thing of his Father. §. 5.



§. 5. These Reasons would be sufficient to sway a Man to believe that he was born before his Father was a Christian: were it not for one very plain one to the contrary. And that is a Passage in the forefaid Poem, where *Gregory* the elder earnestly perswades his Son, who had more Mind to a privat Life, to become his Assistant in the Office of Bishop of *Nazianzum*. He uses all the Force of paternal Authority, requiring him upon Pain of the Loss of his Blessing, to comply with his Desire, and to relieve his Old Age: And, among the rest, has these Words (60).

Οὐ πῶς ποτέ τιν ἐμαυτῆρος βίον,  
Ὅσος διήλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χεῖν  
Δὲς τὴν χάριν, δός.

*So many Years of Life you have not seen,  
As I, your Father, have in Orders been.  
Do me the Kindness, do. —*

*Papebrochius* does take notice of this Place, and says, it has puzzled every Body that has read it. He goes about to answer it by supposing the Word *θυσιῶν* is misprinted, and that it should be *ἐπισιῶν*. But as he produces no Manuscript in Favor of his Amendment, it appears too licentious to go down with any one.

Unless some Body else have more to say of it than I can think of; it seems so plain and full as to over-sway all the other Reasons to the contrary: and to prove that *Gregory* was born not only after his Father's Baptism, but even after he was in Priest's Orders, which were conferr'd upon him quickly after his Baptism.

Bishop *Hall* had found out this Place (61), when he sought for Instances of Clergymen that had made use of the Marriage-bed after they were in Holy Orders (of which this is the plainest that he can find). And the Antipædobaptists have taken it from him; and made use of it for their Purpose.

§. 6. If this pass for current, then we must say that *Baronius's* Account of his Age is the truest; and farther, that he was yet two or three Years younger than he makes him. For if he had been full 30 Years old at the Year 354, he would still have been born a little before his Father's Baptism, and two Years before his Ordination. But the Words are *χεῖν τετακισέν*, almost the 30th; which in a Poem may pass well enough, tho' he were but 27 or 28.

We must say likewise that all that he himself, and *Rufinus*, and *Gregorius Presbyter*, do speak of his old Age, must be understood of a *præma-*

*tura*

(60) *Carmen de vitâ suâ*. vers. 520. Circiter. pag. 6. Ed. Paris 1610. (61) *Honor* of the married Clergy, l. 2. §. 8.

Year af-  
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840.

*tura senectus*, caused by his Sicklinefs, which he often mentions. And that *Suidas*, when he makes him live to 90 Years old, mistakes, at least, 27 Years: which might well enough be, since he wrote 600 Years after *Gregory* was dead: And that what he himself says of his Mother's Experience of the Divine Liberality, before her Husband's Conversion, must refer to something else. And that *Gregorius Presbyter* (who also lived near 600 Years after *St. Gregory*) if his Meaning be to speak of the Time when he left *Athens* and went home, as the 30th Year of his Studies, must be mistaken by taking what *Gregory* himself had said of the 30th Year, for the 30th of his Studies (as others have since done) which according to this Supposition, must be but almost the 30th (*viz.* the 27th or 28th) of his Life. And that *Mr. Du Pin* (who has gone a (62) Middle-way, making him to be born *Anno* 318. (which falls 7 Years before his Father's Baptism) does yet place his Birth 8 or 9 Years too soon. For if he was born after his Father's Priesthood, it must be *Anno* 327 or 326 at soonest. And possibly the numerical Figure in the Text of *Mr. Du Pin* is mistaken by the Printer: for in the *Index* at the End of the *Tome* it is printed 328. And according to this Account he was but 61 or 62 when he died. And his Father and Mother (for they were much of one Age) were about 50, when he [the Son] was born. Which is old for a Woman to have Children: and yet she had one, if not more Children, after her Son *Gregory*.

And then also we must say that this *Gregory* the Elder was as singular in this Practice of keeping his Children unbaptiz'd; as *Mr. Johnson* (63) has shewed him to be in the Point of Passive Obedience: and as the Papists will say he was in getting Children after his being in Holy Orders.

I hope the Reader will pardon the Length of this Disquisition, and the uncertain Issue of it at last: for he will perceive by it how difficult it is to find the Birth or Age, even of such whose later Years have been never so well noted. I lighted on one Thread more, which I thought might have directed in this Labyrinth. I observed that *St. Gregory* once speaks of *St. Basil*, as having been about the same Age with himself. For he says at the End of the Funeral Oration (64) which he makes for him, *This Elogium is given thee, Oh Basil! by a Tongue that was wont to be most acceptable to thee, ὁ ἐμῷ μὲν ὄντι, and by one of the same Function, and of the same Age with thee.* If then I could find *St. Basil's* Age, it would, I thought, direct me in that of his Friend *Gregory*; at least so near that we should not mistake 30 Years. But I can't find readily the Account of *St. Basil's* Age any more than of the other, and am quite out of the Humor of entring on a new Search after any Body's Age. *St. Basil* died 379. (the first  
Day



Day of that Year, as they count) This was 10 or 11 Years before *Gregory* died. *St. Basil*, as well as *St. Gregory*, is often spoken of as an old Man; and yet by this last Account he must be but 51, or possibly thereabouts, when he died.

But then, on the other side, that same Oration on *St. Basil* (in which *Gregory* mixes so many of his own Concerns, that it is a sort of History of both their Lives) does by many Circumstances, too little and too long to be repeated, shew that they were but young Men when they left *Athens*. He says that when they declar'd their Purpose of returning home from thence; not only all their Intimates and Equals of the same Age with them, ἱλικας, but also many of the Doctors there, express'd a great Regret at their leaving the University so soon, being, very unwilling to part with 'em. Which makes it probable that they themselves were but young Masters of Arts; and so confirms *Baronius's* Opinion, that they were but 30, or almost 30, and not 54, as they must have been by the other Account.

Besides, *St. Gregory* in that Oration recounting the great Examples of Christian Fortitude that had been in *Basil's* Family, and speaking of the great Persecution that was in *Pontus* under *Maximinus*, relates how great a Share the Grandfathers of *Basil* had in it. Whereas if *St. Basil* himself had then been about 10 Years old (as he must have been by the first Account) his Father, rather than his Grandfathers would have been likely to be mention'd.

§. 7. The Antipædobaptists have taken notice of no other Children of that *Gregory* the elder, but this his Son *Gregory*. But he had two other Children, a Daughter *Gorgonia*, and a Son *Cæsarius*. There is no Account whether *Gorgonia* were elder or younger than her Brother *Gregory*; save that *Elias Cretensis* (if he knew any better than we) makes (65), her to be younger. If she were elder, she must have been born before her Father was a Christian; since it is the hardest Matter that may be to bring her Brother *Gregory's* Years within that Compass. However that were, she was not baptiz'd in Infancy; and being afterward left to her own Discretion, she did not receive Baptism till a little before she died (66), when she was so old as to have Grand-children whom she had instructed in the Christian Faith. Her Husband also, whom she had married (as it seems by her Brother's Words at her Funeral) while he was a Heathen, was by her prevail'd on to be baptiz'd with her. She died before her Father, who died before *St. Basil*. And since *St. Basil* died, as was said, on *New-years Day* 379. It seems to have been 375 at the soonest, when she died. Her Brother *Gregory* was then by the last Account of his Age, but 48. 'Tis very unlikely then that she was younger, having then Grand-children of such an Age.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
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*Cæſarius* was younger than either of 'em, and died the firſt of 'em. And tho' *Gregory's* Words at his Funeral (67) concerning his Baptiſm, are not very plain for the Time of it : yet they ſeem to intimate that he had then lately received it. And indeed (to obſerve this here once for all) the far greateſt Part of thoſe that were not baptiz'd in Infancy, but were left to take their own time for it ; we find to have put it off from Time to Time till they were apprehenſive of Death, excepting ſuch as went into Orders, or the like. But we find no baptiz'd Perſon, except this *Gregory*, that did ſo leave his Children unbaptiz'd.

If all the Children of this elder *Gregory* were born after their Father's Chriſtianity, and yet left unbaptiz'd ; it is the Inſtance but of one Man's Practice. And there is ſome more Excuse for a Biſhop, or other Miniſter to do this, than for other Men ; becauſe, if his Children fall ſick, or into any ſudden Danger of Death, he is ready at hand in the Houſe to give them Baptiſm.

It was probably from ſome Compliance with this Practice of his Father, that *St. Gregory*, in one of the places that I quoted (68), gives that Opinion, which is ſingular in him ; that *it is a good way if a Child appear not to be in any Danger of Death, to defer his Baptiſm for ſome time*. He mentions *three Years* or thereabouts. And as he, at the ſame place adviſes and counts it neceſſary, *if it be in Danger of Death, to baptize it immediately* ; ſo 'tis probable the ſame was his Father's Opinion : and that this his Son had no Sickneſs in his Infancy ; and ſo he thought he might defer the baptizing him.

- That many People in this time delayed and put off the baptizing of their Children ſomething longer than ordinary, not out of Principle that ſo they ought to do ; but out of Negligence and a Procratination which they themſelves own'd to be blamable ; appears plainly by that common and proverbial Speech which *Iſidore* (ſpeaking of 312. *Zipporah's* circumciſing her Child) mentions (69), and ſays, *was uſed to be ſaid in time of Danger*. ' God's Judgments come upon us ; let us baptize our Children out of hand.

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### Seſt. 7. Of Neſtarius.

*There is no Appearance of his Parents being Chriſtians, nor knowing who they were.*

§. 1. Tho' *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, who, after his Father's Death, was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, had done more for the reſtoring the Catholic Faith there, than had been done by any Man in ſo ſhort a Time ; yet he found a Neceſſity of reſigning the Place. Partly by reaſon of his Age and Infirmity ; and partly for that there was ſuch a Contention in



in the Council of Bishops about him: Some said it was not Canonical that he having once accepted another Bishoprick formerly should remove from it. Others, that he living as a Hermit wholly given to Study and Prayers, was not at all dextrous in making his Court with the Emperor for the Good of the Church: neither had he any good Mein, but a contemptible Presence.

To allay these Heats, he did what St. Clement (70) had advis'd in such a Case to be done. He willingly abdicated, and said, *If this Contention be upon my Account, I am ready to depart; only let the Flock of Christ be in Peace* (71).

And when they were in Consultation about another to be chosen; who should they light on but one Nectarius, a Lay-man of Tarsus, of a Senator's Rank, remarkable for a grave and comely Presence; but of no Learning or Skill in Divinity? The Emperor lik'd this Man so well, that he was finally chosen. They did the Gentleman a great Diskindness; for of a creditable and graceful Alderman, they made of him a very insipid Bishop.

But what is to our Purpose is this; Nectarius, tho' he was by Belief and Profession a Christian, yet had not been as yet baptiz'd (72). They were forc'd, having baptiz'd him, to give him Ordination a few Days after, notwithstanding the apostolical Canon against choosing a Novice for a Bishop.

§. 2. The Antipædobaptists would make an Argument from hence that his Parents must have been of their Perswasion since they had not baptiz'd him in Infancy. But first they ought to shew that his Parents were Christians: since, as I said before, half the World at this time were such as had been, since they came to Age, converted from Heathenism, and liked Christianity; but the greater part of 'em did put off their Baptism from time to time for a long while. And one might name several beside this Man, that were pitch'd on by the People for Bishops before they were baptiz'd; some, whose Parents are known to be Heathens; and some whose Parents are not at all mention'd in History; so that 'tis impossible to know what Religion they were of. But they do not make Instances for this purpose, unless they are prov'd, at least by probable Arguments, to have been born of Christians.

As for Nectarius's Parents we know nothing of their Religion. And I believe 'tis as hard to find who they were, as 'tis to know who was Homer's or Job's Father.

### SECT. 8. Of St. John Chrysostom.

*His Parents were probably Heathens at the Time of his Birth.*

§. 1. Among all the ancient Fathers there is none that has had so many to write his Life as St. Chrysostom. For, besides that Palladius, R 1 2 who

(70) Clemens Romanus Epist. 1. ad Corinth. c. 54: (71) Naz. Orat. ad 150 Episcopos. (72) Socrat. l. 5. Soz. l. 7.

Year of who liv'd together with him, has wrote his *Dialog* purpoſely on that Subject; the ancient Hiſtorians, who liv'd nigh his Time, *Socrates* (73), *Sozomen* (74), *Theodoret* (75), &c. have given a larger Account of him than of any other Man. And in the middle Ages there are abundance that have wrote Tracts of the ſame: but theſe later have intermixt ſeveral Fables which are diſprov'd by the elder.

Of theſe *Palladius* ſays (76), that he was baptiz'd by *Meletius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, after he had been inſtructed by him 3 Years in the Chriſtian Religion. And tho' none of the other ancient Writers do mention this his Baptiſm at Man's Age; yet 'tis very probable, ſince as far as we can learn, his Parents were Heathens at the time of his Birth. *Georgius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria* (77), and *Metaphraſtes*, do ſay they were; and they are not in this contradicted by thoſe elder.

§. 2. His Father *Secundus* died preſently after he was born; as he himſelf intimates, *Lib. 1. de ſacerdotio*. His Mother *Anthuſa* was a Chriſtian when this her Son was 20 Years old; But that is no Argument that ſhe or her Husband were ſo at the time of his Birth. At that time the Heathens turn'd Chriſtians as faſt as the Papiſts in *England* turn'd Proteſtants in the time of the Reformation. And even at that time when her Son was 20 Years old, tho' ſhe was then a Chriſtian in Belief, yet the aforeſaid Hiſtorians *Georgius* and *Metaphraſtes* ſay, that ſhe was not baptiz'd till her Son was baptiz'd firſt. They ſay it of his Parents in the foreſaid Life, that they were baptiz'd by *Meletius* after their Son. But it could be true only of his Mother, his Father being dead long before.

I believe the Antipædobaptiſts would not have conceived that they had Ground enough to make *Chryſoſtom* one of their Inſtances, if they had not been encourag'd thereto by *Grotius*. And what he ſays (78), is, that he being born of Chriſtian Parents, as the truer Opinion is, and educated by *Meletius*, yet was not baptiz'd till the 21ſt Year of his Age.

That he was born of Chriſtian Parents, he brings no Proof at all. And it is little to the Purpoſe that he was educated by *Meletius*. As Biſhops don't uſe to take Infants to nurſe (tho' Lad's or young Men to educate they may) ſo in this Caſe it appears that *Chryſoſtom* was 20, or at leaſt 18 Years old before he came to *Meletius*. And then *Meletius* did with him as any Biſhop now would do with a young Man that had been brought up in Heatheniſm: he inſtructed him, and when he had continued a Catechumen three Years, baptized him.

That he was ſo old as I ſay before he came to *Meletius*, is plain; becauſe by all the Accounts he came not to him till he forſook the School of *Libanius*, the Heathen Maſter of Rhetoric. And that he continued

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(73) L. 6. (74) L. 8. (75) L. 5. (76) *Dial. de vitâ Chryſoſtom.* (77) *Vita Chryſoſtom.* (78) *Annot. in Mart. 19.*



continued his Hearer till that Age, appears by what he himself writes, *Oratone 1. ad viduam juniorem*; where speaking in Praise of those Women that continue Widows, and how they are valued even among Heathens, he tells this Story, *For I formerly, when I was young, took notice that my Master, who was one of the most superstitious Men that ever liv'd, did much admire my Mother. For as he ask'd some that were about him who I was, and one made answer that I was a Widow-mother's Son; he ask'd me, how old my Mother was, and how long she had been a Widow: And when I told him that she was 40 Years old, and that it was 20 Years since she buried my Father; he was much affected at it, and speaking aloud to those that were present, 'Strange, says he, what brave Women there are among the Christians?'* Year after the Apostles.

Some Chronologers find it more agreeable with the Computation of Time to suppose that it was not full 20, but 18: Which by a round Number he here calls 20. But it is much one to this Purpose.

The Saying of *Libanius* seems to suppose that *Anthusa* had been a Christian now for a considerable time; or at least that he took it so. But as he knew nothing of her Concerns till that Moment; her professing of Christianity at that time was enough to make him say what he did, without making any Inquiry how long she had been of that Profession.

Some Readers also will be apt to conclude that *Chrysostom* had been at that time but a little while a Hearer of *Libanius* (from whence it would follow probably that *Anthusa* was a Christian when she first sent her Son to this School) because *Libanius* did not at this time know who he was. But the Nature of those Auditories or Lectures was, that one from one Part of the City, and another from another, came on the weekly Lecture-days to hear, and sent their Contributions: So that a Lad or a Man might be a Hearer for a long time before the Master had any personal Knowledge of him. The Word [*School*] being otherwise used in our Time might be apt to make this Mistake. But it is to be taken in the ancient Sense, as in *Acts 19. 9*. The School of *Tyrannus* was not a College of Lads under his Care, but a Place of public Lectures that he kept.

§. 3. There is, on the contrary, Reason to think that she was not a Christian when she consented that her Son should hear this Master, who was a spiteful Enemy to the Christian Religion. And as this is probable of it self; so 'tis made more than probable that not only she, but her Son himself also was a Heathen when he came first to hear him, by what *Sozomena* affirms (79), viz. That on a time when *Libanius* was like to die, some of his Friends ask'd him who he thought fit should be his Succeeder? And he answer'd, John [meaning this John who came afterward to be called *Chrysostom*] should have been the next, if the Chri-

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Year after the Apostles Christians had not stole him away from us. The Word is, ἐπ' αὐτὸν rob'd us of him. Which argues that he was a Heathen before.

§. 4. Mr. Du Pin in the Notes he gives upon what he had said of Chrysostom (80), says, that some Writers make his Parents to be Heathens; but that he himself in the first Sermon against the Ἀνόμοι, says, that he was bred up and nourished in the Church; and that it appears out of his first Book de Sacerdotio, c. 1. that his Mother was a Christian when his Father died, which was quickly after she was deliver'd of him.

Having a great Regard to every thing that this excellent Author says, I read over on purpose both those Tracts. And in the Sermon found nothing that seem'd to relate any thing at all to this Matter; so that I believe there must be some Mistake. Also in the first Chapter of the Book cited there is nothing at all of the Matter. That which I guess the most probable to be meant, is Chap. 2. where Chrysostom's Mother, earnestly intreating him not to leave her, recounts to him the great Troubles she had undergone about his Estate and Education in her Widowhood; and yet that she had kept herself a Widow, and had gone thro' the Brunt of all these Fatigues; In the first place, says she, being assisted by the Help [or, Influence] that is from Above, καὶ τῆς ἀνωθεν βοηθείης ἐστῆς; and then also the Comfort which I had by the continual Sight and Company of you, my Son, did not a little contribute to it.

But here is nothing but what might be properly said by a Christian Woman in reference to those Times, in which she had been a Heathen: since God Almighty employs his Providence in relieving the Necessities not only of Christians, but of all Men and other Creatures that know him not. She does not mention in all that long Speech any Praying to God, or Use of his Word, that she had made in those Days; which to me is a greater Proof that she was not at that time a Christian, than the foresaid Words are that she was.

At least here is nothing that can nigh countervail the Argument from the foresaid Words of Libanius concerning this John's heathen Profession at first, rehears'd by Sozomen. And Sozomen is a good Witness in this Case, having liv'd part of his Time together with Chrysostom. For he had wrote several Books before that History; and he had compleated that History in 440. So that he must have been born before St. Chrysostom died, which was Anno 407.

### Sect. 9. Of St. Ambrose.

*There is no Account of his Parents being Christians at the time of his Birth.*

§. 1. St. Ambrose's Case is just the same with that of Nestarius. And he himself, after he had heard how Nestarius was chosen Bishop of Constantinople,



*Constantinople, said (81), I was utterly unwilling to be ordain'd; and, when there was no Remedy, desir'd that at least my Ordination might be delayed for a longer Time. But the Rule of the Church could not prevail; the Force of the People prevail'd. Yet the Western Bishops have approved of my Ordination by their Consent; and the Eastern by their doing the same thing.* The Rule, or Prescription, that he speaks of, is that mention'd by St. Paul 1 Tim. 3. 6. which Canon, it seems, the People would by Force have to be dispens'd with, when they had an extraordinary Opinion of a Man.

He was a Layman, and was Governor under *Valentinian* the Emperor, of some Provinces of *Gallia Cisalpina*: and when the People of *Milan* (which was one of the Cities under his Government) were, after the Death of *Auxentius* their Bishop, in a Tumult about choosing another; he came to keep the Peace, and perswaded 'em to Quietness and Concord. He spoke to 'em so handsomely and so gravely, that all Parties agreed on a sudden to pitch upon him for Bishop (82). He oppos'd it what he could: but they sent to the Emperor for his Consent, because he was at that time the Emperor's Minister. And he said, *He was very glad that the Men he choose for Governors were so well lik'd by the People, that they would choose the same for Bishops.* So he gave his Consent, but yet he would not determin the Choice, as being a Thing out of his Sphere. He order'd the Bishops then present in or about that City to direct the Choice of the People, who continued resolute for *Ambrose*. But *Ambrose* was not as yet baptiz'd. He receiv'd Baptism at the Hands of *Simplicianus* (83), and within 8 Days was ordain'd Bishop.

§. 2. Our Business being to inquire why he was not baptiz'd in Infancy; the Antipædobaptists would have it that he was born of Christian Parents: and some of 'em stick not to say, that *Paulinus* in his Life says, he was. But *Paulinus* does not say so. What he says of his Father is this, that he was a Noble-man of *Rome*, and Governor of *Gallia*. But he was the less likely to be a Christian for that: the Senate and great Men of *Rome* being the last Body of Men in the Empire, that came over to the Christian Faith. Inasmuch that a long time after this, when St. *Ambrose* was an old Man, *Valentinian* the Second had much ado to withstand the Attempt made by the Senate to bring again into Fashion the Heathen Worship. So says St. *Ambrose* at his Funeral (84), *Before his Death he refused to grant the Privileges of the Temples, when such Men stood up for 'em, of whom he might well be afraid. Whole Crowds of Heathen Men came about him; the Senate petition'd. He was not afraid for the Sake of Christ to incur the Displeasure of Men.* And

(81) Epist. 82. ad Vercellens. Eccl. (82) *Paulinus* in vita. *Rufinus*, l. 2. c. 11. *Socr.* l. 4. c. 30. *Sozomen.* *Theodore.* l. 4. c. 6. (83) *Augustin.* *Confess.* l. 8. c. 2. (84) *Orat. in obitum Valentiniani.*

Year after the Apostles And if one may guess by Circumstances, he lost the Empire and his Life in this Quarrel; *Eugenius* the Usurper, that prevail'd against him, having all the heathen Party on his Side: who restor'd those heathen Altars which *Valentinian* had denied, and set up (85) Temples of *Jupiter*. And *Argobastes* had threatned, if he overcame *Theodosius*, to make the great Church (86) at *Milan* (the *St. Paul's* of that City) a Stable for his Horses; because they would not communicate with *Eugenius*, nor receive his Offering, as being an Usurper. But better News came to Town quickly, as I shew'd before (87) in the History of *Valentinian*.

I bring in this to shew that when *Paulinus* makes *St. Ambrose's* Father to have been a great Man at *Rome*; that is no Argument that he was a Christian. But indeed *Paulinus*, or whoever wrote that *Life* (for *Erasmus* (88) takes it to be a Forgery of some late Monk, as I observed before) knew so little of his Father's Concerns, that he did not know his Name. He make his Name to be *Ambrosius*, because the Son's was so: but his Name, if his Son knew better (89), was *Symmachus*. Tho' the Life-writers copying one out of another do to this Day call him *Ambrosius*. He seems to have died while *St. Ambrose* was young.

But at the time when *St. Ambrose* was come to Man's Estate, *Paulinus* does indeed say, that his Mother was a Widow, and dwelt at *Rome*, and was then a Christian: if that would avail any thing to prove that her Husband or she were so formerly, when he was born.

§. 3. On the contrary, a strong Proof that they were not, is that which he says of himself, that he was not brought up in the Bosom of the Church. For in his *Second Book de Pœnitentiâ*, c. 8. speaking of his own Unworthiness, and Unfitness to be a Bishop, he says it will be said of him, *Ecce ille, non in ecclesia nutritus sinu, &c.* 'Loe! this Man that was not brought up in the Bosom of the Church, &c.

As for what *St. Ambrose's* own Thoughts were of the Necessity of Infant Baptism, it appears by his Words cited before, (90) that he made it a great Question whether a Child could be sav'd without it.

#### Sect. 10. Of St. Hierom.

*There is no Proof to the contrary, but that he was baptized in Infancy.*

§. 1. *St. Hierom*, who wrote the Lives of several Persons of Note that had been before him, found none of the Ancients that came after him, so kind as to write his: for that Life which was formerly publish'd with his Works, is a mere Fable. Yet he having wrote a great many occasional Letters, which for the Goodness of the Style, and the Learning contain'd in 'em, are preserv'd; many of the chief Passages of his Life may be pick'd out of them. In

(85) *Paulinus in vitâ Ambrosii.* (86) *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 5. c. 26.* (87) *Sect. 3. §. 3.* (88) *Censura prefixa operibus Ambrosii.* (89) *Ambros. Orat. in obitum Saryri.* (90) *Pt. 1. CH. XIII. §. 2.*



In all that he has said of himself, or the anonymous Author of the Year af-  
Life aforesaid, or any Body else, has said of him; there is no Ground ter the A-  
to question his Baptism in Infancy, except an obscure Passage, men- posties  
tion'd twice in the same Words, and those ambiguous ones, in two  
Letters that he wrote to Pope *Damasus*.

The Occasion was this; *St. Hierom* being retir'd from *Rome* into *Syria*, 260.  
in order to lead a Monk's Life there; found the People of those Parts  
much divided; not so much in Opinions of Religion, as in disputing  
which of several that were set up, was the lawful Bishop of *Antioch*,  
with whom they ought to hold Communion. Some acknowledg'd *Mele-*  
*tius*; others refusing him followed *Paulinus*; and others adher'd to *Vitalis*.

And another Difficulty was; they thereabouts express'd their Faith  
in the Trinity by acknowledging three *Hypostases*. Being ask'd by the  
*Latins*, What they meant by *Hypostases*; they answer'd, *Personas subsi-*  
*stentes*, 'Persons subsisting. *St. Hierom* and the other *Latins* answer'd  
that they had the same Faith, and own'd three *Persons subsisting*. This  
was not enough; they would have 'em express the Word it self, three  
*Hypostases*. *St. Hierom* scrupled the doing that, because *Hypostasis* a-  
mong secular Authors had signified *Substance* or *Essence*: and who, says  
he, will with a sacrilegious Mouth preach up three *Substances*? And again,  
If any one by *Hypostasis*, meaning *Ousiam*, *Essence* [or, *Being*] does not  
confess that there is but one *Hypostasis* in three *Persons*; he is estranged  
from *Christ*.

About these things he writes to *Damasus*, who had in the mean time 272.  
been made Bishop of *Rome* (91), desiring to know whether he and the  
Church of *Rome* (for he is resolved to go by their Example) do allow  
of this Word *Hypostasis* for *Person*. And also which of the aforesaid  
Parties, viz. of *Meletius*, *Paulinus*, or *Vitalis*, they would communicate  
with: for he would do the same. And this I do, says he, *Inde nunc*  
*mee anima postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi*. 'Desiring  
'now Food [or, *Instruction*] for my Soul from that Place where I for-  
'merly took upon me the *Garments of Christ*.

This Letter not procuring, as it seems, an Answer so soon as he  
expected, he writes another *Epist.* 58, to the same Purpose; desiring  
him with greater Importunity to give him his Answer. In which he  
uses the same Motive: but express'd in words so just the same; that  
one gives no Light to the other. *Ego igitur, ut ante jam scripsi, Christi*  
*vestem in Romanâ Urbe suscipiens, &c.* 'I therefore, who, as I wrote  
'before, took on me the *Garment of Christ* in the City of *Rome*, &c.

From this Place *Erasmus* (92) rais'd a Conjecture, that he was bap-  
tiz'd at *Rome*. And if so, he could not be baptiz'd in Infancy: for  
he was born at *Stridon* in *Dalmatia*; and did not come to *Rome* till he  
was big enough to go to the Grammar School.

S f

And

Year af- And what *Erasmus* spoke doubtfully, other following Writers of  
ter the A- this Father's Life, *Baronius*, *Du Pin*, *Dr. Cave*, &c. have (as it hap-  
pistles. pens in relating Matters) told as an absolute unquestion'd thing.

That which *Erasmus* says, is this; *He means his Baptism by that taking on him Christ's Garments: for, I think, he does not mean it of his receiving Priest's Orders; but in Baptism there was a white Garment given 'em.*

He might have been sure enough that he did not mean it of the Habit of a Priest; for *St. Hierom* was not as yet ordained Priest, when the Letter was writ: And when he was ordain'd, it was not at *Rome*, 278. but at *Antioch* by *Paulinus*, to whose Communion *Damasus* had it seems advis'd him.

§. 2. But there was another sort of *Habit* or *Garment*, which he had then already put on, and which he knew to be very much valued by *Damasus* whose Acquaintance he now sought, and which he probably took upon him at *Rome* (for he took it on him in his younger Years (93), and 'twas at *Rome* that he spent those) and that was the *Habit of a Monk*, which he then wore when he wrote that Letter. And 'tis a great deal more likely that he means that, than the *Albes* which were worn but a few Days. Especially since neither he, nor I think any other Author, among all that Variety of Expressions which they use for denoting Baptism, do ever use that Phrase of *receiving the Garments of Christ*. Because the ordinary Christians did not use for constant wearing, any particular Garment as a Badge of their Religion. But the *Monks* and *Virgins* that had possess'd perpetual Virginity, did at that time (as has been usual ever since) wear a peculiar Habit, as a Token of their Profession.

Of which if any one doubt, it must be one that has never read any thing in *St. Hierom*: for he being given to an over weaning Opinion of that way, mentions it with great Elogiums on every turn. And as he calls the Persons, *Servos Christi*, and *Christo Sacratos*, 'Servants of Christ, and consecrated to Christ. And the Virgins, *Virgines Dei*, 'God's Virgins (as if married People did not belong to God or Christ at all). So, what is most to our Purpose, he commonly calls that peculiar sort of Coat that the Virgins, or Nuns wore, *Christi tunicam*, 'the Coat, or, Garment, of Christ. And the Veil, *Flammeum Christi*, 'The Veil of Christ. Of each of which I will give one Instance.

In his *Epitaphium*, or Funeral Oration, in Praise of *Paulla* (94), he recounts how desirous she had been in her Life-time that her Children and those that belonged to her should take on 'em that Habit and Profession, of renouncing the World, and leading a single Life, as she had done that of a Widow; and how she had in great measure her Desire: for besides that *Eustochium* her Daughter was then a *professed Virgin*, her Grand-daughter also by her only Son *Toxotius*, being then a Child, was, by her Parents *Christi Flammeo reservata*, 'designed to wear the 'Veil of Christ.

And



And in his Letter to *Eustochium* (95), the Subject whereof is, *de* Year after the Apostles  
*virginitate servandâ*, to exhort her to continue constant and unstained in her Purpose of perpetual Virginity; he says, *It is not fitting, when one has taken hold of the Plow, to look back; nor being in the Field, to return home: Nec post Christi tunicam ad tollendum aliud vestimentum tecto descendere: Nor after one has put on the Coat of Christ, to come down from the Roof to take any other Garment.*

Since these Expressions are the very same with those that he us'd before of himself; 'tis probable that those also are to be understood of the *Monks Habit*: Or at least, it is not at all necessary that they must be understood of his Baptism at *Rome*. And if they be not; then there remains no kind of Ground to doubt of his being baptiz'd at *Stridon*, in Infancy, as other Christian Children were. For neither *Erasmus*, nor any of those that have followed him, have brought any other Proof but these Words; and had it not been for them, no Man had ever had such a Surmise.

§. 3. *Baronius* does indeed say (96), that after he was baptized, he presently reformed his Life, which before he had led in some Lewdness: and whereas he had lost the first Virginity, he kept undefiled that which he calls the Second, which is after Baptism.

If this were true, or could be prov'd; the Question were at an end. But there seems to be no more Ground for it than that *Baronius*, having first taken for granted from *Erasmus's* Conjecture that he was baptiz'd at Man's Age, thought it more decent to lay that Fornication of which he is known to be guilty, rather before his Baptism than after.

The Tract of *St. Hierom*, to which he refers for the Proof of this, is his *Apology made for his Books that he had wrote against Jovinian*. In which there is indeed Mention of those two sorts of Virginity, and there is also a Confession of his own Loss of Virginity. But it is in several Clauses or Paragraphs, that he mentions these two Things; and not so as to affirm, or intimate that he could claim either of the said sorts of Virginity himself. I think not; yet it may be proper to lay before the Reader the Places themselves.

He had been accus'd by a great many that in the said Books against *Jovinian* he had so excessively commended Virginity, that he had in some Expressions represented all Marriage as sinful; for which Accusation he had indeed given too much occasion. Yet he vindicates and explains the Places excepted against as well as he can. And then says,

*This therefore I protest, and make it my last Declaration; that I did not then condemn Marriage, nor do now condemn it. Virginity I do extol to the Sky; not that I am possessed of it, but that I the more admire a Thing that I my self have not. It is an ingenuous and modest Confession to commend highly that in others which one has not one's self. Must not I, because being of a gross Body I am fain to go on the Ground, admire that Faculty that the Birds have of flying in the Air; and envy the Pigeon which* Radit

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles.

Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.  
*With stretch'd out Wings glides thro' the yielding Sky?*

*Let no Man deceive himself: nor let him undo himself by hearkning to a soothing Flatterer. The first Virginity is that which is from one's Birth: the Second is that which is from one's second Birth. 'Tis none of my Saying, 'tis an old Rule. 'No Man can serve two Masters, the Flesh and the Spirit. 'The Flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. 'These are contrary one to the other, that we cannot do the 'Things we would. When any thing in my Book seems severe, regard not my Words, but the Scripture from which the Words are taken. Christ is a Virgin. The Mother of our Virgin Lord is a Virgin, &c.*

Here after he had confess'd and apologiz'd for himself; he passes to the other Theme of commending Virginity, and shewing the Inconveniencies of an incumbred and secular State. Here is nothing affirm'd that he himself had either of the two sorts of Virginity. And if any one judge, as *Baronius* seems to have done, that the Chain of Thought leads one to think he meant so; that Conjecture will be much overbalanc'd by what he says plainly and expressely of his own Case in another place (97), where he speaks of his ill Life, and aggravates the Guilt of it as being the defiling of his Baptism. For commenting on that Expression of *Isaiah* concerning himself, that he was a *Man of unclean Lips*, he says, *He as being a just Man had sinn'd only in Word, and therefore had only unclean Lips, not a foul Conscience. But I as using my Eyes to Lust, and being offended by my Hand, and sinning by my Foot and all my Limbs, have every thing unclean. And because having been once baptiz'd with the Spirit, I have defil'd my Garments again; I deserve the second Baptism, which is that of Fire.*

It was some great and mortal Sin that he speaks of (for they don't use to speak so of Sins of daily Incurſion) and we read of no such that he was guilty of but his Fornication. His Words also are such as to particularize that.

And besides, he professes in a great many Places (98) (in the fore-said Letter to *Damasus* for one) that he undertook the *Monk's Life*, as a State of *voluntary Penance* for his Sins; whereas they that in those Times were baptiz'd in their adult Age, would have been counted greatly to undervalue the Grace of Baptism, if they had thought any such thing necessary for the Sins they had committed before. They always speak of Baptism as giving a Person a free, total and absolute Discharge from all Guilt of Sin, Original or Actual, before that time.

§. 4. One thing that will stick as an Objection in the Minds of those that are acquainted with the Ecclesiastical Discipline of that Age, is this; that if he had been baptiz'd in Infancy, or any time before his Fornication; that Sin being after his Baptism, would have rendered



dred him incapable of Holy Orders. Because the Canons of that time, those of *Nice* (99), those of *Eliberis* (1), and those of *Neocæsarea* (2), do enact that if any one *after his Baptism* did fall into Fornication, or any other of the great Crimes; such a Man, tho' he might by Penance be restor'd to Lay-Communion, must never be ordain'd to the Holy Functions. And so strict it was, that if such an one were ordain'd by Mistake, his Crimes not being known; when they came afterward to be known, he was to be depos'd by the *Nicen* Canon: but the *Neocæsarean* admits him to continue in the Name, and some part of the Office; but not to *Offer*, as they called it, *i. e.* to consecrate the holy Elements. And this they will have to be observ'd, *because* (as the Words of the *Nicen* Canon are) *the holy Church does in all things keep to that which is blameless*, or, without Scandal. But as for Heathens, or Men unbaptiz'd, they judg'd that no Sin whatever committed in that State was to be an Impediment of their Promotion after they came to be baptiz'd. In a Word, they reckon'd that Penance, or, a long Course of Repentance, would cure a mortal Sin; but so as to leave a Scar. But that *Baptism* did perfectly wash off all the Stain and Discredit of Sins committed before it. So that St. *Hierom's* being ordain'd Presbyter (as we said before he was) by *Paulinus*, will make an Argument that his Baptism was after his Fornication.

But then they that know that the *Canons* ran thus, know also that the Practice was not always so strict and regular as the Canon: but that on the contrary these and some other such strict Rules were frequently dispens'd with in the Case of such Men as came afterward to be of great Merit or Abilities, which the Church could not well want: and that St. *Hierom* was, without Controversie, the most learned and best skill'd in interpreting the Scripture of any Man then living; and also was a great Favorite of Pope *Damasus*, whose Interest was great in all the Church.

And besides, an Observation which retorts the Force of this Argument strongly to the other side, is this; that these Canons had in great measure their Force upon St. *Hierom*. For he not only protested, when he was made Presbyter, as he tells us himself (3) that if *Paulinus* who ordain'd him, *meant thereby to take him out of his State of Monachism* [or, Penance] *that he would not so accept it*; but also, after he was ordained, refused, out of a deep Humility and Sense of his Sin, to execute the Priestly Office, at least in the principal Parts thereof. Of which there are these Proofs.

1. That in all his Letters and Works one finds no Mention nor Instance of his acting in that Office. Of this I am no farther confident, than that having taken notice as I read, I remember none.

2. That

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(99) Can. 9, 10. (1) Can. 30. (2) Can. 9, 10. (3) Epist. 61. contra errores Joannis Hierosol.

Year after the Apostles  
225.  
205.  
214.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

2. That *Epiphanius* affirms this of him and of *Vincentius*, another Monk that had been ordained. The Occasion was this. *Epiphanius* had in a Case which he judged to be of Necessity, ordain'd *Paulinianus*, St. *Hierom's* younger Brother, Priest; tho' the Place in which he did it was out of his own Diocess. Being blam'd for this Incroachment by *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he makes this Apology (4), *Tho' no Man ought to go beyond his own Measure; yet Christian Charity, in which there is no Guile, is to be preferr'd before all. Nor should you consider what is done; but at what Time, and in what Manner, and for what Reasons, and upon whom the Thing was done. For when I saw that there was a great Number of holy Brethren in the Monastery; and the holy Presbyters Hierom and Vincent, by reason of their Modesty and Humility, would not execute the Offices proper for their Title, nor labor in that part of the Ministry in which consists the chief Salvation of Christians, &c.*

His being made Priest after his Sin is not so great a Proof of his Baptism coming between, as those severe Censures of himself are, that his Sin was after his Baptism. He that in that Age should have spoken of his Sins committed before Baptism, as he does of his (5), *I came into the Fields and Wilderness, that there bewailing, durescentia peccata, my Sins that lie so hard upon me, I might move the Pity of Christ towards me, would have been censur'd to derogate from that Article of the Creed, I believe one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. And he himself says in other Places (6), All Fornications and Lewdnesses of the most scandalous Nature, Impiety against God, Parricide or Incest, &c. are washed away in this Christian Fountain or Laver.*

In how different a Strain does St. *Austin* confess his Sins, which, tho' much greater than St. *Hierom's*, viz. a continu'd Course of Fornication with several Harlots, yet because his Baptism came after them, he says thus of 'em (7), *What Praise ought I to give to the Lord that my Memory recounts these Things, and yet my Soul is in no Terror for 'em?*

§. 5. I said he enter'd into a Monk's Life young (when I was shewing that it was probable he took the Habit at *Rome*). He himself says so in several places (8).

The vulgar Reader is not to imagin, that this Monastic Life was then of the same sort with that which is now for the most part in use in the Church of *Rome*. On the contrary, the first Institution and primitive Practice of it was commendable. It is Time, and the Corruption of the Age, and Superstitions added to it, and the great Revenues that have been settled on the Monasteries, that have perverted it. They professed Virginity: And they did accordingly with wonderful Hardships of Diet, Lodging, &c. keep under the Body. They sold all they had, and gave it to the Poor. They renounc'd all the Affairs of secular Life, but at the same time us'd daily Labor for their

Living :

(4) Epist. ad Joann. Hierosol. (5) Epist. 61. (6) Epist ad Oceanum de unius aetoris viro. (7) Confess. l. 3. c. 7. (8) Epist. 2. it. 62, &c.



Living: they had not then the Fat of the Land; nor one politic Head, whose Interest they were to promote. If any one endeavored to live at Ease, or indulge himself; he was not counted a Monk. *St. Hierom* speaks of some few that he had seen of this sort (9). *I have seen, says he, some that after they have renounced the World, vestimentis duntaxat, in their Garments, or Habit only, and by a verbal Profession, not in Deeds; have alter'd nothing of their former way of Living: They are richer, rather than poorer, than before: They have as much Attendance of Servants, &c. So that we see all Monks good or bad, wore the Garments of a Monk.*

Yet as commendable as it was in the Practice then; *St. Hierom* has been under some Censure, for his excessive urging it on People; not only in his own Time, but ever since; and not only among Protestants, but among those of the Church of *Rome* that are any thing impartial. *Mr. Du Pin*, who is highly to be valued for that Quality, says of him (10), *Concerning Virginity and the Monks Life, he often speaks so, as if he would have one think they are necessary for Salvation.*

Where shall one meet even among the late Monks an Expression in Praise of this sort of Life more exorbitant than one that he has in his Letter to *Eustochium*, a Lady that profess'd that State? Where addressing himself to *Paulla* her Mother, he says, *Your Daughter has procur'd you a great Benefit: You are now become God's Mother-in-law, Socrus Dei esse cœpisti.* This is something worse than calling the Habit, the *Garments of Christ*. He means that the Daughter by professing a religious Virginity was become the Spouse of Christ; and so the Mother must be his Mother-in-law. But such Allegories carried too far, border upon Impiety. They are not to be so easily pardon'd to a Man of a cool Head: But *St. Hierom* having had the Spleen to a high degree must be allow'd some Favor in the Censure of his Expressions. Those Men when they are in, at commending or disparaging any thing, are carried to speak more than they mean at their sedate Times.

§. 6. But it was not during the Times of *Damasus*, that *St. Hierom* fell under any Censure for this his over-lashing: But afterward in the Times of *Siricius*. *Damasus* had been so much of the same Temper, that 'tis likely he approv'd of him the better for it; and that one Reason of his using those high-flown Expressions was to ingratiate himself with him. And we find him, in his Writings, during this later Popedom, frequently appealing to the Times of *Damasus*. *I wrote, says he* (11), *while Damasus of blessed Memory liv'd, a Book against Helvidius of the perpetual Virginity of the blessed Mary: In which I had occasion, for the setting forth the Advantage of Virginity, to say many things of the Inconveniencies of Marriage. Did that excellent Man, and learned in the Scriptures, that Virgin Doctor of the Church which is a Virgin, find any fault with that Discourse? And in my Book to Eustochium I said some Things harder yet concerning Marriage: And yet no Body was offended at it. For*

*Damasus*

(9) Epist. 4. ad Rusticum. (10) Nouv. Bibl. T. 3. p. 1. (11) Apol. pro lib. contra Iovin.

Year af-ter the A-pples Damafus being a Lover of Chafity heard my Commendations of Virginity with a greedy Ear.

This laft is the Book which he complains is now *lapidatus*, *stoned*: Or, generally condemned.

He fays alfo in another place (12), that Damafus did himfelf write in Commendation of Virginity both in *Profe* and *Verfe*.

'Tis the lefs wonder that in Letters between thefe two, that did fo magnifie this State of Life, the Habit or Garment by which the contingent Life of a Monk was profefled, fhould be called the *Garment of Chrift*.

And if what I have produc'd be fufficient to make this probable, then I have clear'd St. *Hierom*'s Parents of an Imputation that has been laid on 'em, ever fince *Erasmus*'s Time, even by learned Men: And which St. *Hierom* himfelf would have counted a heinous one. For when he declares how *finful* it would be, if any Parents that are *Chriftians* fhould fuffer their Children to die unbaptiz'd; (as I have fhewn (13) he does) he muft judge that his Parents had run a very finful Hazard, if they had let him continue fo long, and then take fo long a Journey, before they had procur'd him Baptifm.

### SECT. II. Of St. Austin.

*His Father was a Heathen, when this his Son was born: And a long time after.*

§. 1. There is no Instance of this Nature more commonly urg'd than that of St. *Aufin*: And yet none that is a more palpable Miftake.

188. That he was about 33 Years old when he was baptiz'd, is clear: He himfelf gives a large Account of it in his *Book of Confessions* (14). As he obferv'd (15) that that Book was in his Life-time more generally read than any other of his Works; fo it has happen'd ever fince. That, of all other, having had the Fortune to be translated into many vulgar Languages, every Body has obferv'd the Story of his Baptifm: And it has caft Scruples into the Heads of many unlearned Readers, to think, if Infant Baptifm were then practis'd, Why he was not baptiz'd in Infancy?

§. 2. As for his Parents: *Poffidius*, who a little after his Death wrote his Life, fays in the Beginning thereof; that he was *born of creditable and chriftian Parents*. So here Matters are brought to a fair Iflue. St. *Aufin* in his Books which I quoted (16), makes us to underftand that he never knew, heard, or read of any Chriftian that was an Antipædobaptift: And *Pelagius* his Adverfary in the Queftion of Original Sin, whofe Interelt it was to have found fome if there had been any, confeffes that he knew of none. And yet now it feems St. *Aufin*'s own Father was one.

And this muft have paff for current; if St. *Aufin* himfelf had not given us a truer, or at leaft a more particular, Account of his Parents than *Poffidius* has done. But this he does in the foremention'd Book of his *Confessions*. Only there is this Difference; that the Story of

(12) Epift. 2. ad Nepotian. (13) Pt. 1. CH. XV. §. 1. (14) L. 9. c. 6. (15) *Retractat.* l. 2. c. 6. (16) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 17, & 30.



of his Baptism being set down at large, is taken Notice of by every Body : but his Father's Want of Christianity being mention'd but briefly, and by the By in one or two Places, has escap'd the Notice of many Readers.

Marshall in his *Defence of Infant Baptism* (17), or rather a Friend of his whom he made Use of to search into Matters of Antiquity ; *having himself, as he there says, but just Leisure enough to look into these Authors now and then* : He was taken up, I suppose, with much higher Authors ; *Calvin, Twiss, &c.* But his Friend has cleared this Matter very well : Which was easie to do. He has produc'd the particular Places where St. Austin tells us that his Father was no baptiz'd Christian, nor so much as a Catechumen, nor did believe in Christ, till a good while after he [St. Austin] was born. Which are these ;

In the *first Book* of his *Confessions*, Ch. 11. speaking of the Time when he was a Child (about 8 or 9 Years old, one must guess by the Story) he says of his Father ; *Ille nondum crediderat.* ' He did not yet at that Time believe.

In the *second Book*, Ch. 3. speaking to God of the State of his Father and Mother at that Time when he was, as himself mentions, 16 Years old, he says, *In my Mother's Breast thou hadst already begun thy Temple, and made an Entrance for thy dwelling Place.* But he [my Father] was yet but a Catechumen, and that but newly.

In the *ninth Book*, Ch. 9. reckoning up in a Speech to God Almighty the good Deeds of his Mother, who was then lately dead : He says ; *Finally, she also gained over to thee her Husband in the latter End of his Life.* And had no more Occasion to bewail that [Crossness and ill Nature] in him after he was Fidelis, a baptiz'd Christian ; which she had endur'd in him before he was so.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Life Writers copying out of *Possidini*, and one out of another, do to this Day write him *parente utroque Christiano natus*, ' Born of Parents both Christians. If he, or they, mean that his Parents were both Christians at the time of his Birth, it is a plain Mistake. But if they mean that they became so before they died ; 'tis true, but ought to have been explain'd so : At least by the modern Writers, because of the Occasion of Mistake that it lays in the Way of the Antipædobaptists, of which there was formerly no Fear.

His Mother indeed was a Christian (in Heart and Belief at least). Whether baptiz'd or not, we are not certain) at the time of his Birth. But what could a Woman do against the Will of such an Imperious and Cholerick Husband, as St. Austin in many Places (18) declares his Father to have been in those times ? She did what she could or dar'd : He says of himself (19), *I was signed with the Sign of Christ's Cross, and was seasoned with his Salt* (Ceremonies then used by Christians on their Children)

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dren) *even from the Womb of my Mother, who greatly trusted in thee.* But so solemn a thing as Baptism she could not, or dar'd not, it seems, procure to be administred against her Husband's Will. For it was not a thing (20) then used to be huddled up in a private Parlor, or in the Woman's Bed-Chamber, or without Godfathers, &c. but had many solemn Circumstances, and was perform'd by putting the Child into the Water in Presence of the Congregation, &c. except in some particular Cases of extreme Haste and Necessity.

It was contrary to her Husband's Inclination that she taught her Child, as she nurs'd him, the Principles of Christian Religion. As he plainly intimates when he says (21), *So I then believed, and so did all our Family, except my Father only; who did not* however so far over-rule the Power of my Mother's godly Love toward me, but that I believ'd in Christ, tho' he did not.

St. Paul perswades a believing Wife to stay with an unbelieving Husband (22), partly for the Hopes there is of *gaining* [or converting] him: And partly, because the unbelieving Party is seldom so obstinate or averse to Christianity, but that the Children are allow'd to be made *Holy* [or baptiz'd] into it. Which I shew'd (23) to be the Sense which the most ancient Writers give to his Words. But still this must be understood to hold *for the most Part, not always.* There has been seldom known any Husband that would yield so little to the Desires or Petitions of a Wife as this Man would, while he was a Heathen. He us'd her not as a Companion, but as an absolute Servant: Even by the Account which the Son gives of the Father after his Death.

In a Word, St. Austin's Case was the same with that of *Timothy*, whose Mother was a *Jewess*; and yet his Father being a *Greek, i. e. a Heathen*, and probably a Hater of the *Jewish Religion*, as St. Austin's Father was of the Christian, he had not been Circumcised: As appears, *Acts 16. 1, 3. Him Paul took and Circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those Quarters: For they knew all that his Father was a Greek: And therefore probably would be inquisitive whether he had been Circumcised, or not.*

Indeed when St. Austin was a Child not yet big enough to go to School, but capable to express his Mind, and it happen'd that he fell ill of a sudden Pain in his Stomach, so violent that he was like to die: And he had, as he tells himself (24), *the Motion of Mind and the Faith to beg earnestly of his Mother to get him baptiz'd: She in that Case would have ventur'd to do it, and did in great haste bestir her self in providing for it. And it had been done if he had not quickly mended of his Pain.* But there are several things considerable in this Case. 1. It was a Case of great Extremity: It must

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(20) See Pt. I. CH. XV. Sect 7. §. 3. (21) Conf. I. I. c. 11. (22) 1 Cor. 7. (23) Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 19. it. CH. XI. §. 11. (24) L. I. c. 11.



must be done now or never. 2. It was at his own Desire, so that his Father could not blame his Mother. 3. In that Case a private and clerical Baptism was sufficient. 4. 'Tis probable that his Father was now mollified in that Averseness that he had for the Christian Religion, in which he himself in a few Years after thought fit to become a Catechumen, or Hearer.

§. 3. Afterward the Scene alter'd in the Family of *Patritius*, St. *Austin's* Father. For when he began to believe in Christ, and to fear God; his Son *Austin* began to be estrang'd from Religion and all good Inclinations by the Heat of Lust, and Fornication (25). And when his Father now join'd with his Mother in perswading him to associate himself with the Christians, and of all the sorts of 'em to join with the Catholic Church; this Advice had no Effect upon him at that Time. For he quickly after ran into the blasphemous Sect of the *Manichees* (26), who derided all Baptism and the Scriptures, and were no more Christians than the *Mahometans* are now.

Yet it had its Effect afterward. For 12 or 13 Years after, when his Father had now been dead a good while, and he disliking the *Manichees*, turn'd a *Sceptic*, or *Seeker*, or (as they now call 'em) a *Deist*, not knowing what Religion to be of; he remembered the Advice of his Parents which he had formerly despis'd: And *I resolved*, says he (27), *to be a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, which had been recommended to me by my Parents, so long till some Certainty should shew it self to my Mind which Way I were best to take.* And this prov'd an Occasion of his final Conversion.

I the rather recite these Words here, their Meaning being explain'd by the Circumstances: Because taken by themselves they might strengthen that Opinion (which has been prov'd a Mistake) that his Father was a Christian when this his Son was born.

*Sect. 12. Of Monica, Adeodatus, Alipius, and some others.*

*They do none of 'em make Instances for this Purpose.*

§. 1. Some (I think one or two) have named *Monica*, St. *Austin's* Mother, among their Instances; but without any kind of Ground: Since there is no knowing whether she were born of Christian Parents, and baptiz'd in Infancy; or of Heathens, and baptiz'd at Years of Discretion. She had never been known if she had not been Mother to St. *Austin*. No Body mentions her, but he: And he says nothing that I remember, of the State of her Parents; but a great deal of her Goodness and her Care of him.

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§. 2. *Adeodatus*, St. *Austin's* Son, begotten in Fornication, who being (28) fifteen Years old was baptiz'd together with him, is likewise mention'd without any Reason. St. *Austin* was, a *Manichee* when this Son was born to him: And they condemn'd all Christian Baptism of Infants or others: As I shall shew by and by (29) concerning them and some other Sects. It were absurd to expect that he should have procur'd him to be baptiz'd before he himself had renounc'd that Opinion and thought fit to be baptiz'd himself. He says of him (30); *We [I and Alipius] join'd him with us of the same Age of our selves in thy Grace [the Grace of Baptism] to be educated in thy Discipline, and were baptized, &c.* As *Ishmael* was Circumcised, so this Youth was baptized, the same Day with his Father. Which was at *Easter, Anno 388.*

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§. 3. When I have spoken of *Alipius*, whom St. *Austin* mentions as baptiz'd together with him; I hope I have done. 'Tis only in Compliance to Mr. *Tombs*, that he need be mention'd at all. He had observ'd that he was baptiz'd when he was adult, and so makes him an Instance for this Purpose (31), without giving any Proof or Pretence of it, that his Parents were Christians. He might in a Week's time have collected a hundred such Instances of Persons baptiz'd at Man's Age, whose Parents are utterly unknown, as *Alipius's* are: Only People have generally concluded that they were *Manichees*, because they did not baptize their Children.

And there happen to be also some more particular Proofs in his Case. As that, before his Conversion he abhorr'd or scorn'd the Name of Christ: As St. *Austin* gives us to understand, when after having given God Thanks for his Grace in recovering him himself, he adds (32); *Thou didst also subdue Alipius the Brother of my Soul, to the Name of thy only begotten our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which he before took in Disdain to have inserted in our Letters.*

And also that he was so ignorant of what the Christians believ'd or held concerning the Person of *Jesus Christ*. For having heard some Christians maintain that he as Man had no Soul, but that his Divinity was in the stead of a Soul to his Body; and thinking this to be the common Opinion of the Christians, and judging it to be absurd; he was, as St. *Austin* says (33), *the more hardly brought over to the Christian Religion. But afterwards understanding this to be the Mistake of the Apollinarian Heretics, he congratulated the Catholic Faith, &c.* So improbable is it that he had Christian Parents.

§. 4. There is one *Den* an Antipædobaptist Writer, and *Dauvers*, from him, (34) that mentions a great many more Names yet, viz. *Pancratius, Pontius, Nazarius, Tecla, Luigerus, Erasma Tusca*, the three Sons of

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(28) Confess. l. 9. c. 6. (29) CH. V. §. 3. (30) Confess. l. 9. c. 6. (31) Exercit. pag. 28. in. Examen. pag. 14. (32) Confess. l. 9. c. 4. (33) Ibid. l. 7. c. 19. (34) Treatise of Baptism, Part 1. c. 7.



f *Leonilla*. But they do but just mention 'em: And if the Reader would know who they are, and upon what Grounds they are brought in here; he must look to that himself. Year after the Apostles

For *Tecla*: If they mean the famous *Tecla* that is said to be baptiz'd by St. *Paul*, there is no doubt but she was baptiz'd in her adult Age: But there is as much Probability of St. *Paul*'s Parents having been Christians, as of hers. For the rest, no Body knows who they mean: For as some of those Names have had several Persons called by 'em, so some have had none at all that I know of.

What I have to add in this second Edition to this and the foregoing Chapter, is, that whereas one Mr. *Delaun* in a *Flea for Nonconformists*, written in King *Charles II.* Time, had heaped together a great Number of Quotations out of modern Authors who had reported the ancient Opinions or Usages to be, in any Respect whatsoever, different from the Tenets or Usages of the Church of *England*; and among the rest had (tho' himself a Pædobaptist, yet to puzzle Matters) brought in at p. 11. all that he could rake together against Infant Baptism, (taking them I suppose out of *Danvers*) viz. the Sayings of Bp. *Taylor*, *Grotius*, *Lud. Vives*, *Daillé*, Dr. *Field*, Mr. *Baxter*, *Wal. Straba*, *Bocmus*; which among several others I recited in the last Chapter: And whereas there were none of these Quotations, about Infant Baptism or the other Subjects, but had been consider'd and answer'd by learned Men of the Church (tho' not in any particular Answer to *Delaun*'s Pamphlet, but on other Occasions) and consequently, unless the Nonconformists could produce some new Matter, there seem'd to have been said all that was necessary to restore Peace and Union: Now the other Day a certain busy Writer for Dissension, instead of offering any new thing, reprinted *Delaun*'s Book, with a pompous Preface, as a Piece that never was answer'd, a *finished Piece*, &c. which call'd for an Answer from the Churchmen.

As for Infant Baptism; there is not one Word or Quotation in it, but what had been fully answer'd: nor, as I think, on any other Subject. Now at this Rate we must never be at quiet; if after Objections fully propos'd, and all of 'em publicly answer'd, the Method be, instead of a fair Reply, to reprint in a challenging Way the very same Objections again.

The Reason I have to think that he took all the Quotations he has against Infant Baptism, out of *Danvers*, is, because where *Danvers* has mix'd any Forgery of his own with the Quotation, there *Delaun* has done the like. As they do both quote *Grot. in Mat.* 19. 14. in the same Words; but forged ones: as where they make him say; *Infant Baptism for many hundred Years was not ordinary in the Greek Church*; and where they make him speak of *Constantin*, as an Instance against Infant Baptism; which he was never ignorant enough to do.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Of the Church of the ancient Britons. And of some ancient Sects, viz. the Novatians, and the Donatists: Which are by some thought to have been Antipædobaptists. And of the Arians.*

§. 1. **A**Bout 26 Years ago a certain Antipædobaptist (1) Writer lighted upon an Argument to prove, as he thought, the ancient Christians in *Britain*, before the Coming in of the *English*, to have been against Infant Baptism. It is an Evidence how great Mistakes may arise from the Misprinting of 2 or 3 Words in a Book: And that, in a Book of so little Regard as *Fabian's Chronicle*. The Account of the Matter is this.

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500. Venerable *Bede* wrote in the Year 731 the *Church History of the English Nation*: And tells how *Austin* the Monk, after having made some Progress in planting Christianity among the *English*, made a Proposal to the *Britons*, desiring them to join in Communion with him and his new Converts, and to assist in converting the *English* to the Christian Faith. But whereas the *Britons* held and practised Rites and Traditions in many things different from those that he then brought from the Church of *Rome*, he insisted that they should leave off their own, and comply with his Ceremonies and Customs. This they refused. And after many Altercations he at last made 'em this final (2) Proposal; *You practise in many things contrary to our Custom, and indeed contrary to the Custom of the universal Church. And yet if you will comply with me in these three things; That you keep Easter at the right time: That you perform the Office of baptizing (by which we are regenerated unto God) according to the Custom of the Holy Roman Church, and the Apostolic Church: And that you together with us do preach the Word of the Lord to the Nation of the English: We will bear patiently with all the other things which you practise contrary to our Customs. But they answer'd that they would do none of these things, nor own him for their Archbishop, &c.*

This same Passage is related by several others of our *English* Historians in the after Ages, who taking it from *Bede* relate it to the same Sense.

Among the rest, one *Fabian*, (a Sheriff or Alderman of *London* in King *Henry* the Seventh's time as I take it) wrote a *Chronicle* of the *English* History, in *English*. There are two Editions of his Book which I have

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(1) Dany. Treat. of Bapt. Pt. 2. c. 7. (2) Bedæ Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 2



I have seen in the *Oxford Library*. There may be more: In one of Year after the Apostles (which is the first I know not: I think the Title Page in one was torn) his Words are to the same Sense as *Bede's*, being these; at *Fol.* 56. **Then he sayd to them, Sen ye woll not assent to my bestes generally, assent ye to me especially in thre thyngs. The first is that ye kepe Esterday in due fourme and tyme as it is ordeyned. The second that ye give Christendom to the children in the manner that is used in the Chyrche of Rome. And the thyrde that ye preche unto the Anglis the word of God, &c.**

But in the other, these Words [in the manner that is used in the Chyrche of Rome] are omitted: So that the Condition stands thus [that ye give Christendom to the Children]. And this last mentioned Edition our Author having lighted on, concluded that the *British Church* before these times had not been used to give Christendom to, or Baptize, Children.

But he should have consider'd that the Account of such a thing should be taken from *Bede* and the other ancient Historians; and not from *Fabian*: Especially since *Fabian* in his Preface acknowledges (as Mr. *Wills* says, (3) for I did not read that) that what he relates of the ancient Affairs, he has from *Bede*: And consequently his Meaning must be to expresse *Bede's* Sense: And so that Edition first mention'd must be as he meant it, and the Omission in the other must have been by Mistake, of himself, or the Printer.

*Fox* (4) and other Authors that have wrote since *Fabian*, recite the Matter as *Bede* does.

This Argument taken from *Fabian* is endeavor'd to be confirm'd by some other Collateral ones: Of which none is worth the Mentioning, but that from *Constantin's* being born among the *Britons* and yet not baptized in Infancy. And that is not worth it neither; considering that very few now a-days believe that he was born in *Britain*, and none at all but this Author, and one more, that his Father was a Christian (5).

*Pelagius* was certainly born in *Britain*. And since he owns (as I have produc'd (6) his Words) that he never heard of any Christian, Catholic, or Sectary that denied Infant Baptism; 'tis certain his own Countrymen did not.

The Man brings this for one of his Arguments to prove that the *British Church* must have opposed the Baptizing of Infants; because they so fully prized and adhered to the Scriptures, and rejected human Traditions, especially all Romish Innovations, &c. If this be any Argument, then for certain the Pædobaptists Cause is in a bad Case.

§. 2. The *Novatians* and *Donatists* are also brought in by the same Writer, as Adversaries of Pædobaptism. Tho' both these Parties of Men

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(3) Infant Baptism asserted, p. 124. (4) Martyrology at the Year 600. (5) S. 2. CH. III. Sect. 2. §. 2. (6) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 30.

Year after the Apostles Men were Schismatics, and forsook the Communion of the establish'd Churches in those times: Yet their Differences having been rather in Points of Discipline than of Faith, and they having been at some times of the Church very numerous, and the time of their flourishing within our limited Period of 400 Years; an Argument from their Practice of keeping Infants unbaptiz'd would be considerable. But it would be withal a very strange Discovery: Since there are so many Books extant, written at the same time by *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Optatus*, *Austin*, &c. containing a Ventilation of all the Disputes between the Catholics and these Men, in which nothing has ever been observ'd that should intimate that they had any such Practice or Opinion. For among all the Reasons that the *Donatists* (who rebaptized such as having been baptized by the Catholics came afterward over to them) gave, why the Baptism of the Catholics was null, there is none that lays any Blame on their giving it in Infancy. But on the contrary, St. *Austin* does often make Use of the Instance of Infant Baptism, as granted by them, to overthrow some other Errors that they had about Baptism.

It would, I say, be a strange Discovery to make now. But the Proofs brought for it do fail one's Expectation. For as for those out of St. *Austin* against the *Donatists*, *Osiander*, *Fuller*, *Bullinger*, &c. they are all by Mr. *Baxter* (7) and Mr. *Wills* (8) shewn plainly to be nothing to the Purpose. And what he would prove out of *Austin de Anima*, and *Waldensis*, that the Dispute between *Vincentius Victor* and St. *Austin* was; whether Infants ought to be baptized; will appear a great Mistake by reading what I have produc'd of the Opinion of *Vincentius* in this Collection (9). For it was only whether Infants that happened to die unbaptized might ever enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Yet he quotes some Writers that do indeed say the thing that he would prove. But they are only *Sebastian Frank*, and one *Twisk*. It is an Artifice that may take with some very ignorant People, but I believe not approved by the more knowing or candid of his own Opinion, to quote for some Matter of ancient History an Author that is but of yesterday, and of no Note or Credit. When a vulgar Reader sees such a Quotation, he thinks it as good as the best, because he knows not the Author: But one of any reading sights it for that reason, because he knows him not. It is this Man's Way through all his Book to quote, for the principal things that are in Dispute concerning Antiquity, such Books as the foresaid *Frank*, and *Twisk*, and one *Merning*, and a Book that he calls *Dutch Martyrology*. They are all, as it seems, *Dutch Writers* of late Years, of the Antipædobaptists Way: And if they say all that he quotes 'em for, they say things without any Regard whether they be true or false. It is a known Rule; that any modern Writer affirming any thing of ancient History, without referring to some ancient

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(7) More Proofs for Infant Bapt. Pt. 2. §. 2. CH. 4. (8) Infant Baptism reasserted, pag. 139. (9) Pt. 1. CH. XX. §. 2, 3, 4.



Author, is not at all to be heeded. These Men might as well have quoted him, as he them; And it had been a like Authority.

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One shall not see Mr. *Baxter* in such a Passion as he is in this Place: To premise to the Answers that he gives to the several Quotations about these *Novatians* and *Donatists*, such Sayings as (10); *Utterly false. False again. This is something, were it true: But it is such a kind of Falshood as I must not name in its due Epithets. Not a Word of Truth; no such Matter in that Chapter, or the whole Book. Blush, Reader, for such a Man. Mr. Bagshaw is now quite overdone in the Quality of Untruths, &c.*

I produc'd in the Collection (11) a Canon of a Council of *Carthage*, wherein they decree what is to be done in Reference to that Question; Whether they should admit to any Office of the Clergy those who in their Infancy, before they could judge of the Error, had been baptiz'd by the *Donatists*, and afterward came over to the Church. *Cassander* and Mr. *Cobbet* had brought this as a Proof that the *Donatists*, as well as Catholics, baptiz'd Infants. This Writer says (12); *That is but a Supposition at best that they might do so.* But I doubt any one else will take it for a plain Supposition that they ordinarily *did* so.

That Challenge of St. *Austin*, and Confession of *Pelagius*, produced before (13), that they never knew nor heard of any Heretics or Schismatics that were against the Baptizing of Infants, must be an undeniable Proof that neither of these two Sects were so: Since a considerable Body of each of them were remaining in those Parts where these two Men lived: And all their particular Opinions were the Subject of every day's Disputations. And St. *Austin* in his *Book of Sects* wrote a particular of their Tenets (14), as well as of all the rest.

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§. 3. The *Arians* are by some Catholic Writers styled *Anabaptists*. These also made a considerable Body of Men in some Part of our Period of time, viz. of the first 300 Years after the Apostles. Especially in the time of the Emperors, *Constantius* and *Valens*; who took almost the same Methods to force their Subjects to turn *Arians*, or at least to hold Communion with the *Arians*, as the *French King* does at this Day to force his to turn Papists, or go to Mass. If the Writer whom we have been following for some time, had ever heard of, or lighted on, those Places where the *Arians* are called *Anabaptists*; I am perswaded he would have increased the Catalog of his Friends with one Sect more. I would not have the Antipædobaptists claim any Acquaintance with so ill Company: And therefore do give 'em an Account of the Reason why they had that Name. It was not for that they had any thing to say against Infant Baptism: But because they, as well as the *Donatists* before 'em, did use to baptize over again, such as came from the Catholic

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(10) Pag. 249, &c. 241, &c. (11) Pt. 1. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. (12) Treat. of Bapt. Pt. 2. CH. VII. (13) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 17, & 30. (14) De Hæres. c. 49.

Year after the Apostles Church to them; not for that they had been baptiz'd in Infancy (for if they had been baptiz'd at Man's Age it was all one) but for that they had received Baptism from the Catholics, whom the *Arians* did so hate, that they would not own any Baptism given by them to be Good. This is evident both from St. *Austin*, who recites their Tenets (15), and also from an Oration of St. *Ambrose* which I mention'd before, against *Auxentius* the *Arian*: Where he says, *Cur igitur rebaptizandos, &c.* 'Why does *Auxentius* say that the faithful People who have been baptiz'd in the Name of the *Trinity*, must be baptiz'd again? And this is all that the Word *Anabaptist* signifies; *One that baptizes over again those that have been baptiz'd already.* And therefore those of the Anti-pædobaptists that know the Signification of the Word, do not own the Name: They denying theirs to be Re-baptizing.

The Instance of the Emperor *Valens* that I gave before (16), (whom St. *Basil* exhorted to have his Child baptiz'd by the Catholic Bishops, but he chose to have it done by the *Arians*) is a clear Proof that *Arians* as well as Catholics baptiz'd Infants.

## CHAP. V.

*Of some Heretics that denied all Water-Baptism. And of others that baptiz'd the same Person several times over. The Dispute in the Catholic Church concerning Re-baptizing. Of the Paulianists, whom the Nicene Fathers order'd to be baptiz'd a-new, if they would come into the Church.*

§. 1. **W**HAT St. *Austin* and *Pelagius* said of all Heretics (that they had ever heard of) allowing Infant Baptism, must be understood of such as allowed any Baptism at all. For otherwise, they knew there were some Sects that renounced all Use of it to any Persons, Infants or others. And St. *Austin* had himself been of one of 'em. And he does indeed express a Limitation that is of the same Effect, when he says, *All, that do receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, do own Infant Baptism for the Remission of Sins* (17): For those that denied all Water Baptism, did also generally renounce the Scriptures.

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(15) De heres. c. 49. (16) Pt. I. CH. XII. §. 9, 10. (17) See the Words Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 17.



It may be worth the while to gratifie the *Quakers* with a short Catalog of all their ancient Friends in that Point of denying Baptism, that were within our Period. Year after the Apostles

The Historians that have given us the Tale of all the Heresies they had heard of, have been much too liberal of that Name. For they have given the Name of Heretics to some that deserved a worse, and should have been called Infidels; and also to some that deserved one not so bad, and should have gone for distracted People.

Of the first sort were the *Valentiniāns*, who made Use of the Name of Christ only to mock and abuse the Religion: Their own Religion being a Mixture of Idolatry, Magic, and lascivious Rites. They (18) Blasphemed the Scriptures as False; and the Catholics as carnal; and both, as giving a wrong Account of *Jesus Christ*, of whom they made quite another sort of Being.

Of these *Irenæus* reckons up several sorts, which had their several Opinions concerning Baptism. I gave a general Account of 'em before (19) out of the 18th Chapter of *Irenæus's* first Book: And here you shall have *Irenæus's* Words.

Having premised, that in this Sect there are as many ἀπολυτρώσεις, *Redemptions* [or, Ways of Baptism] as there are Ring-leaders, he adds,

Some of 'em dress up a Bride-Chamber, and perform mystical Ceremonies with certain profane Words to those whom they initiate; and call this a spiritual Marriage, which they say is made according to the Likeness of the Heavenly Conjugations.

Others bring the Party to the Water, and as they are baptizing use these Words, ' In the Name of the unknown Father of all things: In the Truth the Mother of all things: In him that came down on J E- S U S: In the Union and Redemption and Communion of Powers.

Some that they may amuse those whom they initiate, use certain Hebrew Words; Basema, Chamali, Baenaora, &c.

Others of 'em again express their Redemption [or, Baptism] thus; ' The Name that is hidden from every Deity, Dominion, and Truth: Which J E S U S of Nazareth put on in the Zones of Light, &c.

And he that is initiated [or, baptiz'd] answers, ' I am confirmed and redeemed: And I redeem my Soul from this Æ O N and all that comes of it, in the Name of I A O, &c.

Then they anoint the baptized Person with Balsam: For they say this Ointment is the Type of that Sweetness which surpasses all things. [Note, that this is the first Mention of *Chrism* that is any where read of. And since I shall shew presently, at CH. IX. that it was us'd by the Catholics from Testimonies of near the same Date as this; one may conclude that it came from some Principle universally received by all Christians, Catholic or Heretic.)

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Some of 'em say, that 'tis needless to bring the Person to the Water at all: But making a Mixture of Oyl and Water, they pour it on his Head, using certain profane Words much like them beforementioned: And they say that that is Redemption [or, Baptism]. This sort use Balsam also.

But others of 'em rejecting all these things say, ' That the Mystery of the unspeakable and invisible Power ought not to be perform'd by visible and corruptible Elements: Nor that of incomprehensible and incorporeal things be represented by sensible and corporeal things. But that the Knowledge of the unspeakable Majesty is it self perfect Redempti- on, [or, Baptism.] These last I suppose will be owned for Friends.

100. §. 2. Tertullian wrote his Book of Baptism, that he might put a Stop to the Heresie that had been set on Foot by one *Quintilla*, a Woman Preacher, that had been at *Carthage* a little before; and had, as he says (20), seduc'd a great many. The main of her Preaching was against Water-Baptism: That it was needless: That Faith alone was sufficient, &c. She had come out, as he understood, from the Sect of the *Caians*. That Sect, as impious as it was in other things (21), did not deny Baptism that we read of. She had, it seems, added that her self. He there largely sets forth the Falseness of her Doctrin, and also her Masculin Impudence in usurping the Office of a Preacher of it, tho' it had been never so true.

200. §. 3. The *Manichees* are the next: As little deserving the Name of Christians as the rest, and less than the *Mahometans* do. They made the same Account of their *Manes* as these do of *Mahomet*. They owned Christ to be a true Prophet, as these do: And *Peter*, *Paul*, *John*, &c. to have been his true Apostles. But they said (as these also do) that the Books which we have of theirs are no true Records, but had been falsified. And the same Absurdity which the Christians now do urge against these, *St. Austin* urg'd against them: That if they plead our Copies are falsified, they ought at least to produce such as are truer. And he, who had been once seduc'd by them, tells us what they held as to Baptism (22), They say that Baptism in Water does no Body any Good: Neither do they baptize any of the Proselytes whom they delude into their Sect.

Yet *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* (23) intimates that they had something instead of Baptism. Their Baptism, says he, is such as I dare not describe before Men and Women. I am afraid to tell, in what Matter it is that they dipping a Fig, give it to their wretched People. Yet he intimates what it was: But it is so beastly that I will not do that.

260. §. 4. The *Messalians* seem to have been no other but a sort of Enthusiastical People, who leaving off their Employments thought it necessary, or at least pleasing to God, to spend all their time in Prayer and Rapture: And thereby became Subject to many Hypochondriac Con-

(20) De Baptismo, c. 1. (21) Epiphan. de Caianis. hæ. 38. (22) De hæ. c. 46. (23) Catech. 6.



Conceits. *Epiphanius* and *St. Austin* speaking of 'em in their Catalogs, Year after Year say nothing of their denying Baptism. But *Theodoret* (24), and the *ter the A-*  
*Historia Tripartita* (25) out of him, repeats their Sense thus; *That* *potles*  
*there is no Profit accruing to the Baptized by Baptism: But that fervent Prayer*  
*only expels the Devil.* And says; *that the most noted Men of their Sect*  
*were, Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermas, Symeonis.*

What does *Mr. Danvers* do, but put down these Men (26) for *eminent*  
*Persons that in the 4th Century bore Witness against Infant Baptism?*  
And he cites for Authority the foresaid Place; *Hist. Tripart. l. 7. c. 11.*  
into which whoever looks, will see that the Error there laid to their  
Charge is in the Words that I have set down, and no other: Which  
expresses the Opinion of the Quakers, not of the Antipædobaptists.

But he quotes also *Sebast. Frank* (one of the *Dutch Blades* I mention'd  
a (27) little above) to confirm that this *Dadoes, Sabbas, &c.* were eminent  
Witnesses against Infant Baptism. So that 'tis to be hoped for  
*Danvers's* Credit that he had never look'd into *Hist. Tripart.* but had  
taken the Quotation on the Credit of *Frank*, which must be very  
small.

But if one read the whole Passage in *Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 10.*  
and *Hæretic. Fabul. l. 4. cap. de Messalianis*: 'Tis plain that the Men  
were distracted. For they pretended that by Force of their Prayer  
they could bring the Devil out of themselves, sometimes by *Spittle*,  
and sometimes by *blowing their Nose*: They would dance about, and  
say they were treading upon him: They would imitate Archers, and  
then say they had shot him. And that after the Devil was gone from  
'em, they could see the Holy Trinity with bodily Eyes. They were  
also full of Prophecies and Revelations. And *St. Hierom*, who had  
liv'd in *Syria* among 'em, says (28), that they said of themselves, that  
*when they were come to the Top of their Perfection, they were beyond any Possi-*  
*bility of Sinning, in Thought, or by Ignorance.*

The Historians that have incumber'd the Church Registers with  
these, and some other such sorts of Sects, would at the same Rate, if  
they had had in any Country at any time a Dozen or two of our *Mug-*  
*gletonians*, have made a considerable Sect of 'em, to be talked of in  
Church History to the End of the World. Whereas such Men, especi-  
ally when inconsiderable for Number, should be pitied in their Life time,  
and kept dark: And their wild Opinions forgot after they are dead.  
And this Method would have lessen'd the Catalogs of Sects almost by one  
half.

Some (29) do reckon beside these, the *Ascodyri*, and the *Archontici*:  
As Sects that used no Baptism. But *Theodoret* says (30), that the *Asco-*  
*dryti*

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(24) *L. 4. c. 10.* (25) *L. 7. c. 11.* (26) *Treat. of Baptism, Pt. 2. ch. 7.* (27) *CH.*  
*IV. §. 2.* (28) *Prolog. ad Dialog. contra Pelag.* (29) *Epiph. de Archonticis.* (30) *Hæ-*  
*ret. fab. l. 1. c. 13.*

Yearly *dryti* were a Branch of the *Valentinians*; and the *Archontici* of them. Which I am very glad of, being weary of reckoning any more.

St. *Austin* says (31), a Sect call'd *Selucians*, or *Hermians*, do not admit of Water-Baptism, nor of the Resurrection. These are the Sects that have renounced all Use of Baptism.

§. 5. Some on the other extreme have administred it several times to the same Person: And are therefore properly call'd *Anabaptists*. I speak now of those that practis'd *formal Anabaptism*, i. e. what they themselves owned to be Anabaptism or Re-baptizing of the same Person. And of such I remember no more in ancient times, but the *Marcionites*. *Marcion* taught, as *Epiphanius* tells (32), that it is lawful to give three Baptisms: So that if any one fall into Sin after his first Baptism, he may have a second: And a third, if he fall a second time. And here it seems he stop'd his Hand. Yet *Epiphanius* says, that he had heard, that his Followers went farther, and gave more than three, if any one desir'd it.

He that writes the *Present State of Muscovy*, says (33), their Way is, that Persons of Age who change their Religion, and embrace the Muscovite Faith; nay even Muscovites, who having changed their Religion in another Country, are willing to return to their own Communion, must first be rebaptiz'd. He speaks also of some Vagabond People among them, called *Chaldeans*, who do customarily, and by a Sort of License, practise great Extravagancies from the 18th of December to Epiphany; during which time they are excluded the Church: But on Twelfth Day, when their License is expir'd, they are rebaptiz'd (some of 'em having been baptiz'd ten or twelve times) and look'd upon as good Christians. But *Brereword*, Ch. 23. says, (and quotes *Passerin* for it) that they use not this Baptism on Twelfth Day, as a Sacrament, or as any Purification of themselves; but only as a Memorial of Christ's Baptism received on that Day in *Jordan*: And that the *Abassens* do the same thing upon the same Day upon the same Account. So that 'tis to be hoped that Dr. *Crull* may be mistaken in the Reason of their Practice. And for what he says here of their rebaptizing all that came over to their Religion; I have Occasion to note something on it, at CH. IX. §. 2.

Mr. *Thevenot* also tells a Story (34) of some People call'd *Sabæans* living at *Bassora* in *Arabia*, that are, as he there says, improperly call'd Christians, that do reiterate the Baptism which they use. But it is not the Christian Baptism, nor given in that Form. They have, he says, no Knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, but that he was a Servant to *John Baptist*, and baptiz'd by him: And of the Books of the Gospel no Knowledge at all. But however it be with any late Sects; in ancient times there were, as I said, no Sects that did this but the *Marcionites*.

I know

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(31) De Har. c. 59. (32) Har. 42. Marcionitæ. (33) Dr. Crull. ch. 11. (34) Voyage. T. 2. Pag. 331.



I know that the Name of Anabaptists, or Rebaptizers, was then by Year af-  
the Catholics imputed to several Heretics, and by some Churches of ter the A-  
the Catholics to other Catholic Churches. But they that were so censu- post.es  
red did none of 'em own, as the *Marcionites* did, that what they did  
was Re-baptizing: They all pleaded that the Baptism which the Party  
had received before was null and void; as being administred in a cor-  
rupt Church, or by Heretical Bishops, &c.

The Antipædobaptists now hold the same Plea: But the Ground of  
the Plea is very different; for I never read, and I believe they can't  
produce, any Instance of any one that pleaded Baptism to be void be-  
cause it was given in Infancy. And as they disown the Name of *Ana-*  
*baptists* or Re-baptizers; so I have no where given it to 'em: As on  
the contrary I do not give 'em the Name of *Baptists*, nor of the *baptized*  
*People*; for that is to cast a Reproach upon their Adversaries, as conclu-  
ding that they are not so. Every Party, while the Matter continues in  
Dispute, ought to give and take such Names as cast no Reproach on  
themselves nor their Opponents, but such as each of 'em own: And such  
are the Names that I use.

§. 6. The Dispute about Rebaptizing, or the Imputation thereof,  
was one that troubled the Church in former times as much as any.  
Many Sects of Heretics and Schismatics were so bitter against the Ca-  
tholics, that they said; All things were so corrupt among them, that  
Baptism or any other Office done by them was null and void: And  
therefore they baptiz'd afresh all that came over from the Church to  
them. And many Churches of the Catholics were even with 'em,  
and observed the same Course with all that came over from them.  
But others would not: But said, that Baptism (tho' given by the Schis-  
matics, was valid. And this came at last to be a Bone of Contention  
between the Catholics themselves: Each Party finding Fault with the  
others Way of receiving Schismatics into the Church.

In St. *Cyprian's* time the Christian World was divided into Halves  
on this Point. For he, and all the Churches of *Africa*, some of *Egypt*,  
and many in *Asia*, received not Heretics into the Church without a new  
Baptism. But the Christians at *Rome*, and most in *Europe*, used only to  
give 'em a new Confirmation, or laying on of Hands; and so admit  
'em.

Afterward, this came to be a Rule (35); that they that came to the  
Catholic Church from such Sects as used not the right Form of Baptism [In  
the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit] must  
be baptized at their Admission: but they that in any Sect had been bapti-  
zed with those Words should be adjudged to have already true Baptism.

§. 7. Yet the *Paulinists* were excepted from this general Rule: Tho'  
they, as *Athanasius* informs (36), used the said Form of baptizing,  
yet

Year af- yet the Council of Nice exprefly decreed (37), that they must be baptiz-  
 ter the A- zed anew, if they would come into the Catholic Church. The Reason feems  
 p<sup>tes</sup>. to be; that they, tho' using the same Words, of *Father, Son, and Holy*  
 225. *Spirit*, yet meant by them so different a thing (for they took the *Son* to  
 be a mere Man) that they were judg'd not to baptize into the same  
 Faith, nor in the Name of the same God, that the Catholics and others  
 did.

224. This shews the Abhorrence that the Christians at that time had of an  
 Opinion that would now grow fashionable. And *Photinus*, a little af-  
 ter, in the time of *Constantius*, did no sooner make an Attempt to revive  
 this Heresie, but that both the Catholics and Arians (tho' they could  
 hardly agree in anything else) agreed in condemning him and his Opi-  
 nion: Which Act of theirs, says *Socrates* the Historian (38), was approved  
 of all Men both at that present, and also in times following. He means that  
 all of the most differing Parties or Opinions agreed that such a Do-  
 ctrin was abominable. And *Theodoret*, who liv'd at the same time  
 with *Socrates*, having reckon'd up in one Book all the Sects that had at-  
 tributed to our Savior no other Nature than human, says in the last  
 330. Chapter thereof (39), That they were at that time all extinct and forgot-  
 ten; so that the Names of 'em were known to but few. And so they  
 have continued till of very late Years: Unless the modern Abettors  
 of 'em will plead that the Succession of their Doctrin has been pre-  
 serv'd from the Year 600 in the Churches of *Mecca* and *Medina*.

§. 8. It appears how Conscious these Men are that all Antiquity is  
 against 'em, by their setting themselves so bitterly against it. There  
 is no Sect of Men now in the World that do use such Endeavors, and  
 some of 'em very unfair ones, to bring all the ancient Christians and  
 their Writings into a general Disrepute. They imploy and incourage  
 some Persons to read the Fathers only to weed and cull out of 'em  
 some Sayings, which taken by themselves may be represented either  
 ridiculous, insipid, or heterodox. They also collect out of History  
 all the Faults or Miscarriages, that any ancient Writer has been char-  
 ged with: And making a Bundle of this Stuff, Part true, Part false,  
 they present it to their Proselytes, and even to the World, as the *Life*  
 of such a Father; or as a *Specimen* of such a Father's Works. They  
 give a great many Reasons why it is not worth the while to read,  
 study or translate the Discourses of these Ancients: that time is much  
 better spent in reading the modern Criticisms upon the Text of Scrip-  
 ture, which do often give the Sense thereof such a Turn, as to make  
 our Religion to be a very different thing from that which has been all  
 along the Religion of Christians. If they can gain this Point, to alie-  
 nate People from any Regard to the Doctrin and Faith of the Pri-  
 mitive Times; they make a good Step, not only for their own Turn  
 to



to overthrow the Doctrin of the Trinity; but also for the Advantage of their next Successors the *Deists*, who can with a much better Grace argue against a Religion that has been alter'd in its most fundamental Points, than against one that has continued the same since the time that it was once deliver'd to the Saints.

But among all the Reproaches cast on the Fathers there is none so scandalous and destructive of the Credit both of the Fathers and of Christianity it self, as is one that they have lately set abroad; viz. that the Doctrin of the Trinity, or of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whom we believe, and in whose Name we are baptiz'd, is (as it is understood, explain'd and held by the said Fathers) a Doctrin of *Tritheism*, or of believing in three Gods. I may repeat their Sayings: For they are industriously handed about in the *English Tongue*. One of 'em says thus (40);

*They [the Fathers] thought the three Hypostases [or, Persons in the Trinity] to be three equal Gods, as we should now express it. And again (41), Not to recur to the Fathers, whose Opinion was quite different from that which is now received: As who, properly speaking, affirmed that there were three Consubstantial Gods, as has been shewn by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and others. And again, Who to speak the Truth, were Tritheists rather than Asserters of the present Opinion: For they believed the Unity of Substance, not the Singularity of Number, as Tertullian speaks: That is, that the Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was specifically one, but numerically three: As the learned Men, I beforemention'd, have clearly shewn, and might more largely be demonstrated.*

This Spittle of an Outlandish Author our *English Socinians* greedily licked up: And to any thing that was offer'd out of the Fathers they have in their late Books (42) oppos'd this; that *the Fathers held only a specifical Unity of the Divine Nature, and the Persons to be as so many Individuals*. This they repeat often, and refer to *Curcellæus's* undeniable Proofs of it. Of which Bishop *Stillingfleet* taking Notice, did in his *Vindication of the Doctrin of the Trinity*, Ch. 6. answer and refute particularly all the Instances brought by *Curcellæus*, in a large Discourse from Pag. 76, to Pag. 100. bringing, as he expresses it himself, *undeniable Proofs* that *Curcellæus* had mistaken their Meaning.

§. 9. Notwithstanding this, what does the foresaid Author do, but three Years after the Publication of *Stillingfleet's* Book, writing some *Critical Epistles*, loads 'em with the same Slanders repeated, without taking any Notice that they had been answer'd? Saying (43), *That the Nicen Fathers thought the Divine Nature is no otherwise one than specifically, but that it is in Number threefold: As Petavius, Curcellæus, Cud-*

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worth

(40) Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annot. on 1 John 5. 6. (41) Ibid. Preface. (42) Defence of Hist. of Unitarians, p. 5. Answer to *La Moth*. Letter to Universit. p. 13. (43) Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Sarisb. pag. 108.

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worth and others have proved by such Arguments as that there can nothing be said in Answer to 'em.

In another of the said Epistles (44) he repeats the same Slander, and would Father it on some Learned Men in England. He says, *Learned Men in England and elsewhere do not forbear to say openly that the Nicen Fathers believed three Eternal and Equal Essences in God; and not one God in Number.* And having mention'd, that several Protestant Churches have received the *Nicen Creed* into their public Confessions, he adds; *If then they will stand to this Part of their Confession, they must own that they believe three Eternal Natures, and renounce the numerical Unity of God. Or if they will not do that, they must expunge that Article of their Confession in which they own the Nicen Faith.*

And these Letters he ventures to send into England directed to Bishops there, who he must needs think abominated such exorbitant Sayings; and who could easily, if he had had the Prudence to consult 'em first, have satisfied him that one of their Brethren had long ago answer'd all those Proofs of *Curcellanus* with which he made such a Noise. *Petavius's* and *Cudworth's* Instances being not so considerable, nor so maliciously urg'd.

Our Church is not wont to take such Affronts, and continue silent under 'em, unless when the Party is accounted of so little Credit as to be not worth the answering. The Learned Men therein (and especially the most Learned Person against whom these Epistles were directed) would probably have spent some Pains to vindicate the Church of Christ from so foul a Slander, but that they thought the Falshood of this Imputation on the Fathers had been already sufficiently shewn.

Here I did in the first Edition take Notice that some Passages written a great while ago by a Right Reverend Bishop (of which others also had taken Notice before) did seem to incline to this Opinion of Mr. *le Clerc* concerning the Fathers. Of which I have no more to say than what I have said in the Preface of this second Edition.

§. 10. Mr. *Le Clerc* brings some pretended Proofs of the Tritheism of the Ancients, of his own Collection: Of which Bishop *Stillingfleet* took no Notice, they being not in *Curcellanus*. They are Sayings, or Pieces of Sayings of the Fathers so partially pick'd out and unfairly represented, that at that Rate one might abuse and misrepresent any Writer; even the Scripture it self. He mentions in the Words before recited a Scrap of a Sentence of *Tertullian* in his Book against *Praxeas* c. 25. The whole Sentence runs thus, *Ita connexus Patris in Filio, & Filii in Paraclete tres efficit, coherentes alterum ex altero; qui tres unum sunt, non unus: Quomodo dictum est, Ego & Pater unum sumus: Ad substantia unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.* ' Thus the Connexion of the Father ' in the Son and the Son in the Holy Spirit makes that there are ' Three



‘ Three that *cohere* in one another ; which Three are *Unum*, One Substance, not *Unus*, One Person : As it is said, *I and the Father are One*. Year after the Apostles  
‘ *Unum, One Substance* : To denote the Unity of Substance, not the Singularity of Number. That is, (as Mr. *Le Clerc* says) the Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is specifically one, but numerically three. But that is, (as any one else will say) to denote the Unity of Substance : Not the Singularity of Number of the Persons : Or, that the *Persons* are not numerically one, tho’ the *Substance* is. For it is to be noted, that this Book was written against that Error of *Praxeas*, whereby he taught that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one *Person* : to confirm which he brought that Place of Scripture, *I and the Father are One*. *Tertullian* tells him, our Savior’s Word there is *Unum*, which denotes *one Substance* ; not *Unus*, which would have denoted *One Person*.

And tho’ the Design of the Book be, as I said, to maintain that Side of the Question ; that there are in some Sense *three* in the Godhead, (as *Praxeas* had maintained the contrary, carrying the Arguments for the Unity farther than he ought). Yet even in this Book there are more than twenty Passages in which *Tertullian* aims to express as well as he can (for they had not then so determinate a Use of Words) a numerical Unity of the *Substance*, or *Essence*. Particularly this Passage (46) :

*Igitur unus Deus Pater, & alius absque eo non est : Quod ipse inferens non Filium negat, sed alium Deum : Caterum alius à patre filius non est. — Atqui si nominasset illum, separasset, ita dicens ; Alius præter me non est, nisi Filius meus. Alium enim Filium fecisset, quem de aliis excepisset. Puta solem dicere ; Ego Sol, & alius præter me non est, nisi radius meus : Nonne denotasses vanitatem, quasi non & radius in sole deputeretur ?*

‘ So there is one God the Father, and there is no other beside him : Which he affirming does not exclude his Son, but any *other* God : And the Son is not *another* from the Father — It would have been to separate [or distinguish] him, if he had named him, and had said, *There is no other beside me, except my Son*. It had been to make his Son *another*, whom he had excepted out of those that are *others*. Suppose the Sun should say ; *I am the Sun, and there is no other beside me, except my Light* [or, Ray] would you not judge it absurd ? As if the Light were not counted to the Sun it self ?

To mention one Passage more of the said Book, *CH. 29.* where he is answering the Argument of *Praxeas*, who had said ; that since the *Essence* [or *Substance*] of the Father and the Son is one and the same ; the Son could not suffer but the Father must suffer too. And where *Tertullian*, if he had thought the *Essence* of the Son to be only *specifically* the same with that of the Father, and not *numerically* ; could not have

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forborn to answer so. But he answers thus ; That the Divine Nature did not suffer at all : But if it had, that Argument would not have concluded. *Nam & fluvius, si aliquâ turbulentia contaminatur ; quanquam una substantia de fonte decurrat nec secernatur à fonte : Tamen fluvii injuria non pertinebit ad fontem. Et licet aqua fontis sit quæ patitur in fluvio : Dum non in fonte patitur sed in fluvio ; non sons patitur, sed fluvius qui ex fonte est. Ita et si spiritus Dei quid pati posset in Filio : Quia tamen non in Patre pateretur ; sed in Filio ; Pater passus non videretur. Sed sufficit nihil spiritum Dei passum suo nomine.*

‘ For if a Stream be puddled with any Disturbance : Tho’ it be the same Substance that runs from the Spring, and be not distinct from the Spring, yet the Hurt of the Stream will not affect the Spring. And tho’ it be the Water of the Spring which suffers in the Stream ; yet so long as it suffers in the Stream, and not in the Spring ; the Spring does not suffer, but the Stream which is derived from the Spring. So tho’ the Spirit [or Deity] of God could suffer any thing in the Son, yet so long as it suffer’d not in the Father, but the Son, the Father would not be said to suffer. But it is sufficient [to take off your Argument] that the Divinity suffer’d not at all in its own Nature.

If he had thought the Essence to be only specifically the same, he would not have gone so far for an Answer ; the Aim thereof is to shew, that tho’ it be numerically the same in both Persons, yet something might be said of one of ’em which could not be said of the other.

But in other Books the same Writer affirms the numerical Unity of Essence more plainly and in the terms of the Question, tho’ not then in common Use. For in his *Apology*, Ch. 21. he says that the λόγος is *de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus : Modulo alter, non numero.* ‘ Spirit of Spirit, and God of God : Another in mode, but not in Number. The same Expression of *modulo alius ab alio* is also in the Book against *Praxeas*, c. 9. and to the same Purpose, Ch. 14.

It is therefore plain, that *Tertullian* thought that in some Sense the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are numerically one : Which must be in Respect of the Substance ; for as for the Persons, the Design of his whole Book against *Praxeas* is to maintain that they are three in Number.

§. 11. Mr. *Le Clerc* does also endeavor to make his Advantage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, with whom *Curcellæus* had not meddled. He pretended to write the *Life* of this Father (47). One may easily see thro’ his pretended Reasons for it, and perceive that the Design was to represent him as a Tritheist : There are so many Sayings of his wrested, and some false translated for that Purpose. ’Tis true, that *Gregory* in those voluminous Disputations of his against the *Arians* and *Sabellians*, having no Adversaries of the Tritheistical Opinion, and not fearing to be himself suspected of it, has some Expressions in his Arguments and Explications unguarded on that Side : Yet so as that he still speaks with

Abhor-



Abhorrence of the Belief of three Gods. And it is a known Rule of Year at- Charity, that no Consequences drawn from an Author's Expressions are ter the A- to fix on him an Opinion contrary to his own express Declaration : But postles that what he says at one or two Places seeming to favor any Opinion, must be explain'd by others, if he have any other that are plain, full, and purposely written to the contrary.

What Mr. *Le Clerc* had produc'd from this Father was not answer'd (which can no Way so well be done as by translating his Works intire; a thing useful if the modern Readers of Books had so much Regard to Antiquity as they ought: But such a Regard is much lessen'd by such *Lives*) and therefore he concluded in another Piece (48), that *Gregory* was undoubtedly of that Opinion: *The thing is so clear that it cannot be question'd by those that have consider'd it.* He mentions also in the *Critical Epistles* I spoke of before, his Performance in proving this upon *Gregory*. Yet of all the Passages produc'd in that *Life* to justify this Accusation, this is the hardest: that he in a certain Sermon (49) being busie in shewing the Unfitness of all those Examples of natural things which are commonly made Use of to explain the Trinity, how they are all deficient and unapt in one Respect or another: Says; that *He, as well as others, had thought of the Vein of Water that feeds the Spring: The Spring or Pond it self: And the Stream that issues from it. Whether the first of these might not be compar'd to the Father, the second to the Son, and the third to the Holy Spirit. But he was afraid that by this Similitude there would seem to be represented something numerically one: For that the Vein, the Spring, and the Stream are numerically one, tho' diversly modified or represented.*

This indeed plainly shews that *Gregory* was afraid of representing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as numerically one in some Sense: But how? As having an *Essence* numerically one? Not so: For he does in 100 Places shew that to be his real Meaning. But in the *Sabelian Sense*, which taught the *Persons* to be numerically one, or, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are several Names of one *Person*: And consequently that it may properly be said that the Father was incarnated, suffer'd, &c. He had the more Reason to be cautious of saying any thing that might seem to favor that Sense, because the Catholics were slander'd by the *Arians* to hold that Opinion.

The 100 Places that I spoke of, might be produc'd out of *Gregory's* 260. Works. But there happen to be enow in that very Sermon, or Oration: Where there is this for one. He is there answering those that thought that from the Confession of three Persons in the Godhead would follow by Consequence the Doctrin of three Gods. He answers thus; that tho' there be three in whom the Godhead is, yet there is in them

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(48) Supplement to Dr. *Hammond's* Ann. Preface. (49) Orat. 37. de Spiritu Sancto.

Year af- them three but one Godhead, ἓς ὁ Θεός, οὐκ μία Θεότης: and again; ἀμέι-  
ter the A- σοι ἐν μαυροισμένοις ἡ Θεότης. But then he brings in an Exception which  
poftles they made againft this Answer of his;

Obj. But they will say; that the Heathens (such of them as had the most  
advanc'd Philosophy) held that there is but one Godhead. And also in the  
Case of Men, all Mankind has but one common Nature. And yet the  
Heathen had many Gods, not one only: And also there are many Men.

This Objection comes home to the Point. And here it is that Gre-  
gory muft declare whether he hold a fpecific or a numerical Unity.  
Therefore obferve how he answers. To the Case of the Heathen  
Gods he makes a feparate Answer, that concerns not this Queftion.  
But to that of Mankind having one common Nature, and yet being many  
Men, he answers thus;

Sol. But here [viz. in the Case of Men] the feveral Men have no  
other Unity than what is made by the Conception of our Mind, τὸ ἐν ἔχει μόν-  
ον ἐπινόηθαι θεωρητὸν. He goes on a while to fhew that Men do in Reali-  
ty differ from one another: And answers to the Objection about the  
Heathen Gods: And then adds, τὸ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἡ δὲ αὐτῇ μετὰ τῷ  
ἱακῶβ, ἐπὶ οὐκ ἓς ἡμεῖς θεολόγοι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ συγκείμενον  
ἐκ ἡπτόν ἡ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ: τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς ἐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. But our Deity [or  
God] is not fo: Nor is the Portion of Jacob like them, as our Theolog  
[meaning Jeremy 10. 16.] fays: But every one of them [the Persons of  
the Trinity] has an Unity with the other no lefs than that which he has with  
himself, by Reason of the Identity of Effence and Power.

'Tis impossible any thing fhould be fuller to the Purpose than this.  
For the proper Difference between a numerical and a fpecific Unity, is  
this; that a fpecific Unity is only by our Conception: And the nume-  
rical Unity is the only real Unity. In the feveral Men that differ in Age,  
in Shape, &c. there is something alike, viz. the Effence or Nature of  
Man. This our Mind abftracts from the reft, and conceives it as one in  
them all. But this common Nature fo abftracted from the Individuals  
fubfifts only in our Mind: And in Reality every Man has his own Ef-  
fence diftinct in Number from the reft: And if all other Men were de-  
ftroy'd, he would have his own Effence juft as he has it now. And  
that which Gregory answers, is; that feveral Men have no other Uni-  
ty or fameness than what is by the Conception of our Mind, i. e. no  
other than a fpecific Unity. But each of the three, viz. Father, Son,  
and holy Spirit, has an Unity with the other as much as with himfelf;  
by Identity [or fameness] of Effence and of Power, which muft be a  
numerical one.

Mr. Le Clerc does indeed recite fome of this Answer, but in fuch a  
Fashion as fhews he had a Mind to marr it in the reciting. And the  
like he does in feveral other Paflages of Gregory. In the forementio-  
n'd Comparifon of the three Persons to the Vein, the Pond, and the  
Stream; Becauſe the Greek Word uſed by Gregory for the Vein, is

ἐφ' ἧς αἷμα,



ὁφθαλμὸς, he translates it, *l' œil*, an Eye. Who ever went about to represent the Trinity by an Eye, a Fountain, and a Stream? So great a Critic should not have been ignorant that it signifies there (as *Elias Cretenfis* in his Comments on the Place had noted) the Vein that feeds the Pond, or the Hole or opening of that Vein into the Pond. And this yet is not so absurd, as where a little after, the same Words are translated; *an Eye, a Fountain, and the Sun*. There are a great many other Places in that *Life*, where *Gregory* is made, by curtailing or altering his Words, to speak Nonsense: And I wish the main Design of it were not to make him speak something that is by many Degrees worse. For to hold three Gods, is not to be a Christian, nor any Worshipper of *Jehovah*, but a Pagan.

Year after the Apostles

The very same Oration furnishes us with several more Proofs of the contrary. A little after the foremention'd Passage, he quotes and approves of a Rule of Christian Worship given by his Name-Sake *Gregory Thaumaturgus* (or else by *St. Basil*: For the Words are ambiguous) *σεβειν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον: τρεῖς ἰδιότητας, Θεότητα μίαν*. That we are to worship God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: Three Properties, One Divinity.

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And at another Place in the same Oration; *The Three are one in the Godhead [or Essence] and the one three in Properties [or Persons]* That there may be neither one in the Sabellian Sense; not three in that wicked Sense now set up, viz. the Arian.

I desire the Reader to compare the Account of this Oration or Sermon, which he will conceive by these Passages, with the Account given by *Mr. Le Clerc* of the same Oration: and if he doubt which is the truest, to read the Oration it self, and some other of the same Father's Works; and so pass his Judgment. This may be sooner done, than to read the Squabbles *pro* and *contra* about them. And indeed if People would choose to read the Fathers and ancient Writers themselves, rather than the Scraps and Quotations out of 'em; it were the only Way to defeat the Purpose of those that would defeat us of that Strength and Corroboration of the Christian Religion which accrues by the constant Succession of its fundamental Doctrins in all Ages.

I will mention but one Passage more of *Gregory*, and that out of his Oration concerning Baptism (50) out of which I recited before what properly concerns Baptism: But he there speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose Name they were to be baptiz'd, explains their Way of subsisting in the Godhead so as any one will perceive he means a numerical Unity of the Essence. Always provided that we make Allowance for this; that they had not, as I said, any such settled Use of Words of a determinate meaning, *specificat, numerical*, &c. as we use now: But express'd their Sense by paraphrasing as well

as

Year as they could. But you will see that he means that tho' they are in  
 ter the A- some Sense three, yet that their Essence, or Nature, is one, and that  
 posties numerically one: Not three Natures or Essences all alike, (as three Men  
 have) but one in Number.

*They are each of 'em God as consider'd singly, viz. the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, each having his Property: But the three together are God, when consider'd conjunctly. The first of which Sayings is true because of the Consubstantiality, the other because of the Monarchy [or Unity]. I no sooner go to think of one, but I am in my Mind surrounded with the three shining round about me. I no sooner go to think distinctly of the Three, but I am carried back to the Unity [or to consider them as one]. When I am thinking of one of the three, I conceive him as the whole; and my Mind has no Room for any thing else: I find myself unable to comprehend the Greatness of him, so as to leave any thing for the other. When I think of the three together, I see them as One Lamp whose compacted Light cannot be divided or measured.*

§. 12. Peoples meaning about a Doctrin is never better perceiv'd than by observing in some Dispute about it how and with what Reasons one Side attacks, and how the other answers. Let us therefore observe in some Heresies that were about the Doctrin of the Trinity what Arguments the Sectaries us'd, and which Way the Churchmen answer'd. It will appear that the Doctrin of the Church was such an Unity of Essence in the Divine Persons as we call numerical.

I shall mention one Heresie before the Council of Nice, and one after it; Because the Pretence is for the Time of that Council, and for some time before and after it, that the Christians held the Persons in the Trinity to be so many different Beings, and to be one in Essence no otherwise than as three Men have the same common Nature among them. If this were true; then farewell Fathers, and the Church of Christ for all that time. For this would never justifie 'em from an Imputation of Tritheism. But the contrary, God be thank'd, has been fully shewn both by Bishop Stillingfleet, as I said, and by many other Learned Men: And needs no shewing to any one that will read the Books themselves.

1. The first notable Heresie that rose about the Doctrin of the Trinity, was that of Praxeas, against which Tertullian wrote the Book we spoke of: And it was after his Time carried on by Noetus and Sabellius; from the Year 200 to 260: After which Time the Men of that  
 100. Sect were called Sabellians. They held, that there is but one Person  
 160. in the Godhead, as I said. And this they pretended not to be any new Doctrin set up by them (for they and all People at that time owned this for a certain Rule, as it undoubtedly is; that *whatsoever is new in the Fundamentals of Religion, is false*) but they maintain'd stiffly that it was the very Sense of the Christian Church before them. Now I say, that these Men could never have so far mistaken the Churches Sense as to assert one Person in Number; unless the general Doctrin had  
 own'd



own'd that there is but one *Essence* in Number. For if the Church had held, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, had each a distinct numerical Essence, as three Men have; the *Sabellians* could never have run into that Mistake of the Churches Meaning, as to think it to be, that there is but one Person, and consequently that the Father suffer'd; which they did, and were therefore called *Patripassians*. And on the other Side, the Church would have had no Difficulty in answering the Objections of the *Sabellians*; who argued, that since there is but one God, there can be but one Person in the Godhead. For if the Church had held, as before, that the three Persons have only the same Specific or common Essence, and not the same numerical Essence: It had been no more a Mystery that the Son should take Flesh, and the Father not; than it is that of three Men that have all the same common Nature of Man, one should do or suffer any thing, and the other not. And they could not have avoided answering so. Whereas on the contrary the Fathers find it a very operose and difficult thing to answer the Objections of those Men (witness *Tertullian's* Book against *Praxeas*) and do always fly to the incomprehensible Nature of the Divine Essence.

And when the *Arian* Disputes arose, the Catholics that maintain'd the Clause of *one Substance* were constantly by the *Arians* reproach'd with *Sabellianism*, i. e. of holding but one Person in Number: Which could not have been, but that they explain'd themselves so as to shew that they meant but *one Substance in Number*. This was the first and main ground of *Arius's* falling off from the Church. For so *Socrates* relates the Matter (53).

Alexander the Bishop sitting on a time with his Presbyters and other Clergy, discours'd something nicely of the Holy Trinity; how there is in the Trinity *u-  
rās, a Unity* [or Singularity]. But *Arius*, one of the Presbyters of his Church, a Man not unskilful in Logical Quirks, thinking that the Bishop did set up the Doctrin of Sabellius, did himself out of Contention set up the directly opposite extreme to that of that Libyan.

And a little after that the Council of *Nice* had inserted into the Creed that Phrase, that the Son is *ὁμοούσιος, consubstantial* [or, of one Substance] with the Father: The same Historian tells, how there were great Contests about the Import of that Word. And he says (54); They that disliked that Word, thought that the Approvers of it did set up the Opinion of Sabellius: And so call'd them Blasphemers, as if they had gone about to take away *ὑπόστασιν* the Subsistence [or, distinct Personality] of the Son of God. And they on the contrary that approved that Term, reckon'd that their Opposers brought in Polytheism [or, several Gods].

This plainly shews that the Catholics who own'd the Word *ὁμοούσιος* explain'd themselves so as to mean *one Substance in Number*. For else the Accusations ought to have run quite contrary: And not the De-

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niers of that Phrase, but the Approvers of it would have been accus'd of Polytheism or Tritheism: As they are now by these Men. But they were then upbraided with *Sabellianism*, the direct contrary Extreme: And the Defenders of the *Nicen* Creed against the *Arians* do take most Pains in vindicating themselves from that Imputation; which could have had no Appearance if they had not been understood to hold *one Substance in Number*.

This made them to be accus'd of *taking away the Subsistence* [or distinct Personality] of the Son of God: Because they teaching that there is in the Trinity but *one Substance in all*, and the others extending what they said of *ὑπόστασις*, Substance, to *ὑπαρξις* Subsistence, concluded that they thereby made but *one Subsistence in all*; and so the Son could have none. Whereas if they had meant, as these late Slanderers represent their Meaning, *three Substances in Number*, or any thing that would have amounted to what that foul Mouth calls (55) *three consubstantial Gods*; they would have been so far from taking away his *ὑπαρξις*, that they had given him a distinct *ὑπόστασις*, Essence or Divinity, and had made him a distinct God from God the Father.

225. If there were time to enter into any of the particulars of the Hi-  
260. story of the Men of that time, such as *Eustathius*, *Meletius*, &c. and other chief Defenders of the *Nicen* Faith; That would plainly shew the Falshood of this Accusation. For if this Accusation were true, these Men would have been by the *Arians* hated and depos'd under any Pretence sooner than that of *Sabellianism*: Which as *Socrates* (56) and *Theodoret* (57) tells us was the chief Pretence against them.

2. Now to come to some later times, and the Heresies then arising. We shall see how directly contrary to History that Opinion is, that pretends that it was *after the fifth Century* that the *Doctrin of one individual Essence was received*. For it places the Beginning of the Catholic Religion in Opposition to Tritheism just at the time when Tritheism in Opposition to the true Religion was first of all vented. For *Joann.*

470. *Philoponus* in the sixth Century was the first Man of all that owned the Son and Holy Spirit to be God, that ever offer'd to deny the *Doctrin of one individual Essence* in the Godhead, and to affirm that each Person in the Trinity had his own Essence or Substance distinct, and so that there were three Substances or Natures in Number as well as three Persons.

The Quotations concerning him, and concerning his being Condemn'd for this Doctrin might be easily produc'd, being a Piece of History so well known and uncontroverted. It is only to spare time (having too far digrest already) that I desire the Reader to take the Account of his Heresie in the Words of the Learned Dr. *Cave* (58),  
who

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(55) Above at §. 8. (56) L. 2. c. 9. de Eustathio. (57) L. 2. c. 31. de Meletio, (58) Hist. Literaria Part. 1. verb. Joann. Philoponus.



who giving a short Account of him (as he does of all other Writers) Year af- relates the ordinary History concerning him thus: *He vented several* ter the A- *Doctrins contrary to the Faith. Having taken for granted from Aristotle's* postles *Philosophy, of which he had been a great Student, that Hypostasis is the same with Natura, he thence concluded that there is but one Nature in Christ; and rejected the Council of Chalcedon. And afterward, when the Catholics objected to him that there are in the Trinity three Hypostases, and yet but one Nature; to get clear of that Objection, he ventur'd to maintain that there are three Natures or Substances in the Trinity: Yet still positively denying that there are three Gods, or Deities. He was for this Reason accounted, and is to this Day accounted the Author and Ringleader of the Sect of the Tritheists.*

The Socinians themselves, when they think it for their Purpose, do instance in the Condemnation of this Man; saying of an Opinion which they would represent the same as this, that (59) *it was condemn'd by the Ancients in the Person of Philoponus: And in the middle Ages, in the Person or Writings of Abbot Joachim, &c.* And can there be any thing fouler than to impute to the Ancients an Opinion which they condemned as soon as they heard it vented? Would they have Condemned him for expressing that which was their own Meaning?

All that has any Appearance of Truth in this Accusation of the Fathers, is this; First, that they being us'd to a Style that is fitter for an honest plain Man to signify his Meaning, than for a Logician to hold a Dispute in, and yet being forc'd to speak much of the Trinity, do many times express themselves so, and use such Comparisons, Periphrases, &c. as a captious Man may take his Advantage of, if he will single out some particular Places: And 2ly, that their Disputes being against *Arians, Eunomians, &c.* who not only denied the numerical Unity, but even the specifical Unity or Equality of Essence in the Trinity, do sometimes use such Arguments as prove a specifical Unity; not that that was all they would have; but to overthrow one Error first. And on this Head they sometimes use the Instance of three Men being *ὑποστασις* of one Substance: Such is that Place of *Gregory Nyssen* which *Curcellanus* urges, and *Bishop Stillingfleet* confesses to be the hardest Place in all Antiquity. But in such Places their aim is to argue thus; If three Men, tho' differing as three Individuals, yet having all the same sort of Essence, are in some Sense styled of one Substance with one another; how much more may the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit be so titled, who do not differ as three Men, but have an Essence that is *ἀτμήνῳ*, *ἀμερίῳ*, *unparted, undistinguish'd*; and that is *ἀχωρίτως καὶ ἀδιαίρετως*, *inseparably and indivisibly one and the same in them all*? They us'd these last Words to express that which we now express by *numerically one*; or *one in number*. And they thought these Words did it more effectually; because a thing may be one in Number (as there is but

Year after the Apostles. one World in Number) and yet not un compounded, indivisible, &c. as God's Essence is. In a Word, to say that they sometimes us'd the Instances of a specific Unity, is true: But to say that they pleaded for no more than that in the Trinity, is false.

§. 13. These Answers and Defences are necessary only in the Case of those Fathers whose Style is more loose and Asiatic, and so their Words more capable of being perverted from their true Meaning. But other Fathers, as St. *Austin*, St. *Hierom*, St. *Ambrose*, &c. who liv'd at the same time and held the same Faith and Communion, being brought up to some Use of Logic, have placed their Words concerning the numerical Unity so, as that no File or Tooth can touch 'em. This Bishop *Stillingsfleet* has shewn of St. *Austin*: and it is proved incontestably by these Words of his, l. 7. de *Trinitate*, c. 4. *If the Word Essence were a specific Name common to the Three, Why might there not be said to be three Essences; as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three Men, the Word Man being a specific Name common to all Men? And a little after; Quia hoc illi est Deum esse, quod est esse, tam tres essentias quam tres Deos dici fas non est. Since with him it is the same thing to be God as it is to be; We must no more say three Essences [or Beings] than three Gods. St. Hierom cannot well speak more home than he does in the Place I quoted on another Occasion (60), If any one by Hypostasis meaning Essence, does not confess that there is but one Hypostasis in three Persons, he is estranged from Christ. And St. Ambrose argues (61), How can the Unity of the Godhead admit of Plurality, when Plurality is of number, and the Divine Nature admits not of Number? There would be no end of repeating the Sayings of these and other Fathers that are full and home to this purpose.*

§. 14. What then can be done with these Fathers? They are point blank against the Socinians; and they cannot be made Tritheists, but must be own'd to be Unitarians in respect of God's Essence. They must be blacken'd some other way. As for St. *Hierom*, he is proud, unconstant, &c. and the rest have other Faults. What shall be said of St. *Austin*, whose Piety, Humility, and Caution in Writing has obtain'd a great Repute? Set Mr. *Le Clerc* upon him: He'll prove him to be one that has promoted some two Doctrins which have taken away all Goodness and Justice both from God and Men (62), and will find a way to lay the Odium of that Tyranny with which the French King persecutes his Protestant Subjects, at his Door. Upon what Grounds? Because he held the Doctrin of Predestination, an inextricable Point in which good Men in all Ages have differ'd: And because he was convinc'd by the unquiet and contentious Humor of the *Donatists* and *Circumcellions*, and by the good Effect which the Emperor's Edicts after

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(60) CH. III. Sect. 10. §. 1. (61) Lib. 3. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 14. (62) Supplement to Dr. *Hammond's* Annot. Preface.



terward had upon 'em, that moderate Penalties inflict'd on turbulent Schismatics are useful.

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'Tis not only the Christians at the Time of the Council of *Nice*, and near before or after it, that have incurr'd the Displeasure of these Men by their branding the *Paulianists* in the manner I mention'd: 'Tis all the Ancients of whom we have any Remains. *Socrates* (63) tells how *Sabinus* a Writer of the *Macedonian* Sect (these were akin to the *Paulianists*) found it for his Purpose to cast Dirt on the Fathers of the *Nicen* Council, making them a Pack of ignorant and silly Men. Yet he left a Handle whereby himself might be refuted: For he had acknowledg'd (as he durst not deny) that *Eusebius* was a Man of great Judgment and Learning. *Socrates* by producing *Eusebius's* Testimony (64) in Commendation of the rest, rebukes the Falshood of that Slanderer. But these have taken a more effectual Course: They have put 'em all into the Inditement, not leaving us one by whose Evidence we might retrieve the Credit of the rest. The Reason is; they can find never a *Paulianist* among 'em.

The Apostles chose the best Men they could find, to succeed them in the Ministry; such as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Polycarp*, &c. They also gave 'em this Charge (65), *The Things which you have heard of us before many Witnesses, the same commit you to faithful Men, who may be fit to teach others also*. They knew how much it concern'd the Good of the Church and the Credibility of the Doctrin in future Times, to have it handed down by faithful, prudent, and judicious Men. We have all the Reason in the World to believe (unless the contrary could be prov'd) that this Charge was obey'd by their Deputies; and that the Succession was for the first Ages generally carried on in good Hands. This Race of Men would perswade us the contrary: For they spare not any that are left of those that were nigh the Apostles. Take *Irenæus* for Example. He receiv'd the Doctrin from *Polycarp*, who was chosen by St. *John*. He has left some Books against the Heresies that were then, and some other Pieces. These were much valu'd by the Men of the next Ages. They call him the Mauller of Heresies and false Doctrins, a skilful Conveyer of the History and Traditions of the Church. We pick out of his Works the compleatest Catalog by far of the Books of the New Testament of any that is so ancient. Yet in so large Writings he has here and there (as it happens to a Man) some Sayings and Sentences of small Force or Weight; some particular Observations of little Moment, some Arguings weak, and some mistaken. These they call out, would have us judge of the whole Garden by these Flowers; that they may represent the Man a silly and credulous Fop, and his Works not worth the Pains of Reading.

67.

Next

Year af- ter the A- postles Next to the undervaluing the Authority of the Scripture, there is no so mischievous way to undermine the Christian Religion, as thus to vilify the ancient Professors of it. For it is they that have handed down the Scripture and the Interpretation and Confirmation thereof to us. It is from them that we know which Books are Canonical, or were truly the Writings of such or such an Apostle. One of the Assurances that we have that the Miracles recorded were really wrought, is, that they who liv'd so near the Time that they might easily inquire, did believe and were really convinc'd of the Matter of Fact. And the more injudicious they are represented to be, the weaker that Argument is. Therefore tho' we know them to be but Men, and liable to Mistakes, yet it is an unnatural Impiety to make it one's Business to represent 'em worse than they are.

But as their Credit has held now so many hundred Years in all the Christian World, when all the Books of those that have nibbled at 'em have been slighted and forgotten: So the Attempts made by these Men are too void of Strength and Truth to give us any Reason to fear that they should overthrow it. It is a poor Piece of Spite to set one's self to be reveng'd on the Credit of Men dead 1300 or 1500 Years since, because their Words will not be brought to favor some Alteration of the Christian Faith that we would set up. And it is also an impious Thing to be so far in Love with such an Alteration as to go about to build it upon the Ruins of the Credit of Christianity in general. For what an ill Face does this put upon the Christian Faith, to maintain that it has been conveyed down to us by a Church made up of silly and credulous Men, and such as believ'd there were three Gods?

§. 15. After I had finish'd this Chapter, there came over another Book from *Holland*, written by the same spiteful Enemy of the Fathers, whose Cavils against 'em I have been here answering: where he brings in *St. Austin* also among the Tritheists. He could not have taken a more effectual Course to hinder any Body from believing his Slanders of the other Fathers. He calls his Book *Bibliothèque Choisie*, intending it for a Continuation of his *Bibliothèque Universelle*. And himself he styles here *John Phereponus*, that is, *One that takes a great deal of Pains* to do Mischief.

First, he labors by all ways to vilify *St. Austin*, as one that was no such Linguist as *Phereponus* is: *He understood* (he says p. 406.) *neither Greek nor Hebrew. He was not fit to expound the Scripture. His Reasonings popular, such as might please the Numidians, and other Africans, who were of all Nations the most ignorant and most corrupt.* This he says, tho' he know that *St. Austin* was, not only for his *Preachings*, but *Writings*, the most celebrated Bishop (as *St. Hierom* says) not only in *Africa*, but in the whole World. But he says (p. 407), *The Churchmen of this Age were hardly any better in the other Provinces of the*



the Roman Empire. The Question, Whether one that understands not *Hebrew* nor *Greek* (which yet is not altogether true of *St. Austin*) may not for all that be fit to expound the Scripture; we will let pass: But this is certain, that one that does not believe the Divinity of our Savior Christ, is not fit to write Harmonies, Annotations, or Paraphrases on it, nor Translations of it. And all that abhor that Heresie, will be careful how they read 'em.

He proceeds (p. 410.) to say, without any Proof there given, that *St. Austin* as well as the other Fathers, has followed the Doctrin of that Time, which establish'd a specific Unity between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and a Distinction of the numerical Essence: So that speaking properly, they believed three Essences perfectly equal and strictly united in Will: (which very Mention of three Essences is what *St. Austin* spoke of with Abhorrence in the Words I quoted just now). Then having mention'd a Book written against himself by the Abbot *Faydit*, intitled; *A Defence of the Doctrin of the Fathers concerning the Trinity, against the Tropolates and Socinians*. Or, *The two new Heresies of Steven Nye and John le Clerc, Protestants*. He answers, that he holds no Heresie: He does not approve of the Tritheism of the Fathers, &c. And if it be said that the Fathers were not Tritheists, then he refers to the Authors he uses to do; *Petavius, Curcellaus, Cudworth*, (as if they had not been answer'd) and to the Piece that I mention'd [*The Life of Greg. Nazianzen*] written by himself. Where does this Man think the Catholic Church was at that Time? For he not only makes the Fathers to be Heretics (and Tritheists, which is indeed to be Pagans) but calls it also the Doctrin of that Time.

But to shew us from how envenom'd a Spirit all this rises; and how he employs himself: he tells us (p. 409) that he has found a way to make a Comedy of five Acts out of the Stories of certain Miracles done at Hippo, of which *St. Austin* speaks in his 322 Sermon and the following. Now the Things there related by *St. Austin* are (if not proper Miracles in the modern Sense of the Word, yet) wonderful and gracious Providences of God; which the Word *miracula* well enough signifies, and which all pious Men think themselves bound to lay to Heart and commemorate, tho' this Man makes a Mock of 'em. This Advertisement he gives, to see, I suppose, whether this Copy too will yield any Money; and whether, as he has found Booksellers that would stand out at nothing, so he can find any Players profane enough to Act this his Comedy. And if they be so inclin'd, 'tis pity but they should do it: that they may fill up the Measure of their Impiety; and that all Christian Princes and States may follow the good Examples of the French King in exterminating them, and of the King of Prussia in prohibiting his Books.

§. 16. Since the first Edition of this Book, Mr. *le Clerc* does in an Encomium which he writes on Mr. *Lock*, *Bibl. Choïsc. T. 6.* own that he

Year after the A-  
pples he has seen Bp. *Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Trinity*. And after having passed a very slighting and contemptuous Censure on what the Bishop has there, and in some other Pieces, written against Mr. *Lock's* Notions, and on the other side as much magnified his Hero (the Solidity of his Doctrin, the Exactness of his Thought, &c. whereas Bishop *Stillingfleet* understood neither his Adversary's Meaning, nor the Matter it self, and was never used either to think or to speak with any great Exactness. See the sawcy Arrogance of this Critic) he pretends at last to be surprized to find there a Confutation of *Curcellanus's* Proofs of the Tritheism of the Antients. He had Reason to be surpriz'd, if he had not seen it before: because he had since the Publication of it cast vile Reproaches on all the ancient Christians on the Credit of those Proofs, which he might see here all overthrown.

What does he do upon this Surprise? Does he pretend to shew by any Particulars that *Curcellanus* had not mistaken the Sense of his own Quotations, as the Bishop pretended to shew that he had? Or, if he cannot do this, Does he acknowledge his own Slanders? Neither of these. But instead of vindicating those Quotations from being wrested, he throws in one more of his own to them, which is more apparently wrested than any of 'em. 'Tis out of St. *Hilary de Synodis*. Which Book, he says, *Mr. Stillingfleet had not read very carefully, or else did not remember distinctly. For there is hardly any Book from which one may more plainly prove that the Orthodox of that Time believed one God in Specie [i. e. as to the Sort or Kind of Gods] but Three in Number*. Is not this horrid? Three Gods in Number? Did ever any Christian own this? Then he produces the Passage.

It must be noted that St. *Hilary* there, in disputing against the *Arians*, does labor to shew that the Term *ὁμοούσιος*, of one Substance, is the most clear, and the most significative of the Catholics Meaning; but yet that the Term *ὁμοιούσιος*, of like Substance, as also the Term, of equal Substance, may be born with and admitted, as being capable of being explain'd in an orthodox Sense, and as being so explain'd and used by many Catholic Writers: viz. that in *Divinis* Likeness or Equality are all one with Identity or Sameness. Speaking thus, ' (a) Si ergo [Pater] naturam neq; aliam neq; dissimilem, ei quem invisibiliter [i. indivisibiliter] generabat, dedit; non potest aliam dedisse nisi propriam. Ita similitudo proprietatis est, proprietatis æqualitas est, &c. If then he [God the Father] gave [or, communicated] to him whom he without any Division begot, a Nature which is not another nor unlike; it must be so, that he gave him no other than his own. So Likeness, and Sameness [or, Ownness] and Equality are all one. And then a few Words after, comes the Passage at which Mr. *le Clerc* carps; ' Caret igitur, fratres, similitudo naturæ contumeliæ suspicione: nec potest vi-

'deri



‘deri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ naturæ non esse, quia simili-  
 ‘lis est: cùm similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate naturæ; æqualitas  
 ‘autem naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit: Una non Personæ unitate,  
 ‘sed GENERIS. *So that there is no need, Brethren, that you should suspect*  
*this Phrase, Likeness of Nature, of any reproachful Meaning: nor will the*  
*Son seem not to have the Father's own Nature for that Reason because he*  
*is said to be like him. Whereas there is no Likeness but by Equality of Na-*  
*ture; and Equality of Nature cannot [in this Case, speaking of Divine*  
*Nature] be, unless it be One. One, not by Unity of Person, but of GE-*  
*NUS.*

Whereas Mr. *le Clerc* observes here, that supposing the numerical U-  
 nity of the Divine Essence, 'tis not proper to say, the Nature of the  
 Son is *like* or *equal* to that of the Father; 'tis true, if St. *Hilary* had  
 not explain'd himself so, as by Equality to mean Identity. And where-  
 as he observes that by the Word *Genus*, St. *Hilary* shews his Mean-  
 ing to be of a *generical* or *specific* Unity only; this also would have  
 some Sense according to the ordinary Use of the Word, *Genus*. But  
 St. *Hilary* had declar'd in that very Book in what Sense he took the  
 Word: As at the Beginning of the Book, in these Words; *But seeing*  
*I must often use the Words, Essence, and Substance; We must know what*  
*Essence signifies: lest we should use Words, and not know the Meaning.*  
*Essence is that which a Thing is, &c. And it may be called the Essence,*  
*or Nature, or Genus, or Substance of any Thing—*And a little after,  
*Whereas therefore we say that Essence does signify the Nature, or Genus,*  
*or Substance, &c. And constantly afterward he uses those Words as*  
*Synonymous. And accordingly Erasmus in the Dedication of his E-*  
*dition of St. Hilary's Works had said; Of the same Essence, or as St.*  
*Hilary often speaks, of the same Genus or Nature with the Father, which*  
*the Greeks express ὁμοῦς. So that to say, Unitate non Personæ sed Ge-*  
*neris, is to say, Not one Person, but one Substance: Or as he himself ex-*  
*presses it in the Page before, Non Personâ Deus unus est sed naturâ. God*  
*is not one in Person, but in Nature.*

So unfair and pedantic a Thing it is to catch hold of some single  
 Phrase or Expression, whereby to account for an Author's Meaning  
 thro' a whole Book. The contrary appears by many Passages in the  
 Book. Particularly by this. He as well as the other Fathers does  
 often say, that he that should preach that the Son as well as the Fa-  
 ther, is unbegotten, and without any Cause, Fountain, Origin, or  
 Principle [which the Greeks express ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀπαρχον, *unbegotten* and  
*unoriginated*, or, *self-originated*] would inevitably make two Gods.  
 Or, that God is one by virtue of the *innascibility*: *antioritate innascibilitatis*  
*Deus unus est.* Because tho' there are three Persons, yet One only of  
 them is the Fountain and Origin of the Deity. Or as *Tertullian* ex-  
 presses it, *They are all One, inasmuch as all are of One, that is, as to U-*  
*nity of the Substance.* *contra Prax. c. 2.*

Year after the Apostles Now he that speaks thus, plainly denotes a numerical Unity. For a specific Unity might as well or better be conceived between Three co-ordinate ἀγνῶντα καὶ ἀναρχα. But a numerical Unity cannot be conceived without conceiving the Father as the Fountain of the Deity.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Opinions of the Antients concerning the future State of Infants, or other Persons, that happen'd to die unbaptized.*

§. 1. **T**HE Account of their Opinion in this Matter will be best given in these Particulars.

1. All the ancient Christians (without the Exception of one Man) do understand that Rule of our Savior *Joh. 3. 5. Verily, verily, I say unto thee; Except a Man [ 'tis in the Original ἐάν μὴ τις, except a Person, or except one] be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God; of Baptism.*

I had Occasion in the first Part to bring a great many Instances of their Sayings: where all that mention that Text from *Justin Martyr* down to *St. Austin* do so apply it: and many more might be brought. Neither did I ever see it otherwise applied in any ancient Writer. I believe *Calvin* was the first that ever denied this Place to mean Baptism (1). He gives another Interpretation which he confesses to be new. This Man did indeed write many things in Defence of Infant-Baptism. But he has done ten times more Prejudice to that Cause, by withdrawing (as far as in him lay) the Strength of this Text of Scripture (which the ancient Christians used as a chief Ground of it) by that forced Interpretation of his, than he has done Good to it by all his new Hypotheses and Arguments. What Place of Scripture is more fit to produce for the Satisfaction of some plain and ordinary Man (who perhaps is not capable of apprehending the Force of the Consequences by which it is proved from other Places) that he ought to have his Child baptiz'd, than this (especially if it were translated in *English* as it should be) where our Savior says, that no *Person* shall come to Heaven without it? meaning, at least in God's ordinary way. 'Tis true that *Calvin* does at other Places determin this to be so: as I shall shew presently at §. 8. But his Dictate is but a poor Amends for the Loss of a Text of Scripture. Since his Time, those Parties of the Protestants that have been the greatest Admirers of him, have follow'd

(1) Instit. l. 4. c. 16. §. 25.



follow'd him in leaving out this Place from among their Proofs of Infant Baptism, and diverting the Sense of it another way: Which the Antipædobaptists observing, have taken their Advantage, and do aim to shut off all the Protestant Pædobaptists from it. They are apt now to face out any of 'em that makes any Pretence to this Text, as going against the general Sense of Protestants. Mr. Stennet in his late Answer to Mr. Ruffen, p. 73. having said that the *Custom of baptizing Infants seems to have taken its Rise from the Misinterpretation* (as he calls it) of this Text; and having instanc'd in Chrysostom, Cyril, and Austin, as concluding from this Place a Necessity of Baptism to Salvation, (and he might have added to 'em all the antient Christians that ever spoke of this Matter as producing this Text, tho' not this only) he himself declares that he takes Calvin's Interpretation, of which he there gives a Scheme, to be the truer: you may be sure. Immediately after which, that which only seem'd before, he now terms to be certain. And he adds, *Those of the Romish Church do still build their Infant Baptism on the same Principle*. If that be true, then we may observe (by the way) that he takes afterward, Ch. 6. a great deal of Pains to no Purpose, to prove that they pretend no Scripture Ground at all, but only the Authority of the Church. But this Principle, he says, the Protestants have justly abandon'd. If he mean, the Principle of an absolute Impossibility of Salvation for a Child by mischance dying unbaptized, as rais'd from this Text; 'tis true. But if he mean, the Principle of an Impossibility of Salvation to be had, according to God's ordinary Rule and Declaration, any other way than by Baptism; I shall by and by shew that not all the Protestants, if any, have abandon'd it. On the contrary, they, most of 'em, take this Text in the Sense that the Fathers did: only they judge, that in determining of the future State of an Infant so dying, we are not to bind God to the Means that he has bound us to; but may hope that for extraordinary Cases and Accidents he will make an Allowance. As in the Case of Circumcision omitted, tho' the Rule were as pre-emptory as this; *That Soul shall be cut off*: yet where his Providence made it impracticable (as in those continual Travels in the Wilderness, &c.) he did not execute the Penalty: and yet in ordinary Cases the Rule stood firm.

But see what a Triumph this Antipædobaptist raises upon the Supposal that the Protestants have abandon'd this Principle. And since, says he, *this Foundation is by these last [the Protestants] allowed to be insufficient to bear the Weight of Infant Baptism*; it might be worth a farther Inquiry whether it be founded on any solid Foundation at all: and if those who appear first to have us'd it, proceeded on so great a Mistake, whether this Custom ought not to be discontinued, as well as the Basis on which it was originally laid?

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

The judicious Mr. *Hooker* saw betimes the Inconvenience, as well as Groundleſſneſs, of this new Interpretation of *Calvin's* which was then greedily embrac'd by *Cartwright* and others, that they might with better Face deny any Neceſſity of that private Baptiſm which had been order'd by the Church in Caſes of Extremity: and ſays on that Account, *I hold it for a moſt infallible Rule in Expositions of holy Scripture, that where a literal Conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. To hide the general Conſent of Antiquity agreeing in the literal Interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that certain have taken theſe Words as meant of material Water: when they know that of all the Antients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwiſe, either expound or al- lege the Place, than as implying external Baptiſm. Shall that which has al- ways received this and no other Conſtruction, be now diſguis'd with a Toy of Novelty? — God will have the Sacrament uſed not only as a Sign or To- ken, what we receive; but alſo as an Instrument or Mean whereby we re- ceive Grace, &c. If Chriſt himſelf who giveth Salvation do require Baptiſm, it is not for us that look for Salvation, to ſound and examin him, whether unbaptized Men may be ſaved: but ſeriously to do that which is requir'd, and religiously to fear the Danger which may grow by the Want thereof, &c. Eccl. Pol. l. 5. §. 59, 60.*

2. By thoſe Words [the Kingdom of God] in this Text they do all of 'em underſtand (as any one would naturally do) the Kingdom of *Glory hereafter in Heaven.*

This is confeſs'd by the Right Reverend Author of the late *Expo- ſition of the 39 Articles* of the Church of *England*, who goes about him- ſelf to affix another Senſe on thoſe Words, *viz.* that they here ſigni- fie, *the Church*, or, *the Diſpenſation of the Meſſiah.* For ſpeaking of the antient Times, he ſays (2) *The Words of our Savior to Nicodemus were expounded ſo as to import the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation: for it not being obſerved that the Diſpenſation of the Meſſiah was meant by the Kingdom of God, but it being taken to ſignifie eternal Glory, that Expreſſion of our Savior's was underſtood to import this, That no Man ſhould be ſav'd unleſs he were baptiz'd, &c.*

It muſt be granted that in ſome Places of the New Teſtament by theſe Words [the Kingdom of God] is meant the Goſpel State in this Life. I gave an Inſtance (a) before, where I think it is ſo taken. But it is far more often taken in the ordinary Senſe for the State of future Glory. And that it ſhould be ſo taken here, I crave Leave to offer theſe Reaſons.

1. All the antient Expoſitors and other Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, do, as I ſaid, underſtand it ſo. The Reader has ſeen a Multi- tude of their Sayings occaſionally here brought, whereof not one is capable to be underſtood otherwiſe: and I believe none can be pro- duc'd

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(2) Art. 27. (a) Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 21.



duc'd that is. *Hermas*, who set down in Writing these Words of our Savior, or the Substance of 'em, before *St. John* himself did, takes it so. As appears by his speaking (b) of People entering this Kingdom after their Death. *Tertullian* (c) paraphrases cannot enter by *non habet salutem, cannot be saved*. And so all the rest. Now 'tis hard to think that not one of the Antients should expound it right.

2. Mr. *Walker*, who had consulted as much on the Exposition of this Text as any Man, takes the Antipædobaptists for the first Inventers of the new Exposition: and that it was invented by them to serve a Turn. For so are (d) his Words; *God's spiritual Kingdom on Earth, or, visible Church, is all that the Anabaptists will have these Words to signify: and that upon this Design, because they would by this Distinction avoid the Force of the Argument hence, &c.*

3. As he there observes, this Text explains it self: for the Expression being redoubl'd by our Savior, in v. 3. and again in v. 5. it is in v. 3. *He cannot see the Kingdom of God*. And *St. Austin* long ago made this Observation (3), *What he had said, he cannot see, he explained by saying, he cannot enter into*. Now for the Church here; one that is not baptiz'd may see it. It is therefore plainly meant of the Kingdom of Glory.

4. It is not likely that our Savior should in his Discourse with *Nicodemus* introduce a Sentence in so solemn a way of Speaking, as to premise twice over to it these Words; *verily, verily, I say unto thee*: and yet at last the Sentence should come to little more than this; that *without Baptism one cannot be baptiz'd*. For *to be baptiz'd*, and *to be enter'd into the Church*, are Terms much about equivalent.

Neither does it appear what the Antipædobaptists gain by this Interpretation of theirs, if it were consistent: since the only way, at least the only known and ordinary way, to the Kingdom of Glory, is by being of Christ's Church, or, under the Dispensation of the Messiah.

As for the *absolute Necessity of Baptism to Salvation*, which the learned Bishop whom I mentioned, says these Words were antiently expounded to import: I am going presently to recite the Sense of the Antients particularly, how far they expounded 'em so, and how far not.

*St. Austin* is of Opinion (4) that had it not been for this Sentence of our Savior; the *Pelagians*, when they were so hard prest with the Arguments taken from the Baptism of Infants, would have determined that Infants were not to be baptiz'd at all.

The Church of *England*, together with the whole ancient Church, does apply and make use of this Text as a Ground of baptizing Infants: beginning the Office for it thus; *Forasmuch as all Men are conceived and born in Sin, and that our Savior Christ says, None can enter*  
into

(b) See Pt. 1. CH. I. §. 2. (c) Ib. CH. IV. §. 3. (d) Modest Plea, c. 12. §. 8.  
(3) Lib. 3. de animâ & ejus origine, c. 11. (4) L. 1. de peccat. merit. c. 30.

Year after Year into the Kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born a-new of Water and of the Holy Ghost, &c. And afterward, *Seeing now, dearly beloved Brethren, that this Child is regenerate, &c.* And they do in all the three Offices of Baptism as soon as the Party is baptiz'd, whether he be Infant or one of riper Years, give Thanks that he is *regenerated, and grafted into the Body of Christ's Church.*

And whereas some People have express'd a Wonder at St. *Austin*, that he should hold, *that all that are baptiz'd are also Regenerate*; no Man living can read him without perceiving that he uses the Word [regenerate] as another Word for [baptized] and that this with him would have been an identical Proposition: as if one should say now a-Days; *All that are baptiz'd, are christned.* If some of late Days have put a new Sense on the Word [regenerate] How can St. *Austin* help that? And the Church of *England* uses the Word in the old Sense.

Many of the late Defenders of Infant Baptism have, as I said, left out this Place from among the Proofs that they bring from Scripture for it: but for what Reason, it is hard to imagin.

If they fear that from hence will follow a Ground of absolute Despair for any new Convert for himself, and for any Parent in respect of his Child, dying before he can be baptiz'd: is it not natural to admit of the same *emenda* and Allowance in these Words as we do and must do in many other Rules of Holy Scripture? namely, to understand 'em thus; That this is God's *ordinary* Rule, or the *ordinary* Condition of Salvation; but that in *extraordinary* Cases (where his Providence cuts off all our Opportunity of using it) he has also extraordinary Mercy to save without it. The Ancients, as I shall shew, did hope, and even conclude so, in Case of a Convert believing: and many in the following Ages, of an Infant.

If the Objection be that it is not easie to conceive how an Infant can be born or regenerate *of the Spirit* (which is mention'd in the Text as well as, *of Water*) since he is not capable of any Operations of the Spirit on his Will, &c. It is not only own'd by all other Christians, that the Holy Spirit, besides his Office of converting the Heart, does seal and apply Pardon of Sin, and other Promises of the Covenant: but also by the Antipædobaptists, that the Spirit of Christ is given or applied to Infants. So says Mr. *Danvers* (5), *That they are capable of Salvation by Christ's Purchase, and the Application of Christ's Blood and Spirit to 'em, Who doubts it? I am sure I never affirm'd the contrary.* And Mr. *Tombs*, *The Grace of God electing them, putting them into Christ, uniting them to him by his Spirit* (6).

The Antipædobaptists do themselves make Use of this Place of Scripture against the Quakers and other Antibaptists (and that with good Reason) to prove the Necessity of Baptism. Some of them also, that



that can read no other than the *English Translation*, will sometimes very unwarily urge it against the Pædobaptists; and will observe, that 'tis said; *Except a Man be born*, &c. 'tis not said, a Child: concluding from the Word that he that is so born must be a *Man grown*. But these, you'll say, are *right English Divines*. This may be retorted on them: for the original is not *ἐὰν μὴ ἀνὴρ*, or, *ἐὰν μὴ ἀνθρώπου*: *Except a Man*: but *ἐὰν μὴ τις*, *except any one*. And so the Text is understood by the Ancients: and by all that can read the Original.

'Tis a common thing with the Antipædobaptists, when they are attack'd with that Argument, that Womens receiving the Communion is no more plainly express'd in Scripture than Infant Baptism, to answer by citing that Text; *Δοκιμαζέτω ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, &c. *Let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat*, &c. and to urge, that the Word *ἄνθρωπος* being of the common Gender includes Women as well as Men. And they will frequently boast, and say, *Do but produce as good Proof for baptizing Infants, as this Text affords for Womens receiving; and we will comply*. Nevertheless it is not advisable for 'em to venture any more on this Challenge, than they can be content to lose. For the Word *τις* used here, *ἐὰν μὴ τις*, does (much more naturally than the Word *ἀνθρώπου*) signify any one, or any Person, Man, Woman, or Child. 'Tis only an *Anglicism* to say, *Except a Man*, instead of, *Except a Person be born of Water*, &c.

§. 2. Tho' the Ancients understood the foresaid Text to mean Baptism, and tho' the Words are peremptory, yet they were of Opinion that God Almighty did in some extraordinary Cases, when Baptism could not be had, dispense with his own Law. And one Case, which they all agreed to be exempted, was that of Martyrs. If any one had such Faith in Christ, as willingly to sacrifice his Life for the Testimony of his Truth; they concluded that such a Man, whether he had as yet been baptiz'd or not, was received into the Kingdom of Heaven. For this they called *baptismum Sanguinis*, a being baptiz'd in Blood: referring to that of our Savior, *Mat. 20. 22. You shall be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with*.

So Tertullian (7), *We have also another Baptism (which as well as the other can be us'd but once) namely that of Blood. Hic est baptismus qui lavacrum & non acceptum representat, & perditum reddit. This is a Baptism which will either supply the Place of Water-Baptism to one that has not received it, or will restore it to one that has lost [or defaced] it. The same thing is own'd by Cyprian (8).*

St. Cyril, who says thus, (9) *If one be never so upright, and yet do not receive the Seal of Water, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: this*

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(7) De baptismo c. 16. (8) Epist. 73. ad Jubaianum, (9) Catech. 3.

Year<sup>a</sup> is a bold Speech, but it is none of mine; it is Jesus Christ that has made  
 ter the A- this Decree. Yet afterward in the same Oration, excepts Martyrs.  
 pistles

407. So likewise *Fulgentius*, as positive as he is, that none can be saved  
 without Baptism, yet puts it (11), *exceptis iis qui pro Christi nomine suo*  
 395. *sanguine baptizantur*. 'Except those who are for the Name of Christ  
 (12).

296. And *St. Austin* says (13), *Ever since the time that our Savior said; Ex-*  
 cept any one be born again of Water, &c. and at another Place, He that  
 shall lose his Life for my Sake, shall find it: *no Person is made a Mem-*  
*ber of Christ, but either by Baptism in Christ, or by Death for Christ.*

§. 3. Beside the Case of Martyrs: If a heathen Man was arriv'd to  
 some Degree of Belief of the Christian Religion and Confession of it,  
 and yet died without Baptism: they judg'd of his Case with some Dis-  
 tinction.

For if the Man had shewn a Contempt or gross Neglect of Baptism  
 as a needless thing, and then were cut off by Death without receiving it:  
 400. they judg'd such a Case to be hopeless. *Tertullian* himself calls that a  
 wicked Doctrin; *to think that Baptism is not necessary to those that have*  
*Faith*. His Words you have before Pt. 1, CH. IV. §. 3. And *St. Am-*  
 274. *brose* (14) speaks of it as a received Opinion, that a *Catechumen*, tho' he  
*believe in the Cross [or Death] of the Lord Jesus, yet unless he be baptiz'd*  
*in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, cannot receive Remission*  
*of Sins, nor be Partaker of the Gift of spiritual Grace*. He must mean  
 of those that refuse or contemn Baptism, as will appear by what I  
 shall quote from him by and by. And *Gregory Nazianzen* speaking of  
 260. three sorts of Persons that die unbaptized, reckons these the worst,  
 and likely to have the greatest Punishment. His Words are recited  
 in Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6. *St. Austin's* Words also I produced before, Pt.  
 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. *But when a Man goes without it by his wilful Neg-*  
*lect of it, he is involv'd in Guilt: for that must not be call'd a Conversion of*  
*the Heart to God, when God's Sacrament is contemn'd*. So that the learn-  
 ed *Vossius* in his Book of Baptism Disp. 6. Th. 6. having spoke of some  
 Points of Baptism in which the Opinions of the Fathers differ'd, owns  
 them to have been unanimous in this. *This is*, says he, *the Judgment*  
*of all Antiquity, that they perish eternally, who despise Baptism, i. e. will not*  
*be baptized when they may*.

If it were one that intended to be baptiz'd some time or other, but  
 put it off from time to time, either out of a negligent Delay, or out of  
 a Desire of enjoying unlawful Lusts some time longer, and then happen-  
 ed finally to miss it; as *St Chrysostom* says he had known it hap-  
 pen too often: they judg'd such an one lost; tho' not liable to so great  
 Pu-

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(11) De fide ad Petrum c. 30. (12) De Eccl. dogmatibus c. 74. (13) L. 1. de ani-  
 ma & ejus origine, c. 9. (14) Lib. de his qui initiantur c. 4.



Punishment as he that had absolutely despis'd it. So Gregory Nazianzen Year as-  
determins in the Place last mention'd: and their Sayings to that Pur- ter the A-  
pose are too common to need repeating. I shall recite only one of postles  
*Hermas* for its Antiquity, being writ in the Apostles time. He speaks 260.  
(15) of a Vision which he saw of the Building of the Church Tri-  
umphant, under the Emblem of a Tower built with several Stones:  
and he saw (16) many sorts of Stones rejected and cast far from the  
Tower. And among the rest, some *cadentes juxta aquam, nec posse vol-*  
*vi in aquam, volentibus quidem eis intrare in aquam:* that fell nigh the Water,  
[on which the Tower was built] and tho' they seem'd desirous to go into  
the Water, could not roll into it. And in the Explication (17), he asks,  
*What are those other, that fell nigh the Water, and could not roll into the Wa-*  
*ter?* Answer is made, *They are such as heard the Word, and had a Mind*  
*to be baptized in the Name of the Lord; but considering the great Holiness*  
*which the Truth requires, withdrew themselves and walked again after their*  
*wicked Desires.* And I think it very probable that St. James means this  
sort of Men Chap. 1. v. 6, 7, 8. where he speaks of some that were  
double-minded, wavering, unstable, tossed too and fro in their Resolutions;  
and he says there, that *such shall receive nothing of the Lord.*

In the A-  
postles  
Time.

Some put-off their Baptism a long time, fearing least after it they  
might fall into Sin again. These *Tertullian* commends, and advises to 1000  
stay till the Danger of Lust is over: and says at one Place (18), that to  
such Men, if they should happen to miss of Baptism, *an intire Faith is*  
*secure of Salvation.* But all the rest do much discommend this Practice;  
as appears at large in the Sermons made to the Catechumens by St. Ba-  
sil. St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, and others.

Nazianzen says (19), This is the Deceit of the Devil counterfeiting Ho-  
liness, and cheating Men of the Grace of Baptism by perswading 'em to an 260-  
Over-Caution: that by Means of their Fear of staining their Baptism they  
may altogether miss of it.

Nyssen says (20), That of the two it is better to receive it now, tho'  
one should fall into Sin after, than to hazzard the Loss of it by this 260-  
Caution. For to those that sin afterward, he allows Hopes of Pardon  
upon Repentance: but of those that die without being baptiz'd at all  
he says, *When I hear that peremptory Sentence, Verily, verily, I say unto*  
*thee, Except one be born again, &c. I dare not forebode any good to those*  
*that are not initiated.*

Chrysostom (21) brings in these Men arguing: and answers 'em. 'I 380-  
'am afraid: says one. *If you were afraid, you would receive Baptism and*  
*preserve it. But I therefore receive it not, because I am afraid. But*  
*are you not afraid to die in this Condition? — He that sins after Ba-*  
*pism (as 'tis like he will being but a Man) will, if he repent, obtain Mer-*

A a a

'cy.

(15) Pastor lib. 1. vif. 3. (16) Cap. 2. (17) Cap. 7. (18) See Pt. 1. CH. IV. 6.  
5. (19) Or. 40. (20) De Baptismo. (21) Hom. 1. in Acta Apost.

Year af. cy. But he that making a sophistical Use of the Mercy of God, departs this  
 ter the A. Life without the Grace, will have inevitable Punishment. And afterward  
 postles In what Anguish of Mind am I, think you, when I hear of any one that is dead  
 that was not baptiz'd considering those unsufferable Torments: And in ano-  
 ther Tract (22); If sudden Death seize us, which God forbid, before we  
 are baptiz'd; tho' we have a thousand good Qualities, there is nothing to be  
 expected but Hell.

150. Firmilian Bishop of Casarea in Cappadocia, who was of the same Opini-  
 on as St. Cyprian was, that Baptism given by Heretics is null, asks  
 (by Way of Objection to himself) this Question (a); what should be  
 said of the Case of those who having come from the Heretics to the  
 Church, and having been receiv'd without a new Baptism, were since  
 dead without it? He answers; They are to be accounted in the same  
 State as those that have been Catechumens among us and have died before they  
 were baptized. But what he thought that State to be cannot be plainly  
 known, because the next Words are very obscure: yet Rigaltius by an  
 Amendment of the Words (without the Authority of any M. S.) makes  
 'em favorable for the Case of such deceased Persons: And Bp. Fell al-  
 lows of his Opinion.

If any of the foresaid sorts of Men did put off their Baptism till some  
 dangerous Sicknefs seized 'em, and then were baptized in their Sick-  
 Bed, and died. Tho' they did give Hopes that such a Baptism was  
 available to Salvation, yet they counted these no creditable sort of  
 Christians, because they seem'd to come to it no otherwise but by mere  
 Constraint. Nay Nyssen (23) reckons these among such as shall not  
 be punish'd, but on the other side, shall not go to Heaven. There  
 were ancient Canons, that such, if they recover'd, should never be ad-  
 mitted to Holy Orders: as appears by the Epistles of Cornelius recited  
 by Eusebius (24). Tho' it appear by the same that Novatian was dis-  
 pens'd with for this Incapacity.

150. But there is one Case of a Man's dying unbaptized, on which they  
 generally put a favorable Construction, tho' with some Difference of  
 Opinion concerning his future State. And that is, if a Man while he  
 was in Health, were come to a stedfast Resolution of being baptiz'd  
 the next Opportunity; but were hinder'd by sudden Death, or some  
 other unavoidable Impediment. Nazianzen's Opinion of such is, that  
 they shall not be punish'd, and yet neither on the contrary shall they be  
 glorified. He, as well as Nyssen and many other of the Greek Church,  
 seems to have thought that there is a middle State, not partaking, or  
 not much, either of Happiness or Misery. You have his Words Pr.  
 1. CH. XI. §. 6. He shewed also by that Anguish of Soul which he  
 him-

(22) Hom. 24. in Joann. (a) Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. prope finem. (23) Or.  
 in eos qui differunt baptismum. (24) H. E. l. 6. c. 43.



himself felt when he was like to die without Baptism (24), that he feared either Hell, or at least the Loss of Heaven.

St. *Ambrose* speaks at one Place doubtfully of these Mens escaping Punishment, but more doubtfully of their obtaining any Reward, in the Words which I cited in Pt. 1. CH. XIII. §. 2. But suppose they do obtain a Freedom from Punishment, yet I question whether they shall have the Crown of the Kingdom. But yet afterward he gives his Opinion positively in the Case of *Valentinian* (who miss'd of Baptism in the Manner we now speak of) that his Desire of Baptism was accepted instead of Baptism, not only for Pardon, but also for Glorification: as was shewed in CH. 3. Sect. 3. §. 3.

St. *Austin* embraces this Opinion of St. *Ambrose* last mention'd. And gives a Proof of it out of Scripture from the Example of the penitent Thief: Which, says he (25), when I consider thoroughly, I find that not only Martyrdom for the Name of Christ may supply the Want of Baptism; but also Faith and the Conversion of the Heart, in a Case where by Reason of the Straightness of the time the Sacrament of Baptism cannot be celebrated. For that Thief was not crucified for the Name of Christ, but for his own ill Deserts: neither did he suffer for his Belief; but while he was suffering, he came to believe. So that in his Case it appears, how much that which the Apostle says; with the Heart we believe unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation, does avail without the visible Sacrament of Baptism. But it is then fulfilled invisibly when not the Contempt of Religion, but some sudden Exigent of Necessity keeps one from Baptism.

Since this Thief had a Promise of Paradise; it is plain that St. *Austin* means that a Man dying in that Case may have Hopes not only of Impunity, but of Reward. Besides that he thought there is no middle Place.

In his *Retractions* (26), he considers this Matter over again; and says, the Example of the Thief is not absolutely fit for this Purpose, because one is not sure whether he were baptiz'd or not, i. e. some time in his Life before, which is very improbable. Yet he insists on the Probability of it in his Writings against *Vincentius Victor*.

§. 4. One might have thought that they should have as good Hopes of the State of an Infant dying unbaptized; as of a Heathen Convert, who believed and sincerely desir'd Baptism, dying likewise unbaptiz'd: since it may be said of the Infant, as well as of the other, that it is not his Fault but Mischance, that he is not baptiz'd. And *Nazianzen*, and the others that do allot a middle State to the one, do allot the same to the other. But St. *Austin*, and those who allow of no State absolutely middle, have Hopes of the Convert's (such as the Thief was)

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go-

Year at- going to Heaven, tho' unbaptiz'd: but no Hopes of an unbaptiz'd In-  
 ter the A- fant's escaping some Degree of Condemnation.  
 postles

The Reason of the Difference, as they seem to under stand it, is; that whereas God ordinarily requires both Faith and Baptism, yet that either of them (when the other cannot be had) may suffice to Salvation. As the Thief having no Baptism, but having Faith and the Desire of Baptism, was saved: and Infants, having not Faith, but having Baptism, are saved: but Infants dying unbaptiz'd, having neither Faith nor Baptism, cannot escape some Degree of Condemnation for original Sin.

To this Purpose are St. *Austin's* Words (27), *As in the Case of the Thief, who by Necessity went without Baptism corporally, Salvation was obtain'd, because he spiritually was Partaker of it by his godly Desire: So where that [Baptism] is had, Salvation is likewise obtain'd, tho' the Party go without that [Faith] which the Thief had.* And so likewise St. *Bernard* (28) resolves the Case from St. *Austin*. Having said that a Man having Faith, and the Desire of Baptism, may be sav'd tho' he miss of Baptism, he adds; *Infants indeed, since by Reason of their Age they cannot have Faith nor the Conversion of the Heart to God, consequently can have no Salvation if they die without Baptism.*

The Ancients had not all of 'em the same Opinion concerning the Death that is brought on Mankind by original Sin. The Author of that *Comment* which has been ascrib'd to St. *Ambrose*, but has since been thought to be *Hilary the Deacon's*, and by others to be mix'd out of several ancient Works, thinks it to be only temporal Death. The Words that are 2 or 3 Lines before those I am going to recite, are for certain *Hilary's* (for St. *Austin* quotes them under his Name (29)). The Words to this Purpose are these, *Comment. in Rom. 5.* Having spoken of the Death which St. *Paul* says came on all by *Adam's* Sin, he adds; *There is also another Death, which is called the second Death in Hell, which we do not suffer for the Sin of Adam: but by Occasion thereof it is brought on us by our own Sins.* 'Tis plain this Man would not have sentenc'd Infants to the second Death in Hell. But the more common Opinion I think, especially in the *Western* Parts, was; that the Death threatned to *Adam*, and coming by original Sin on all by Nature, is Eternal Death. *Pasianus* teaches so in his *Sermon of Baptism*. *Mind, Oh Beloved, in what Death a Man is before he be baptized. You know that received Point, that Adam was the Head of our earthly Origin: whose Condemnation brought on him Subjection to Eternal Death, and on all his Posterity, who were all under one Law.*

Accordingly they differ'd concerning the future State of Infants dying unbaptiz'd: But all agreed that they miss'd of Heaven.

To

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(27) De baptismo contra Donatistas. l. 4. c. 23. (28) Epist. 77. ad Hugonem de Sancto victore. (29) L. 4. ad Bonifac. c. 4.



Those of the *Greek Church* do generally incline to the Opinion of Year after the Apostles that middle State. Their Words are cited in the first Part, viz. *Nazianzen's*, CH. XI. §. 6. Those of the Author of the Questions in *Justin Martyr*, CH. XXIII. §. 3. And those of the Author of the *Questiones ad Antiochum*, *ibid.* The Opinion of *Pelagius*, (who convers'd most in the *Greek Church*) CH. XIX. *passim*. The Words of *St. Ambrose* (who transcrib'd most that he wrote from *Greek Authors*) CH. XIII. §. 2.

But *St. Austin* and most of the *Latin Church* in his Time, holding no such middle State, do believe such Infants under some Degree of Condemnation: whose Words you have in the XV, XIX, and XXth Chapters. Both one and the other agree in this; that Infants dying unbaptiz'd cannot come to the Kingdom of Heaven.

How hard soever this Opinion may seem, it is the constant Opinion of the Ancients: none ever having maintained the contrary in these Times, nor a great while after, except that *Vincentius Victor* mention'd in the XXth Chapter of the First Part, who also quickly recanted. *St. Austin* in a Letter to *St. Hierom* (30) says, *Whoever should affirm that Infants which die without partaking of this Sacrament shall be quicken'd in Christ, would both go against the Apostles preaching, and also would condemn the whole Church: Univerſam Eccleſiam.* And of the *Pelagians*, who believing no Original Sin, had therefore the most favorable Opinion of any that was then held, of the natural State of Infants, he says (31), that even they, being awed by the Authority of the Gospel, or rather, *Christianorum populorum concordissimâ fidei conspiratione perfracti*, being overſwayed by the agreeing Consent in the Faith of all Christian People, *sine ullâ excusatione concedunt quod nullus parvulus, nisi, &c. do without any Tergiversation own, that no Infant that is not born a gain of Water and of the Spirit does enter into the Kingdom of God.*

*Tertullian* himself, who at one Place advises to keep Children unbaptiz'd till the Age of Reason, is thought by the Pædobaptists, and confess'd by some of the other Side, to mean when there is no Danger of Death before: because he owns it for a standing Rule, that without Baptism there is no Salvation for any Person (32). And *Nazianzen*, who advises to defer their Baptism till they are three Years old or thereabouts, expresses himself with this Limitation [if there be no Danger of Death]. And if there be any Danger, advises it to be given out of hand, as a Thing without which they will, he says, *not be glorified* (33). And except these two, none speak of any Delay of it at all.

§. 5. But that Party that believed no middle State, and thought that the Scripture obliges us to confess that Infants are under some degree

(30) Epist. 28. (31) Epist. 105. ad Sixtum, prope finem. (32) See Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3. (33) See Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.

Year af-degree of Condemnation, and that they are by *Nature Children* of that  
 ter the A- *Wrath* mention'd, Ep. 2. 3. yet believed that it is a very moderate and  
 postles mild Punishment which they shall suffer, if they die unbaptized. This  
 I speak of the Times of our Period of the four first Centuries: for  
 afterward the Opinion grew more rigid, as we shall see.

St. *Austin* does very often assert this mild Degree of their Con-  
 demnation; because the *Pelagians* did not fail to represent the Do-  
 ctrin of Original Sin odious upon the Account of such Infants as mis'd  
 of Baptism, sometimes not by their Parents Fault, but by some un-  
 avoidable Accident. He thinks it necessary to maintain against these  
 Men the Doctrin it self, tho' it be severe: but he takes Care not  
 to represent it more severe than he thought the plain Words of Scrip-  
 ture inforc'd. Therefore as in one place (34) of his Book *de peccat.*  
*merit.* He says, *Let us not therefore of our own Head promise any eter-*  
*nal Salvation to Infants without the Baptism of Christ, which the holy Scri-*  
*pture that is to be preferred to all Human Wit does not promise.* So in a-  
 nother Chapter of that Book (35) he has these Words;

*It may well be said that Infants departing this Life without Baptism*  
*will be under the mildest Condemnation of all. But he that affirms that they*  
*will not be under Condemnation, does much deceive us, and is deceiv'd him-*  
*self: Whereas the Apostle says, Judgment came on all Men to Condem-*  
*nation, &c.* To the same Purpose he speaks in his *Enchiridion*, c. 93.

In another Book of his it appears how mild he thought this Con-  
 demnation might be: Even so mild, that to be in that State might  
 be better than to have no Being at all. For *Julian* the *Pelagian* had  
 objected, that if the Doctrin of Original Sin were true, it were a  
 cruel and wicked thing to beget Children; who would be born in  
 a State of Condemnation, and consequently in such a State as that it  
 were to be wish'd they had never been born: Citing that of our Sa-  
 vior, *Well were it for that Man that he had never been born.* To this  
 St. *Austin* answers (36), that God is the Author of Being to all Men;  
 many of whom, as *Julian* must confess, will be eternally condemn'd:  
 And yet God is not to be accus'd of Cruelty for creating 'em. And  
 farther, that all godly Parents will take all Care possible for baptizing  
 their Children, which will take off that Original Guilt, and make them  
 Heirs of a glorious Kingdom. And as to those Infants that yet die  
 unbaptiz'd, answers thus;

*I do not say that Infants dying without the Baptism of Christ will be*  
*punish'd with so great Pain, as that it were better for 'em not to have been*  
*born: Since our Lord spoke this, not of all Sinners, but of the most proflig-*  
*ate and impious ones. For if in the Day of Judgment some shall be pu-*  
*nish'd in a more tolerable Degree than others; as he said of the Men of*  
*Sodom, and would be understood not of them only: Who can doubt but that*  
*Infants*



Infants unbaptiz'd, who have only Original Sin, and are not loaded with any Sins of their own, will be in the gentlest Condemnation of all? Which as I am not able to define what or how great it will be; so I dare not say that it would be better for 'em not to be at all, than to be in that State. Year after the Apostles

And you your selves who contend that they are free from all Condemnation, are not willing to consider to what Condemnation you make 'em subject, when you separate from the Life of God and the Kingdom of God so many Images of God: and also when you separate 'em from their pious Parents whom you expressly incourage to the begetting of 'em. If they have no Original Sin, 'tis unjust that they should suffer so much as that. Or if they suffer that justly, then they have Original Sin.

He shews that the future State in which the *Pelagians* thought such Infants would be, is not so different from that in which he judg'd they would be, as they did invidiously represent. For they confess'd that without Baptism they could not come to the Kingdom of God, but must eternally be separated from God and from their Parents: But they would not call this, Condemnation. He judg'd that they were under Condemnation, but so gentle, that probably that State would be better than no Being at all: And consequently that they or their Parents would have no Reason to wish that they had never been born.

St. *Austin* does so generally observe this Rule of Speaking with great Caution and Tendernefs of the Degree of their Condemnation; that when *Erasmus* came to revise his Works, he quickly found that the Book *de fide ad Petrum* was none of his (37), for this Reason among others, because the Author (who is since known to be *Fulgentius*) does express the Condemnation of Infants that die unbaptiz'd in such rigid Terms, as that whether they die in their Mother's Womb, or after they are born (38), one must hold for certain and undoubted that they are ignis æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendi, to be tormented with the everlasting Punishment of eternal Fire; and again (39), interminabilia gehennæ sustinere supplicia: Ubi Diabolus, &c. to suffer the endless Torments of Hell; where the Devil with his Angels is to burn for evermore. This, says *Erasmus*, I never read any where else in St. *Austin*: Tho' he does frequently use the Words; Punishment, Condemnation, Perishing.

*Erasmus's* Observation is true for the General. Yet it must be confess'd that in one Sermon (40) of his where he is eagerly declaiming against the *Pelagians* who taught that Infants were baptiz'd not for eternal Life but for the Kingdom of Heaven, and that if they die unbaptiz'd, they will miss of the Kingdom of Heaven indeed, but have eternal Life in some other good Place: He confutes their Opinion thus; Our Lord will come to judge the Quick and the Dead: And he will make

(37) *Erasmi censura ad istum librum.* (38) Cap. 27. (39) Cap. 3. (40) De verbis Apostoli Serm. 14.

Year af- make two Sides, the Right and the Left. To those on the Left-hand he will  
ter the A- say; Depart into everlasting Fire, &c. To those on the Right; Come,  
postles receive the Kingdom, &c. He calls one, the Kingdom: The other, Con-  
demnation with the Devil. There is no middle Place left, where you can  
put Infants.—And afterward; Thus I have explain'd to you what is the  
Kingdom, and what everlasting Fire: so that when you confess the Infant  
will not be in the Kingdom, you must acknowledge he will be in everlasting  
Fire.

But these Words came from him in the midst of a declamatory Dis-  
pute. He would, if he had been to explain himself, have said, as in  
other Places, that this Fire would be to them the most moderate of  
ail. Tho' he speak of this Matter 1000 or 2000 times, yet he never, as  
I know of, mentions the Word [eternal Fire] in their Case but here.  
So that we must either conclude that the Heat of Controversie carried  
him in that *extempore* Sermon beyond his usual Thought: Or else we  
must conclude by *Erasmus's* Rule, that that Sermon is none of his.

It was the forefaid Book of *Fulgentius* (which asserts this dogmati-  
cally, and over and over) being commonly join'd with his Works and  
taken for his, that fixed on him in After-Ages the Title of *Durus*  
*infantum Pater*, 'The Father that is so hard to Infants.' 'Twas *Ful-*  
410. *gentius*, that liv'd 100 Years after, and not he, that most deserv'd  
that Name.

Whereas *Grotius* observes (41) that *St. Austin* never express'd any  
thing at all of their Condemnation, not even to those lesser Pains, till  
after he had been heated by the *Pelagian* Disputes; seeming to inti-  
mate that he was not of that Opinion before; but took it up then  
in Opposition to the *Pelagians*: I have shewed before (42) what *St.*  
*Austin* himself says to that Imputation: For it was objected by some  
in his Life-time.

§. 6. I shall here make a short Excursion beyond my Limits of  
400 Years: and see how the Opinions of Men did come to some A-  
batement of this Rigor after the Times of *Fulgentius*, who died Anno  
433. 533.

433. 500. In Pope *Gregory's* time, Anno Dom. 600. the Opinion of their being  
tormented, continued. For he speaks thus (43); Some are taken from  
this present Life before they come to have any good or ill Deserts by their  
own Deeds: And having not the Sacrament of Salvation for their Delive-  
rance from Original Sin, tho' they have done nothing of their own here, yet  
there they come ad Tormenta to Torments. And a little after; perpetua  
tormenta percipiunt, 'they undergo eternal Torments.'

290. The same, or at least the Opinion of moderate Torments, conti-  
nued down to *Anselm's* Time: For he speaks thus on that Subject (44);  
—Tho'

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(41) Annot. in Mat. 19. 14. (42) Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 2. (43) Lib. 1. Ex-  
posit. in Job. c. 16. (44) Lib. de concept. Virginis & peccat. originali. cap. 22.



— Tho' all shall not be equally tormented in Hell. For after the Day of Judgment there will be no Angel nor human Person but what will be either in the Kingdom of God, or else in Hell. So then the Sin of Infants is less than the Sin of Adam: And yet none can be saved without that universal Satisfaction by which Sin, be it great or small, is to be forgiven. Year after the Apostles

Thus far it continued. But about this time the Doctrin of the Church of Rome and the Western World took a great Turn in this Point: And they came over to the Opinion of the Greek Doctors that I mentioned. For Peter Lombard, Anno Dom. 1150 determins (45), that the proper Punishment of Original Sin (where there is no actual Sin added to it) is *pena damni, non pena sensus*, 'the Punishment of Loss (*viz.* Loss of Heaven and the Sight of God) but not the Punishment of Sense, *viz.* of positive Torment.

1050.

Pope Innocent the Third confirms this, by determining (46) that the Punishment of Original Sin is *caecitas visionis Dei, being depriv'd of the Sight of God: And of actual Sin the Punishment to be gehennæ perpetuæ cruciatus, the Torments of an everlasting Hell.*

1100.

Then Alexander de Ales (47), and Aquinas (48) and so the whole Troop of Schoolmen do establish the same by their Determinations. They suppose there is a Place or State of Hell or Hades, which they call *limbus* or *infernus puerorum*, where unbaptiz'd Infants will be in no other Torment or Condemnation but the Loss of Heaven.

1130.

1155.

But they did not know what to do with that Authority of the Book *de fide ad Petrum* which I mention'd, and which they took to be St. Austin's, which says; *We must believe most firmly, and make no question of it, that they are tormented with eternal Fire.* Yet see the Power of Distinctions. Alexander de Ales answers (49); *To be punish'd with that Fire may be understood two ways: Either on account of the Heat of it, or of the Darknes of it. They that have actual Sins will be punish'd with the Heat: But the other, only with the Darknes of it, as wanting the Sight of God, &c.* Now Darknes without Heat is, one would think, but improperly express'd by Fire. But he says, (and true enough) *that if we do not understand it so, it will be contrary to what St. Austin says at other Places of the Mildness of their Punishment.*

This was, as I said, the general Opinion of the Schoolmen. Yet Gregorius Ariminensis (50) (who is called the *Tormenter of Children*) and Dreido (51) endeavor'd to revive the Opinion of Fulgentius: But found no Followers, after that the other Opinion had been countenanc'd. The Doctrin of eternal Torments finds a Difficulty in sinking into Mens Belief (if they have consider'd what Eternity is) when it is applied to the Case of wicked Men. Much more in the Case of

1260.

B b b

Infants,

(45) Lib. 1. Sentent. Dist. 37. (46) Decret. lib. 3. cap. de baptismo. (47) P. 2. Q. 105. M. 10. (48) Tertia Q. 1. Art. 4. (49) Loc. citat. (50) L. 2. Dist. 34. Q. 3. (51) Lib. 1. De gratiâ & lib. arbitrio. tract. 3.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Infants, who have in their own Person not known or committed Good or Evil, and have only the Stain of Nature. And our Savior speaking of grown Men, says, *They shall be beaten with few Stripes, if they be ignorant Persons, and such as knew not their Masters Will.* How much more must that Rule hold in the Case of Infants, who never were capable of any Sense at all about it?

Dr. Field in his Book of the Church (52) is pleas'd to call this Opinion of the Schools a *Pelagian* Conceit. But I have prov'd that it is elder, especially in the *Greek* Church, than *Pelagius*; and was held by those that acknowledg'd Original Corruption: Which Corruption, they confessed, carried with it, in unbaptized Persons, Condemnation. But they thought the Loss of Heaven for ever was that Condemnation; and that when there was no actual Sin in the Case, there would no positive Punishment, or a very gentle one, be added. They thought that that alone made a mighty Difference between Infants baptiz'd, and those that die unbaptiz'd; that the one should enter the Kingdom of Heaven, the other eternally miss of it: According to that Sentence of our Savior beforemention'd, *John* 3. 5.

This Opinion of no positive Punishment, or a very gentle one, was afterward so general, that when the contrary one was anew set up by the Protestants, it was by some adjudged to be Heretic. For *Father Paul* in giving an Account how the Council of *Trent* prepared (53) their Decrees about Original Sin (which were determin'd in the 1446. 5th Session, June 17. 1546. (mentions their Disputes among themselves, whether they should condemn as *heretical* that Proposition of the *Lutherans*; *That the Punishment for Original Sin is Hell Fire*: and says it mist very narrowly being anathematiz'd: it was only out of respect to *St. Austin* and *Gregorius Ariminensis* that they forbore. The good Fathers doubtless mistook, as well as other Men, *Fulgentius's* Book for *St. Austin's*; so that the Blow had in great Measure mist him: but by what I produc'd before out of *Pope Gregory the First*; *They shall undergo eternal Torments*, it appears that they were nigh doing a greater Mischief. There wanted but an Ace but they had branded one of the most renowned Bishops of the infallible See for a Heretic. A Shot that would have recoil'd on themselves.

§. 7. All mention'd hitherto have taken for granted that there is no Hopes of such Infants entering the Kingdom of Heaven: Only they differ about their positive Punishment, or the Degree of it. But some others have conceived Hopes of their obtaining that also in one Case: Which is, when the Parents being good Christians do in Heart and Purpose dedicate their Child to God, and pray for it, and do their best Endeavour to get it baptiz'd; but are prevented by its sudden Death.

I have



I have taken some Pains (more perhaps than such a particular thing deserves) to find who was the first that ventur'd to declare this charitable Opinion, after it had been so decry'd by the Ancients, and recanted by *Vincentius*. I find none elder than *Hincmarus* Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Anno Dom. 860: who express'd such Hopes; but it was in a Case that was very particular. A certain rash and stubborn Bishop in his Province, named *Hincmarus* too, Bishop of *Laudun*, had excommunicated all his Clergy, so that there was no Body to give Baptism, Absolution, or Burial. The Archbishop writes a severe Reproof to him (54), and in it takes Occasion to speak of the Fate of such Infants as had in the mean time died without Baptism; hoping that they by God's extraordinary Mercy might be saved, tho' he had done what lay in him for their Perishing. He argues thus; *As in the Case of Infants that are under the Guilt of the Sin of Nature, that is, the Sins of others; the Faith of others, that is, of their Godfathers that answer for 'em in Baptism, is a Means of their Salvation: So also to those Infants to whom you have caused Baptism to be denied, the Faith and godly Desire of their Parents or Godfathers, who in Sincerity desir'd Baptism for 'em, but obtain'd it not; may be a Help [or, Profit] by the Gift of him whose Spirit (which gives Regeneration) breaths where it pleases.* I have Occasion to mention this *Hincmar.* of *Laudun* again in the next Chapter, §. 1. because *Danvers*, reading somewhere that his Metropolitan reproved him for suffering Infants to die unbaptiz'd, concluded that he was doubtless a Bishop for his Turn.

760.

Then for the Case of an Infant dying in the Womb, the Schoolmen beforemention'd *Alex. de Ales* and *Aquinas* (55) do say; that *such an Infant being subject to no Action of Man, but of God only; he may have Ways of saving it for ought we know.* They extend this no farther than to the Case of a stillborn Infant: Tho' the Reason seems much the same for one that dies before he can possibly be baptiz'd.

1155.

*Vossius* brings in (56) *St. Bernard*, *Petrus Blesensis*, *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, and even *St. Austin* himself as asserting a Possibility of Salvation and the Kingdom of Heaven without Baptism: And he seems to understand this their Assertion to extend to the Case of Infants. But the Places of *St. Austin* and *Bernard* are no other than those I recited §. 4. of this Chapter: Which do expressly exclude Infants, and speak only of grown Men whose actual Faith and Desire of Baptism makes Amends for the Want of it where it cannot be had. And the Places in the other two, *Blesensis* and *Hugo* do, if one examin 'em, speak to no other Purpose.

The next therefore that I know of, that has any favorable Opinion, or rather suspends all Opinion, of the Case of such Infants, is our

B b b 2

Wickliff:

(54) Opusculum 55 capitulorum, cap. 48. (55) P. 3. Q. 68. Art. 11. (56) De Capulino, Disp. 7. thesi. 22, 23.

Year af-ter the A-  
postles  
Wickliff: Whose Words are these (57); *When an Infant of Believers is brought to Church, that according to Christ's Rule he may be baptized; and the Water or some other Requisite is wanting; and the Peoples pious Intention continuing, he dies in the mean time naturally by the Will of God: It seems hard to define positively the Damnation of such an Infant; when neither the Infant nor the People have sinned, that he should be damned. Where then is the merciful Liberality of Christ? &c.*

Then he discourses some Things preparatory to his Answer, too large to repeat here: But his Answer is this; *cap. 12. And by this, I answer your third Objection, granting that God, if he will, may damn such an Infant, and do him no Wrong; and if he will, he can save him: And I dare not define either Part. Nor am I careful about Reputation, or getting Evidence in the Case; but as a dumb Man am silent, humbly confessing my Ignorance, using conditional Words: Because it is not clear to me whether such an Infant shall be saved or damned. But I know that whatever God does in it will be just, and a Work of Mercy to be prais'd of all the Faithful.* Then he calls them presumptuous that of their own Authority define any thing in this Case. He counts it rash to determine their Damnation: And on the other side says; *He that says, 'that in 'this Case put, an Infant shall be saved as is pious to believe, puts himself more than needs, or will profit him, upon an Uncertainty.* In the next Chapter he handles the Degree of their Punishment in case they be damned: and he determines it contrary to the Schools that it will be not only Loss of Heaven, but sensible Punishment.

It is to be noted that he had spoke his Mind before of the State of Infants that are baptized, as being out of Danger. For in *cap. 12.* having discours'd of three Sorts of Baptism; *viz.* of Water, of Blood, and of the Spirit; and that the Third is the chief; and that God for ought we know, may sometimes grant that without the other: He adds; *Reputamus tamen absque dubitate quod infantes rectè baptizati flumina, sint baptizati tertio baptisate, cum habeant gratiam baptismalem.* 'But we hold that to be without Doubt, that Infants that are rightly baptiz'd with Water, are baptiz'd with the third Baptism [*viz.* 'that of the Spirit] *whenas* [or, seeing that] *they have the baptismal Grace.*

This last I note, because Mr. *Danvers* (58) had brought this Man for one of his Witnesses against Infant Baptism; taking a great deal of Pains to shew how great a Man *Wickliff* was. And what is worse, he had cited some Passages out of this Book and these very Chapters: Taking here and there a Scrap, which by it self might seem to make for his Purpose.

Mr.



Mr. Baxter (59), to answer him and vindicate Wickliff, transcribed the whole Passage of the Length of several Pages. A Thing that is tedious, but yet necessary in answering such Quoters. And now Reader judge (says Mr. Baxter) what a sad Case poor, honest, ignorant Christians are in, that must have their Souls seduc'd, troubled, and led into Separations, &c. by such a Man ——— When a Man is pleading for Christ and Baptism dare, not only print such Things, but stand to 'em in a second Edition, and defend 'em by a second Book.

But all this did no good upon him. For that he might shew himself the most tenacious Man that ever liv'd, of what he had once said, he does in another Reply after that, go about with a great many Words to maintain his Point.

I shall be so civil to my Reader as to take for granted that the Words of Wickliff here given, tho' but a small part of those produc'd by Mr. Baxter, do satisfy him: for if an Author give his Opinion in plain Words, that all baptiz'd Infants are in a State of Salvation; but make a Question of those that die unbaptiz'd, whether they can be saved or not; and do also speak of the baptizing of an Infant as being according to Christ's Rule, and do call the Peoples Intention of doing it, a pious Intention: one needs no plainer Account of his Approving it. If Wickliff had ever spoke a Word against the baptizing of Infants, the Council of Constance would not have fail'd in those 45 Articles drawn up against him, after his Death, to have objected that; for they commonly overdo that Work: whereas they object nothing about Baptism; and what others object is, that he gave Hopes that some unbaptized Infants might come to Heaven.

The same Thing appears in the Tenets of Wickliff's Scholars that survived him. For Fox in his Martyrology (60) recites out of the Register of the Church of Hereford a Declaration of Faith made by one Walter Brute a Scholar of Wickliff's, examin'd before the Bishop of Hereford, Anno Dom. 1393. in which he says, I greatly marvel at that Saying in the Decrees which is ascribed to Austin, that little Children that are not baptized, shall be tormented with eternal Fire, altho' they were born of faithful Parents, who wished them with all their Hearts to have been baptized. — How shall the Infant be damn'd that is born of faithful Parents that do not despise, but rather desire to have their Children baptized? &c. And afterward in the Time of Henry IV. one of the Articles usually injoin'd for the Lollards, who were the Disciples of Wickliff, to recant, was as Fox (61) recites it, this; That an Infant, tho' he die unbaptized, shall be saved. But there is no such thing in Fox as Danvers (62) would prove out of a Book he calls Dutch Martyrology that one Clifford informed the Archbishop that a Lollard, if he had a Child new born

would

Year af- would not have him be baptiz'd. Fox does indeed tell (63) how a good  
 ter the A- while after, in the Time of H. VI. some Lollards of Norfolk had a-  
 postles mong other Articles, this objected to them; that they held or taught,  
 1328. That Christian People be sufficiently baptiz'd in the Blood of Christ, and  
 need no Water: and that Infants be sufficiently baptized if their Parents be  
 baptiz'd before 'em: and that the Sacrament of Baptism used in the Church  
 by Water is but a light Matter and of small effect. But he shews at the  
 same Place that in all Probability both this and several other of the  
 Articles charged on them were by the Informers alter'd in Words  
 from what they had said, on purpose to make them odious: which  
 was the constant Vein of the Popish Accusers of those Times. Wick-  
 liff had said, that the Water it self without the Baptism of the Spi-  
 rit, is of little Efficacy. And he and his Followers had said, that if  
 the Parents be good Christians and pray for their Child; there is  
 Hopes that it may be sav'd tho' it do by some sudden Chance die be-  
 fore it can be baptiz'd. And if these Men said no more than so, yet  
 that was enough for their Adversaries to frame such a slanderous In-  
 formation. But if we suppose that they did really hold what was ob-  
 jected, then they were not of the Antipædobaptist Opinion (as Dan-  
 vers by altering the Words something the other way would (64) re-  
 present) but of the Humor of the Quakers to slight all Water-Baptism.

1350. The Hussites also in Bohemia had the same hopeful Opinion, viz.  
 That Infants dying unbaptized may be saved by the Mercy of God  
 accepting their Parents faithful Desire of baptizing 'em for the Deed:  
 as appears by their History both in Fox (65) and the Writers from  
 whom he copies. And this was objected to them as an Error by  
 the Papiſts there, as it was to the Lollards here. Indeed they were  
 Disciples of our Wickliff as well as the Lollards. For John Huss the  
 1395. first Reformer there, imbibed the Sense of Religion which he had,  
 from Wickliff's Books: and took this Principle among the rest.

7315. Nay even in the Church of Rome some Doctors have shewn a great  
 Inclination to this Opinion, and have express'd it as far as they durst.  
 Cassander quotes Gerson, Biel, Cajetan, and some others, as expressing  
 some Hopes in this Case, and encouraging the Parents of such Chil-  
 dren to pray for 'em. But I doubt that Gerson and Biel do mean on-  
 ly such Infants as die in the Womb: which amounts to no more  
 than what the old Schoolmen had said, as I shewed. Yet Gerson's  
 Words are ambiguous: I will set 'em down. He had been observing  
 (66) that God does not always tack his Mercy to the Sacraments:  
 and thereupon advises Women great with Child and their Husbands to use  
 their Prayers for their Infant that is not yet born, that (if it be to die before it  
 can come to the Grace of Baptism with Water) the Lord Jesus would vouch-  
 safe

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(63) Ubi prius pag. 608. (64) Trear. Pt. 2. CH. VII. (65) At the Year 1415.  
 (66) Serm. de Nativitate Mariæ Confid. 2.



safe to sanctifie it beforehand with the Baptism of his holy Spirit. For who knows but that God may perhaps hear 'em? Nay, who would not devoutly hope that he will not despise the Prayer of his humble Servants that trust in him? This Consideration is useful to raise Devotion in the Parents, and to ease their Trouble of Mind, if the Child die without Baptism; forasmuch as all Hope is not taken away. But yet there is, I confess, no Certainty without a Revelation.

Year after the Apostles

This is Part of a Sermon preach'd before the Council of Constance, where *Huss* was condemn'd and martyr'd. And one Error whereof *Huss* was accus'd, was, that he held the Salvation of Infants that by Mischance die unbaptized. Therefore if *Gerson* mean this of Children born alive, it shews that he was of another Temper than the rest of that bloody popish Council.

Cardinal *Cajetan* was another of the better sort of Papists; and he (67) ventures to say of Children that die after they are born and yet before they can be baptized, that 'tis not unreasonable to say that Baptism in the Desire of the Parents is in such Case of Necessity sufficient for their Salvation: but says, he speaks under Correction. And he has been corrected. For some Doctors have call'd him (68) Heretic for this: others that are not so severe, yet say it is an erroneous and rash Opinion to think this to be possible. Indeed the Council of Florence had determin'd that the Souls of all that die in actual mortal Sin, or even in original Sin alone, do go ad infernum to Hell. I suppose they mean that Infants go to that Part of Hell which they call *limbus puerorum*, where there are no Torments.

142

1339

But above all *Cassander* himself has shewn a very compassionate Temper in the Pains he has taken to incourage Parents to some Hopes, and to earnest Prayers for their Child so dying (69). But withal a very modest one, when he adds these Words; *This Opinion of mine concerning Infants I will not defend with Contention or Obstinacy: nor rashly condemn those who being perswaded by the Authority of the Ancients, and of almost the whole Church, do allow Salvation to those Infants only, to whom God in his secret, but just Judgment does vouchsafe the Sacrament of Regeneration and Baptism.*

1470

§. 8. Upon the Reformation, the Protestants generally have defin'd that the due Punishment of Original Sin is Strictness, Damnation in Hell. I suppose and hope that they mean with *St. Austin* a very moderate Degree of it in the Case of Infants, in whom original Corruption, which is the *Fomes* or Source of all Wickedness, has not broke out into any actual Sin.

But if their Doctrin has in this respect been more rigid than that of the Church of *Rome*, or of the ancient *Greek* Doctors; they have in another

(67) In 3iam partem Thomæ Q. 68. Art. 1, & 2. (68) Vasquez in 3iam T. 2. Disp. 141. C. 3. (69) De baptismo infantium.

Year after another respect, viz. in the Case of Christian Peoples Children, given such a mitigating Explication of our Savior's Words as to allow better Hopes than either of 'em. For they do generally incline to think that if a Child by Misfortune die before it can have Baptism, the Parents sincere Intention of giving it, and their Prayers will be accepted with God for the Deed; and will be available to procure of God's Mercy Pardon of Original Sin, and even an Entrance into the Kingdom. Whereas the Schoolmen and Fathers have thought that Christ at the Day of Judgment will proceed by that Sentence, *John* 3. 3, 5. (such an one *cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*) in the Manner that a Judge in a Court of *Common-Law* proceeds upon the Words of a *Statute*, having no Power to make Allowance for Circumstances: The Protestants do hope that he will act in the Manner that a Judge of a Court of *Equity* does, who has Power to mitigate the Letter of the Law in Cases where Reason would have it. The Fathers themselves thought this Allowance would be made in the Case of a grown Man, who had a personal Desire of Baptism: and that if it was an invincible Necessity that kept him from Water, he might *enter the Kingdom* without being *born of Water*. The Protestants think the same in the Case of the Desire of the Parent for his Infant. They think thus; the main Thing in God's Intention in this Case is, that a Parent as he dedicates himself to God, so he should likewise dedicate his Child, and get him enter'd into that Covenant made in Christ, without which there is no Hopes of Heaven: and that he should accordingly make use of that Symbol or outward Sign which God has appointed to be the Way of Admission into that Covenant, if he can possibly: and that his Refusal to do the latter will be look'd on as a Refusal of the Covenant it self. But that if notwithstanding his sincere Desire and Endeavor of obtaining the outward Symbol, he be by some Accident disappointed of it; God will yet grant the same Favor that he had promis'd upon the Use of it: because it is the Heart that God regards; and where that is ready, outward Things are accepted *according to what a Man has, and not according to what he has not*: especially if some Act of God himself, as the sudden Death of the Infant, &c. do render it impossible for him to have 'em.

Luther and his Followers do indeed speak more doubtfully of this: and do lay so much Stress on actual Baptism, as that they allow a Layman to do the Office in Times of Necessity, rather than that the Infant should die without it.

But Calvin and those that follow him (who to the great Prejudice of Religion made a needless Schism from the others, or else the others from them, I know not which) sunk the Doctrine of the Necessity of Baptism a Pitch lower. They own (70) that Baptism is necessary

(70) Calvin. Antidot. ad Synod. Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 5. it. Antidot. ad Artic. Paris Art. 1. it. Institut. l. 4. c. 75. §. 22.



Tary not only *necessitate præcepti*, by God's Command, but also thus far, *necessitate mediæ*, that it is God's ordinary Means to regenerate and give Salvation. But they determin it as a Thing *certain*, that the Child of a godly believing Parent shall obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, tho' he do by sudden Death, &c. miss of Baptism : *provided this happen by no Negligence or Contumacy of the Parent.* And they deny that there is or can be any such Necessity as to justify a Laymans giving it. And Calvin takes an Occasion to jeer some Papiits that had said, that *if a Child be like to die, and no Water to be had but what is in the bottom of a deep Well, and nothing to draw with; the best way is to throw the Child down into the Well, that it may be wash'd before it be dead.*

The Church of *England* have declared their Sense of the Necessity, by reciting that Saying of our Savior *John 3. 5.* both in the Office of Baptism of Infants, and also in that for those of riper Years. And in the latter they add these Words; *Beloved, you hear in this Gospel the express Words of our Savior Christ, that except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. Whereby you may perceive the great Necessity of this Sacrament, where it may be had.* And Archbishop *Laud*, shewing that Infant Baptism is proved from Scripture, and not from the Tradition of the Church only (against the *Jesuit*, his Adversary, who, to cast in a Bone of Contention, had asserted the latter) gives his Sense of it thus (71); *That Baptism is necessary to the Salvation of Infants (in the ordinary way of the Church, without binding God to the Use and Means of that Sacrament to which he has bound us) is express in St. John 3. Except, &c.*

Concerning the everlasting State of an Infant that by Misfortune dies unbaptized, the Church of *England* has determined nothing, (it were fit that all Churches would leave such Things to God) save that they forbid the ordinary Office for Burial to be used for such an one: for that were to determin the Point, and acknowledge him for a Christian Brother. And tho' the most noted Men in the said Church from Time to Time since the Reformation of it to this Time, have expressed their Hopes that God will accept the Purpose of the Parent for the Deed; yet they have done it modestly, and much as *Wickliff* did, rather not determining the Negative, than absolutely determining the Positive, that such a Child shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Archbishop *Laud*'s Words we see, are; *We are not to bind God, tho' he has bound us.* And Archbishop *Whitgift* disputing with *Cartwright*, says, (72), *I dislike as much as you the Opinion of those that think Infants condemn'd that are not baptiz'd.* All this is modest. But there are indeed some, that do make a Pish at any one that is not confident, or does speak with any Reserve about that Matter; and they despise him and

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(71) Relation of Conference, §. 15. num. 4.      (72) Defence of Answ. to Admonition. Tr. 9. CH. 5. Div. 2.

Year af- his Scruples as much, and with as much Success, as *Vincentius* the tal-  
ter the A- kative did those of *St. Austin* on the same Point (73).  
postles

For the Opinion of the *English Presbyterians*, I shall content my self with citing these Words of *Mr. Baxter* (74); *I have hereby been made thankful that God has kept me from the Snare of Anabaptism. For tho' I do not lay so much as some do on the mere outward Act or Water of Baptism (believing that our Heart-consent and Dedication qualifies Infants for a Covenant-right before actual Baptism which yet is Christ's regular Solemnization and Investiture) yet I make a great Matter of the main Controversie. Notwithstanding that I hereticate not the Anabaptists for the bare Opinion's sake, &c.*

The *Antipædobaptists*, as they allow no Advantage to an Infant by its Baptism, nor yet by its being the Child of a godly and religious Parent; so they do not all agree about the State of Infants dying before actual Sin. One sort of them determin with great Assurance that all Infants, of Heathens as well as Christians, of the Wicked as well as of the Godly, shall be saved, and shall enter into the Kingdom of God. And they dissuade Men from having their Children baptiz'd, or *born again of Water*, &c. seeing by this Determination they are secure of Heaven without it. To which the other commonly answer; that they desire such a Safety for their Children as has some Ground in God's Word, and not in their Determination only: since an Infant has no Promise, Right, or Expectation of the Kingdom of Heaven, merely as it is a human Creature, or born of human Race; but only as being enter'd and interess'd in the Covenant of Christ, by which is promised an eternal Life after this; and the said Covenant does require, as a Condition of all that are to enter into the Kingdom, that they *be born again of Water*, &c.

Another sort of *Antipædobaptists* have not this Assurance concerning all Infants, but do suppose a different State of 'em on account of the Decrees of Election and Reprobation.

§. 9. Concerning the State of a baptized Infant dying before actual Sin, the whole Christian World has agreed that it is undoubtedly saved, and will be admitted to the Joys of Heaven: since it has all that the Church of Christ can give it. *St. Austin* says, as I shewed before (75), *He that does not believe this, is an Infidel. And, God forbid that we should doubt of it.* 'Tis certain, there was never any doubt made of it till the Times of the late Managers of the Doctrin of Predestination. Some of these have added several Limitations and Proviso's to this Proposition, relating to the Election or Sanctification of the Parents, or their Right to Church Membership: and some of 'em have used such Expressions, as that they seem to think that even among

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(73) See Pt. I. CH. XX. (74) Reply to *Hutchinson*, pag. 39. (75) Pt. I. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 6.



mong the Infants of faithful Parents, some are so reprobated by the eternal Decree of God, that tho' they be baptiz'd, and die in Infancy, yet they will be damn'd. Some Sayings of *Paræus*, *Perkins*, *Zanchius*, &c. are by their Adversaries produc'd to this Purpose (76). And it is known what Exceptions some have taken at the Rubric of the last Edition of the *English Liturgy* at the End of the Office of Baptism; that it is certain by God's Word that Children which are baptiz'd dying before they commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly saved.

What Enemies soever that Assertion may have now, it had none in those Times of which I am writing. The Maintainers of Predestination in those Days spoke thus, of the Case of an Infant dying before actual Sin; that if he was baptiz'd before he died, it was thence manifest that he had been elected: If not, it appear'd that he was not elected. Or thus; that those Infants which were predestinated to Salvation came by God's Providence to obtain Baptism: But the others mist of it.

This is plain in the Discourses of *St. Austin*, *Prosper*, *Fulgentius*, &c. There are, says *St. Austin* (77), two Infants born: If you ask what Merit they have; they both are of the Lump of Perdition. But how comes it that the Mother of the one brings him to the Grace [viz. of Baptism] The Mother of the other in her Sleep overlies it? You will ask me, What Merit had one that he should be brought to the Grace? What Merit had the other that was overlaid by his sleeping Mother? Neither of 'em deserv'd any Good. But ' the Potter has Power over his Clay, of the same Lump to make one Vessel to Honor, another to Dishonor.

And he puts a harder Case yet. The *Pelagians*, who held that the Grace of God is given according to Mens Merits, were urg'd by *St. Austin* to tell what foregoing Merit one Infant that was baptiz'd and then died, could have above another that died without the Grace of Baptism. If you should say, says he, (78) that he merited this by the Piety of his Parents: You will be answer'd; Why then do the Children of godly Parents sometimes miss of this Benefit, and the Children of wicked Parents obtain it? Sometimes a Child born of religious Parents is taken away as soon as it is born, before it be wash'd with the Laver of Regeneration: and an Infant born of the Enemies of Christ is, by the Compassion of some Christian, baptiz'd in Christ. A baptiz'd and chaste Mother bewails her own Son dying unbaptiz'd; and yet finding another Child left in the Street by some Strumpet, takes it up and procures it to be baptiz'd. Here for certain the Merits of the Parents can have no place, &c. He goes on to shew by several other Reasons or Instances, that it was impossible to assign any other Ground of Difference, except the free Purpos'd, of God,

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(76) See Acta Synodalia Dordracena Remonstrantium dogmatica, pag. 45, 46.  
 (77) Serm. de verbis Apost. 11. (78) Lib. 2. contra duas Epistol. ad Pelagianorum.  
 c. 6.

Year af. *Why some Infants being baptiz'd should obtain, and others dying unbaptiz'd*  
 rer the A. *should miss of, so excellent a Benefit of being made the Sons of God, with-*  
 ostles *out any Merit of their Parents, or of their own.*

340. So *Prosper* (or be it *Hilarius*, or *Pope Leo* that was the Author of the Book) *de vocatione Gentium*, lib. 1. c. 7. challenges those who attributed the Difference that God makes in calling one Nation or one Person to the Means of Salvation, and not another, to the different Use that they had made of Free-will, to give any tolerable Account of the Case of Infants; *Why some being regenerated, are saved: Others not being regenerated, do perish.*—For I suppose, says he, that these *Patrons of Free-will* will not be so shameless, as either to say that this Difference happens by chance; or to deny, that those that are not regenerated do perish.

320. And those who were at that time (from the Year 420 to 500) the  
 400. opposite Party in the Church to those that held this absolute Election and Reprobation, and were called by the others *Semipelagians*, as in reference to the Adult they maintain'd that God had elected those who he foresaw would be faithful; so for Infants that die in Infancy, they said; that those of 'em which God foresaw would have been godly if they had liv'd, those he in his Providence took care should be baptiz'd: And those that would have been wicked if they had liv'd, he by some Providence causes to miss of Baptism. So that both these contrary Parties agreed in this; that of Infants so dying all the baptized ones were sav'd: And (as the Opinion then was) all the unbaptiz'd miss of it.

Of the modern *Prædestinarians* or *Calvinists*, if some have been so rigid as to think that some baptiz'd Infants dying in Infancy do perish; yet they are not all of that Opinion. *Vossius* allows it to be an infallible Rule which is express'd in the Rubric aforesaid. 'Tis, says he (79), not the Judgment of Charity only, but of Charity that cannot be mistaken, that we account baptiz'd Infants go to Heaven, as many of 'em as die before the Use of Reason, and before they have defiled themselves with actual Sins.

§. 10. From the last quoted place of *St. Austin*, one may observe, that the Ancients did not in the baptizing of Children, go by that Rule which some modern *Calvinists* would establish, viz. that none are to be baptiz'd but the Children of Parents actually godly and religious. For he speaks of the Case of a Strumpet's Child, or a Child born of the Enemies of Christ, viz. of Heathens, found in the Streets and baptiz'd, as a common Instance. And in his Epistle to *Auxilius* (80) a young Bishop that had rashly excommunicated a whole Family for the Parents Crimes, he desires him to shew a Reason if he can, how



how a Son, a Wife, a Slave, can justly be Excommunicated for the Fault of the Father, Husband, Master. And then adds; *Or any one in that Family that is not yet born, but may be born during the Excommunication: So that he cannot, if in Danger of Death, be reliev'd by the Laver of Regeneration?*

Bishop Stillingfleet has fully shewn (81) the Absurdity and Inconsistency of this Opinion of the Calvinists: And how they can never in many Cases that may be put, come to a Resolution or Agreement what Children may be baptiz'd, and what not: and has clear'd the Grounds of Baptism from such Scruples. And as for the Text, 1 Cor. 7. 14. on which they build those Scruples, I have shewn (82) that the Ancients do understand it in a Sense much more plain and natural, and more agreeable to the Scope of St. Paul's arguing there, which gives no Foundation for any such Scruple. And we see by the Instances here brought, and many other, that they willingly baptiz'd any Infants, if the Parents or any other that were Owners or Possessors of such Infants shew'd so much Faith in Christ as to desire Baptism for them.

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(81) Unreasonableness of Separation, Pt. 3. Sect. 36. (82) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 19. it, CH. XI. §. 11.

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## C H A P. VII.

*An Account of the State of this Practice from the Year 400 till the Rise of the German Antipædobaptists. Of the Waldenses, and their chief Accusers, St. Bernard, Petrus Cluniacensis, Reinerius, Pilichdorf, &c. The Confessions of the Waldenses themselves.*

§. 1. **I** Gave before (1) a Note of Reference to the Books of some Authors that liv'd after the Year 400, for the Use of those that would trace this Practice for one Century farther. The general Account of 'em is, that they speak of Infant Baptism as a Thing uncontroverted. And so it holds for all the following Times till after the Year 1000. The Antipædobaptists who do put in their Plea for the first 300 or 400 Years, yet do (so many of 'em I mean as have any tolerable Degree of Learning and Ingenuity) confess that in all these following Ages the baptizing of Infants did prevail. Mr. Tombs says (2), *The Authority of Austin was it which carried the Baptism of Infants in the following Ages almost without Controul.* And tho' it appears plainly by St. Austin's Writings which I have largely produc'd, that there was no Christian in the World that he knew or heard of, that denied it (except those that denied all Baptism) so that he need not say, *St. Austin's Authority carried it:* yet it is however a Confession of the Matter of Fact for the After-times.

Only whereas he puts in the Word, *almost*; as if some, tho' few, did oppose it: there is on the contrary not one Saying, Quotation, or Example that makes against it, produced or pretended, but what has been clearly shewn to be a Mistake. As in the first 400 Years there is none but one *Tertullian*, who advis'd it to be deferr'd till the Age of Reason; and one *Nazianzen*, till three Years of Age, in Case of no Danger of Death: So in the following 600 there is no Account or Report of any one Man that oppos'd it at all.

Some Places of Authors have been cited indeed: but there wants nothing but looking into the Books themselves to see that they are nothing to the Purpose. So Mr. *Danvers* created to Mr. *Wills* and Mr. *Baxter* a great deal of Trouble in sending them from one Book to another to discover his Mistakes and Misrepresentations of several Authors within this Space: but withal a great deal of Discredit to himself;



self; for there is not one of his Quotations, that seemed material enough to need searching, but proved to be such. Mr. *Wills* had at first yielded him two Authors as being on his Side: but Mr. *Baxter* coming after, (and Mr. *Wills* himself upon a second Review) rectified that erroneous Concession; as was easie to do by consulting the original Authors; for it was taking the Scraps and Breviats of Things out of the *Magdeburgensian* Epitomizers which occasion'd that there was any Possibility of Mistake.

One of the two I spoke of was *Hincmarus* Bishop of *Laudun*, whom I had occasion to mention in the last Chapter on another Account. He had upon a (3) Quarrel excommunicated all the Clergy of his Diocese, so that there was for a Time none to baptize, bury, absolve, &c. Some Children died by that Means without Baptism: Complaint was made to his Metropolitan: He reproves him, shews him the pernicious Consequences, hopes that the Children that died, and others that died without Absolution, the Communion, &c. may by God's Mercy be saved (I quoted his Words for that before) but adds, *But as for you, you cannot be secure if any by your Order have died without the said Sacraments, that you shall not be severely judged (tho' the Mercy of Almighty God make it up in them) unless your true Humility do procure your Pardon, &c.* The stubborn Bishop would not obey; but recriminated: he sent Word to the Archbishop (4), saying, *You gave me an Example: I have a Village in your Diocese, &c. and you excommunicated them: and I have an Account of how many Infants died without Baptism, and Men without the Communion, &c.* The Archbishop denied this; the Matter is brought before the Synod held in the *Artiniacum*: They condemn the Bishop of *Laudun*. 760.

Now see what Mr. *Danvers* makes of this (which I set down as a Specimen: not that I mean to trouble the Reader with tracing him any farther, whatever I have done my self) he relates it thus (5),

*Hincmarus* Bishop of *Laudun* in France in the 9th Century renounced Childrens Baptism, and refus'd any more to baptize any of 'em, &c.—For which he and his Diocese was accused in the Synod of *Accincus* in France in these Words; *Ne missas celebrarent, aut infantes baptizarent, aut penitentes absoluerent, aut mortuos sepelirent*, (which he translates contrary to the Idiom of Latin Phrase and to the Tenor of the History) 'that they neither celebrated Mass, baptized Children, absolved the Penitent, or buried the Dead. Whereas the Accusation was not against the Diocese, but against the Bishop only, that he had excommunicated 'em and interdicted his Clergy, *ne missas celebrarent, &c. that they should not [or, could not] say Mass, baptize Children, absolve Penitents, or bury the Dead.* And he quotes for this, *Bib. Patrum Tom. 9. part 2.*

P. 137

(3) *Hincmarus* Rhem. Opus. 55. capit. c. 28, &c. ad 48. (4) *Ibid* Prefatio.  
(5) *Treat. Pt. 2. ch. 7. p. 233. edit. 1674.*

Year af- p. 137. *Magd. Cent.* 9. c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43. *Dutch Martyrology*, p. 244.  
 rer the A- part 1.  
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Now for *Dutch Martyrology* I will by no Means answer. But this I will undertake, that whoever looks into *Hincmarus's Opusculum*, which is recited in *Bib. Patrum Tom. 9. part 2. p. 93*, &c. [p. 137. seems to be a Mistake of the Printer] *Ed. Colon.* 1618, or into *Magd. Cent.* 9. c. 9. p. 443. [which is the Place that must be meant, tho' his Print be c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43.] *Edit. Basil.* 1547. will find the Account of the Matter as I have told it, and no other.

Now at such a Rate of quoting, reciting, translating, and altering, he may find Antipædobaptists in every Age and at any Place. 'Tis abundance of the Quotations that he has brought, which I as well as Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Wills* have search'd, and never found any, not so much as one, (of those I mean which are for the Centuries aforesaid from 400 to 1000, and seemed to be any thing material) but what had some such Mistake as this, or a worse, in the applying of 'em. But I shall not go on to recite 'em, especially since the foresaid Writers have done it already (6). One would wonder what he meant to make of this *Hincmarus*: if we can conceive that he thought his Opinion to be against baptizing Children, Did he think that he judg'd burying the Dead unlawful too?

§. 2. But about the Year of Christ 1050 there are Quotations that have better Foundation, and a greater Appearance of Truth, and do at least deserve an Examination; concerning *Bruno* Bishop of *Angers*, and *Berengarius* Archdeacon of the same Church; and about 100 Years after some concerning the *Waldenses* of yet greater Credit.

935. *Bruno* and *Berengarius* seem to have aim'd at a Reformation of some corrupt Doctrins then in the Church of *Rome*. They had an Opportunity more advantageous than ordinary, one being Bishop, and the other Archdeacon of the same Place. They are said to have begun their Attempt about 1035, when *Berengarius* was but a young Man, for he liv'd 50 Years after that Time. They oppos'd Transubstantiation, for which they had a great many Mouths open, and many Pieces wrote against 'em. Among which many, there is one (not written by one of the same Nation, but a Foreigner, who owns that he speaks by hearsay) that charges 'em with some Error that did overthrow Infant Baptism. It is a Letter written by (*Durandus* Bishop of *Leige*, as *Baronius* and the Editors of the *Bib. Patr.* had supposed; but as Bishop *Usher* (7) and *F. Mabillon* (8) have fully proved, by) *Deodwinus* Bishop of *Leige*, to *Henry I.* King of *France*. The Words are (9);

There is a Report come out of France, and which goes thro' all Germany, that these two do maintain that the Lord's Body [the Host] is not the Body,  
 but

(6) *Baxter*. More Proofs, &c. *Wills* Infant Bapt. asserted. it. Inf. Bapt. reasserted.  
 (7) De succes. Eccl. p. 196. (8) *Analect.* T. 4. p. 396. (9) *Bib. Patr.* T. 11. Ed. Col. 1618. *Durandi* Epist.



but a Shadow and Figure of the Lord's Body. And that they do disannul Year after the Apostles  
lawful Marriages: and as far as in them lies, overthrow the Baptism of In-

Of Bruno we hear no more: probably he died.

But of Berengarius the Report that Deodwinus had heard was so far certainly true, as that he did deny the real Presence in the Sacrament in that proper and corporal Meaning in which a great many then began to understand it. And there are a little after this a great many Tracts written, and a great many Councils (10) held against him and others of his Opinion for that supposed Error. But none of those Tracts nor any of those Councils do object any Error held by him in reference to Matrimony or Infant Baptism. And since he is found 3 or 4 several times to have been receiv'd to Communion by his Adversaries upon his Recantation of that his Opinion of the Eucharist, without Mention of any other; 'tis probable, and almost certain, that the Report which Deodwinus had heard of his holding those other Opinions was a Mistake: or else that (as Bishop Usher (11) guesses) he had denied that Baptism does confer Grace *ex opere operato*: which was enough at that time to make his Adversaries say, he did overthrow Baptism. And that is Deodwin's Word: he does not say, they denied it; but his Words are *quantum in ipsis est, parvulorum baptismum evertunt*. 'They, as far as in them lies, overthrow the Baptism of Infants.

955.  
963.

Guitmund indeed, who is one of those many that I said wrote against Berengarius toward the latter End of his Life about his Opinion of the other Sacrament, does take notice of Deodwin's Letter, and of the Report therein mention'd of his holding those other Opinions: but he speaks of them as of Tenets which Berengarius, if he ever held 'em, never did think fit to own or publish: for his Words (12) are, that Berengarius finding that those two Opinions [of Marriage and Baptism] would not be endur'd by the Ears even of the worst Men that were: and that there was no Pretense in Scripture to be brought for them: betook himself wholly to uphold the other [viz. that against Transubstantiation] in which he seemed to have the Testimony of our Senses on his Side, and against which none of the holy Fathers had so fully spoken, and for which he pick'd up some Reasons and some Places of Scripture misunderstood, &c.

975.

This is what he says as by Report from Deodwin's Letter. And for his other Adversaries (13), Lanfranc Adelman (14), Algerus (15), and others, they do not at all, as I can find, mention any thing about Baptism.

970.  
950.  
1030.

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(10) Concil. Turonense Anno 1055. Romanum 1063. (11) De Succes. Eccl. c. 7. Sect. 37. (12) De veritate corporis & sang. lib. 1. (13) De corpore & sanguine Domini. (14) Epistola ad Berengar. de veritate, &c. (15) De Sacramento corporis & sanguinis, &c.

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One thing I do here note by the By : that both this *Guitmund*, and the others mention'd, do so maintain the Doctrin of Transubstantiation against *Berengarius*, as that they say nothing of worshipping the Host, nor any thing from whence one may gather that it was then practis'd in the Church of *Rome* it self. I believe they then held Transubstantiation, as the *Lutherans* do now Consubstantiation, so as not to worship the Host as the Papists do now.

Now for the next Age after this ; The Author of the Acts of *Bruno* Archbishop of *Triers* cited by Bishop *Usher* (16) says that the said *Bruno* taking on him to expel those that were of the *Berengarian* Sect out of his Diocese, there were some found among 'em who upon Examination confess'd their Opinion to be ; that *Baptism* does no good to *Infants* for their *Salvation*. And the said Author tells it upon his Credit, that he was present at their Confession and heard 'em say so.

§. 3. But 'tis probable that these were a sort of People that have been since called *Waldenses*. For it must be observed that in this Age, viz. the 12th Century, several Societies of Men began to make a Figure in the World, who differing from one another in some other Matters, all agreed in renouncing the Pope and See of *Rome*, and denying Transubstantiation, and the Worship of Images, and some other grosser Corruptions lately brought into that Church. These were at first in several Places call'd by several Names and Nick-names, but have been since denoted by the general Name of *Waldenses*. And one of the Nick-names in use at this time, was to call 'em *Berengarians*. Now whether those in *Bruno's* Diocese, that were so called, did mean by that Saying of theirs, that Baptism it self is a thing of no use, to Infants or any one else ; or whether they put the Emphasis on the Word *Infants*, does not appear : and there were about this time some Sects that would say the one, and some that would be apt to say the other ; as I shall shew.

Beside the Name of *Berengarians*, other Names that were severally used at several Places and Times, were these ; *Cathari* [or, *Puritans*] *Paterines*, *Petrobrusians*, *Lyonists*, *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and several more. And these ; tho' differing many of 'em very much one from another, have been of late confus'dly and by one general Name called *Waldenses*.

And of these *Waldenses* so taken in a Lump, the Pædobaptist and Antipædobaptist Writers do at this Time hotly dispute whether they held for or against Infant Baptism.

The Antipædobaptists produce the Evidence of the popish Writers of that Time, who wrote against 'em : some of which do plainly and fully charge some of 'em with denying it.

The Protestant Pædobaptists say, this was one Slander of many with which those their Adversaries endeavor'd to blacken 'em, because they condemned



condemned the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: and produce for Evidence several Confessions of the *Waldenses* themselves, wherein they own Infant Baptism. Now such Confessions were doubtless more to be relied on than the Accusations of their Adversaries, if they were as ancient as they.

The present *Waldenses*, or *Vandois*, in *Piemont*, and *Provence*, who are the Posterity of those old, do practise Infant Baptism: and they were also found in the Practice of it when the Protestants of *Luther's* Reformation sent to know their State and Doctrin, and to confer with 'em: And they themselves do say that their Fathers never practis'd otherwise. And they give Proof of it from an old Book of theirs call'd the *Spiritual Almanack* (17) where Infant Baptism is owned: and *Perin* their Historian gives the Reason of the Report that had been to the contrary, viz. that their Ancestors being constrained for some hundred Years to suffer their Children to be baptized by the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, they deferr'd the doing thereof as long as they could, because they had in Detestation those human Inventions that were added to the Sacrament, which they held to be the Pollution thereof. And forasmuch as their own Pastors were many times abroad, employ'd in the Service of their Churches, they could not have Baptism administred to their Infants by their own Ministers. For this Cause they kept 'em long from Baptism: which the Priests perceiving and taking Notice of, charg'd 'em with this Slander. There are many other Confessions of theirs of like Import, produc'd by *Perin*, *Baxter*, *Wills*, &c. This is the Account the *Waldenses* give of themselves in those Confessions, some of which seem to have been published about 200 Years ago. One of the *Bohemian Waldenses* is dated 1508.

But the Antipædobaptists (some of 'em) say, this was by a corrupt Compliance: for that about this time they made a great Desection from their former Principles and Integritys, and have too much gendred since into the Formalities of the Hugonots. As if they had done it in Compliance with *Luther*, who did not begin till 1517.

Yet they can produce no other or elder Confession of theirs, that speaks contrary to these. There are extant several of their elder Confessions which express particularly the Points in which they protested against what they held to be corrupt in the *Romish* Doctrin and Way, as against Transubstantiation, Chrism, extream Unction, &c. but do mention nothing, one way or other, about Infant Baptism: which is a Sign that that was none of the Things they disown'd. They do in several of their old Books, copied in *Perin's* History of them, speak of Baptism and the other Sacrament (for they owned but two). And in them they oppose themselves against the popish Doctrin of the Sacraments: and particularly they blame the Papists for relying too much on the outward or visible part of 'em (as the Protestants do now to the same Purpose

D d d 2

blame

(17) *Perin*. Hist. of *Waldenses*, l. i. c. 4.

Yearaf- blame that Tenet of theirs; that *Sacraments do confer Grace ex opere*  
 ter the A- operato, by the outward Work done). And there is one of 'em also that  
 pottles does mention the baptizing of Children, but so as to leave the main  
 Question still ambiguous. It is their *Treatise concerning Antichrist*:  
 1020. written, as is pretended, Anno 1120. But I do not believe that: not  
 having found any other Account of this People so early. In it they say  
 (as *Perin* recites it at the End of his History) *He [Antichrist] attributes*  
*the Reformation of the holy Spirit to a dead outward Faith, and baptizes Chil-*  
*dren into that Faith, that thereby Baptism and Regeneration must be had, and*  
*gives and receives Orders and other Sacraments by that, grounding therein all*  
*his Christianity, which is against the holy Spirit.* One Party say, They do  
 hereby condemn all baptizing of Children, as a dead outward Work.  
 The other say, They ought by these Words to be understood to own  
 baptizing of Children; and to except only against the foresaid popish  
 Tenet: for whether it be in Children or grown Persons, it is an an-  
 tichristian or popish Abuse to ascribe the Regeneration to the *dead out-*  
*ward Work*, or mere outward Act; which ought especially to be as-  
 cribed to the Grace or Mercy of God sealing and confirming the Co-  
 venant to 'em. *Perin* himself, who produces it, understands it so. And  
 there is a Catechism of theirs, which *Perin* (19) says, is composed out  
 of their old Books, that does expressly mention and own Infant Baptism.  
 But of what Date that Catechism is, I know not.

1070. Bishop *Usher* (20) quotes out of *Hoveden's Annals* in *Hen. 2d. fol.*  
 319. *Ed. London*, a Confession of Faith made by the *Boni homines* of  
*Thoulouze*, (this was one Name given to one of those sorts of Men that  
 have been since called *Waldenses*) who being summon'd and examin'd  
 before a Meeting of Bishops, Abbots, &c. repeated it before the As-  
 sembly; but being urg'd to swear to it, refus'd. In the Body of which  
 Confession they say; *Credimus etiam quod non salvetur quis, nisi qui bapti-*  
*zatur: & parvulos salvari per baptismum.* 'We believe also that no  
 ' Person is sav'd, but what is baptiz'd: and that Infants are saved by  
 ' Baptism. Mr. *Baxter* having been called upon by *Danvers* to produce  
 any Confession of theirs of any ancient Date that owned Infant Ba-  
 ptism, produces this (21), which was about the Year 1176, and says,  
 1076. *Would you have a fuller Proof?* But the other answers (22), that this  
 Confession was not what they naturally and usually held: but what  
 the Court forc'd them to say by way of Recantation: which proves  
 rather, that they usually held the contrary, or were suspected so to do.  
 This latter appears by the Story to be the Truth of the Matter: and  
 'tis wonder Mr. *Baxter* would urge it. But however it signifies no-  
 thing to the Purpose. For these Men were *Manichees* (as appears by  
 the other Opinions the Court made 'em recant, viz. that there were

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(19) Pt. 3. l. 1. c. 6. (20) De success. Eccl. c. 8. p. 242. (21) More Proofs, pag.  
 380. (22) Second Reply.



two Gods, whereof the evil God made the visible World, &c.) and consequently the Opinions they held against Baptism were against all Baptism of Old or Young, that it is good for nothing: and so when they denied that *Infants are saved by Baptism*; their Meaning was, that no Person is ever the more saved for being baptiz'd. This they then recanted. And this is a known (23) Tenet of the *Manichees*: of whom there were many in these Parts, whose Story is confounded with that of the other *Waldenses*, as I shall shew by and by.

It is to be noted that they that write against 'em do accuse 'em of abundance of Heresies and monstrous Doctrins: and that with great Variety. One Writer of one Time and Place accuses those that he writes against, (whom he calls by such or such a Name, as *Puritans*, *Ap-postolics*, &c.) of one Set of false Doctrins: and another Writer of another Time and Country, lays to the Charge of those that he writes against, whom he names perhaps by some other Name, as *Albigenses*, *Arnoldists*, &c. another Catalog of heterodox Opinions. But one general Thing that they were all guilty of, is their renouncing and defying the Church and Pope of *Rome*.

And for the other Opinions (such I mean as are really false ones, and not only by the Papists so accounted) they run for the most part on the Vein of the old *Manichean* Heresie: and they do often expressly call 'em *Manichees*. The old *Manichees* held two Principles, or Gods; the one Good, and the other Evil: and that the evil God made the material World: they renounc'd and blasphem'd the Old Testament, and Part of the New: they denied the Resurrection of the Body, believing that a Man survives after Death only by his Soul: they had no Use of Baptism nor of Marriage: they abhorr'd the eating of any Flesh, &c. These same Opinions, and other of the old *Manichees*, are generally the chief Ingredients in the Heresies imputed to these Men.

There is also great Variety in the Account of their Morals. Some give to those they describe, the Character of sober, just, and conscientious Men; tho' of heretical Opinions. Others paint those they write against as Men of lewd Lives as well as Doctrins. Most of the Books against 'em are between the Year 1140 and the Year 1400. What was done against 'em afterward was chiefly by Fire and Sword. Several Armies were by the Instigation of Popes and the Forwardness of Princes sent against 'em: which sometimes dispers'd 'em, but could never extirpate 'em.

The Countries that were fullest of 'em, were the South Parts of *France*, and the North Parts of *Italy*, and the Valleys between the *Alpes*; which last Place prov'd so good a Refuge for 'em, that they have continued and do continue there to this Day: Save that the *French King* has lately driven out those that liv'd within his Limits, and forc'd 'em to seek

Habitations

(23) See CH. V. §. 3,

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Year after Year the Apostles Habitations in Germany and elsewhere. Yet some say that the Inhabitants of the Cevennes that are now in Arms, are also the Offspring of this People.

It must be noted farther, as to the Matter of Baptism, that some of the foresaid Writers do represent those against whom they write, as denying all Baptism: Some others do so speak of them whom they oppose, as if they allow'd Baptism to the Adult, but not to Infants: And others among all the false Doctrins which they charge on those they write against, mention no Error about Baptism at all.

Now see the Power of Prejudice, which it has to make each Party construe and interpret the same Relations of Matter of Fact to the Sense that their Side would have to be true. The Papists believe that all the Accusations of these People are true: And that they were such in all Points as those old Monks and Inquisitors have painted 'em. The Protestant Pædobaptists think that they really held those Tenets against the Church of Rome: But that all the rest are false and malicious Accusations; among which they reckon that of their denying Infants Baptism for one. And this is what the present *Waldenses* themselves do affirm. The Antipædobaptists say, that all the Protestant Doctrins are truly imputed to 'em, and so is their Denial of Infant Baptism: But all the rest are false.

§. 4. I shall by no means undertake a Recital of all the particular Quotations: Partly because they are so numerous, confused, and contrary to one another; but especially because they are so far below the Date of those Times which I have set my self to examin. Whatever the Tenets of these Men were, they are much too late to give us any Direction about the Sense of the Primitive Church. I shall only take hold of a Handle which some of each of our opposite Parties do give of an Expedient to reconcile this Historical Difference. Which is by flitting the Matter in dispute, and supposing that some Sects of these People did deny Infant Baptism, and others not.

For as Mr. Baxter says at one place (24), *Now I leave it to the Reader among many Uncertainties which of these he will believe most probable.* 1. *Whether all the Parties were slander'd.* 2. *Or whether Peter and Henry were slander'd: By occasion of the mixed Manichees, or by the vulgar lying Levity, or popish Malice.* 3. *Or whether Peter and Henry were guilty, as some now; tho' the rest were not.* 4. *Or, &c. --- Believe which of these you find most Cause.*

So likewise on the other side, Mr. Tombs says (25); *As for the Albigenses and Waldenses, it might be that some might be against Infant Baptism, yet others not: Or it may be, in the Beginning held so; but after left it.* And Mr. Danvers (26); *Neither would I be thought to assert such an universal Harmony among the Waldenses in this Thing, but that 'tis possible*



ble there might be some Difference among some of 'em even in this Particular. Year af-  
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So far they come toward a Compliance. And there is nothing in so obscure a Matter and so perplex an Account more probable than this. And to evince it, I shall,

1. Shew that there were many several Sects of those Men whom we now call by one general Name *Waldenses*.

2. Produce what Proofs there are that some of 'em denied Infant Baptism: And what Probability they carry.

3. Shew how it appears of the most of 'em, that they did not deny it.

First, However later Writers have agreed for Method's sake to call 'em by one general Name of *Waldenses* (because that is the Name that those which now remain call themselves by) yet it is plain that at the Beginning they were of several Sorts, Names, and Opinions. Bishop *Usher* in his Book *de Successione Ecclesie* has prov'd by good historical Evidences that there were some real *Manichees* that crowded in amongst them: which, as he supposes, gave occasion to the Papists to slander the whole Body. For the *Manichees* did really condemn all Baptism, as the *Quakers* do now: And held many other of the worst Opinions which are now affixt to the *Quakers*.

*Ecbertus Schonaugiensis* (27), wrote Anno 1160. a Treatise against a People then spread in many Countries, Whom, says he, our Germans call Cathari, Puritans: The Flemish call 'em, Piphles: The French, Texerant: (I suppose 'tis misprinted, he interprets it) Weavers. Their Tenets which he repeats, shews 'em to be *Manichees*: Such as, the Unlawfulness of Marriage; of eating any Flesh, as being the Creature of the Devil: That Christ had no true human Nature, &c. He had disputed with several of 'em: And he says, *Serm. 1.* They are also divided among themselves: For several Things that are maintained by some of 'em are denied by others. And of Baptism particularly, he says; Of Baptism they speak variously: That Baptism does no Good to Infants, because they cannot of themselves desire it, and because they cannot profess any Faith. But there is another Thing which they more generally hold concerning that Point, tho' more secretly, viz. That no Water Baptism at all does any Good for Salvation: And therefore such as come over to their Sect, they re-baptize by a privat Way which they call Baptism with the holy Spirit and with Fire.

And in *Serm. 8.* which is a Chapter on Purpose to prove to them the Use of Water Baptism (as the 7th is to prove Infant Baptism) he tells how this Baptism with Fire was: As he says he had heard it from one that had been at their secret Meetings. 'Tis in short thus; In a close Room they light Candles or Torches as many as can be placed, round by the Walls and every where. The Company stand in order with

Year after the Apostles with great Reverence: The Person that is to be baptiz'd, five cathari-  
 zandus or puritaniz'd is placed in the midst: The Archicatharus standing  
 by him with a Book us'd to this purpose, lays the Book on his Head;  
 and pronounces certain Benedictions, the rest praying the while. This  
 is call'd Baptisin with Fire, because of the Lights around which make  
 the Room look almost as if it were on Fire. But he tells 'em; *This*  
*is not the way, you Heretics: Nor to the Purpose that you pretend. You ought*  
*to make a good roasting Fire, and put him in, &c.*

What he says of their slighting all Water Baptism, but especially Infant Baptism, does help to make one understand many Passages that we meet with in the Writings against these Men. The Sayings of many Sorts of 'em that are quoted as speaking against Infant Baptism, ought not to be so taken as that they approved Baptism of the Adult, and denied it to Infants: but they really look'd on all Water Baptism as a superstitious Thing; only they thought it yet more absurd in the Case of Infants. They laugh at the Christians for two Things; one, that they placed Religion in washing People at all: And the other, that they did it to Infants. When their Arguments fail'd against Baptism in general, they took the Advantage of the Incapacity of Infants. And so do now the Quakers, some of the Socinians, the Deists, and such other Sects as would have Men go by Reason rather than by Scripture: They undervalue this Sacrament in general; but they particularly deride the applying of it to Infants.

1295. Pilichdorf also writing against these Men (28), gives an Account of the Difference of their several Sects: He says, *The Waldenses do dislike and even loath the Runcarians, Beghards, and Luciferians. And that whereas all Catholics from the four Quarters of the World agree in the Unity of the Faith; the Heretics do not so, but some of 'em condemn the rest, &c.*

1254. But above all the rest, this is clearly made out by Reinerius. He knew all the Sorts, Differences and Circumstances of those People that have been since stiled *Waldenses*, better than any Man. He had liv'd among 'em, and had been one of one sort of 'em for 17 Years, and then after his renouncing of 'em was made an Inquisitor against 'em. 'Tis Pity that he had neither a Style to write clearly, nor the Candor to express their Tenets fairly: He in representing their Opinions frequently gives a Turn to the Expressions, which shews that his Aim was to paint 'em as odious as he could. And that especially in the Case of the *Lyonists*: For the others, they could not well be painted worse than they were. But these had gained such a Repute by the Innocence of their Lives, and the Soundness of their Faith; that they did more Hurt to the Church of Rome than all the rest: Therefore he does, as any one will perceive, endeavor to blacken their Opinions in the Recital. He



He gives an Account of seven Sects of these Men (29). The *Lyonists*, Yearaf. or poor Men of *Lyons*, the *Runcarians*, the *Siscidenses*, the *Ortlibenses*, ter the A- the *Paterins*, the *Ordibarians*, and the *Cathari* or *Puritans*. It was of postles these last that he had been: Which held the worst and most blasphemous Opinions; *That the Devil* (30) [or, evil God] *made this World and all Things in it: That all the Sacraments of the Church, viz. the Sacrament of Baptism of material Water, and the other Sacraments profit nothing to Salvation, and are no true Sacraments of Christ and his Church, but vain and Devilish.*—— *Also that all Infants, etiam non baptizati, even those that are not baptiz'd, are punish'd eternally, no less than Murderers and Thieves.* After a great many horrid Opinions, he describes a Practice which they used in stead of Baptism. They call'd it the *Consolation*, and the *spiritual Baptism*, or the *Baptism with the holy Spirit*. It had no use of Water, nor of the Christian Form of Baptism.

It is remarkable what he says of one Sect of these *Cathari*: That they held *that Christ did not take on him human Nature of the blessed Virgin, but took on him a Body that was heavenly* [or from Heaven]. This was the Opinion of some old Heretics, and is said to be held by the present *Minnists*.

He says, The first of this Sect came from *Bulgaria* and a Country that he calls *Dugranicia*. They were doubtless an Off-spring of the old *Manichees*; who, as well as these later, made use of the Name of *Jesus Christ*; but denied the true History of him, and fram'd a Notion of him more Enthusiastical than that which the worst sort of our *Quakers* do by the Name of *Jesus Christ within 'em*.

These *Cathari*, it seems, thought Water Baptism a *devilish Thing*: But that even without it Infants (and Men too that were not initiated in, and rescued by their Rites) would be damn'd; as being of the *Devil's* Make. Yet here, the *Albanenses*, one Sect of the *Cathari*, dissent, *Reinerius* says; and say, *No Creature of the good God shall perish*. I suppose they meant that their Body shall be damn'd: But their Soul, because that is made by the good God, shall be sav'd.

The *Runcarians* and *Paterines* say likewise, *that Lucifer created all visible Things*. One would think these should be the same that others call the *Luciferians*: But that *Pilichdorf* in the Place I mentioned, distinguishes 'em. These (and the *Ortlibenses* and *Siscidenses*, of whom he says little) have nothing about Baptism. The *Siscidenses*, he says, hold the same as the *Waldenses*: *save that they receive the Communion*. Now who he means by the *Waldenses* I know not; for this is the only place where he uses the Name. This Man wrote Anno 1254.

The *Ordibarians* say; *The World had no Beginning: That Christ was a Sinner till he became of their Sect. They deny the Resurrection of the Body, but not the Immortality of the Spirit* [or Soul]: They say, *Baptism*

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Year after the Articles is of no farther Value than are the Merits of the Baptizer: and that it does no Good to Infants, unless they be perfect in that Sect. So the Words are; *nisi sint perfecti in illâ sectâ*. I think they mean; unless they be initiated in that Sect. *τελειώμενοι*.

Of the *Lyonists* he says thus (31);

*There is no Sect more pernicious to the Church than they, &c.*

Of the Sacraments he says, *They condemn 'em all*. This appears to be invidiously express'd: For, by his own Account of the Particulars, they did (to say the worst) only hold some heterodox Opinions about 'em.

First for *Baptism*: *They say that Catechism is nothing*. This also must be maliciously worded: For no People ever, that believ'd the Articles of the Creed, would hold catechizing of Children to be useless. But I guess by *Catechism* here is meant the Interrogations and Answers at the Baptizing of an Infant. Also that the *Washing that is given to Children does no good*. By Words so short one cannot tell which of these three Tenets he would accuse 'em to hold: Either, 1. that all baptismal Washing is good for nothing. For so a *Quaker* now would say; *The Washing you give your Children is good for nothing*: When his Meaning is that all Baptism is so. But these People do not seem to have been *Manichees*. Or, 2ly, That Baptism is of no Force when 'tis given to *Infants*. But then it would have been plainer express'd: And he would have used the Word *Baptismus*, and not *Ablutio*, which is spoken in disdain, and signifies an ordinary Washing. Or 3dly, that in Baptism, the *Washing* it self or outward Act taken by it self, is not that which saves, but God operating saves by it, as *St. Peter* says (32), *'Tis not the washing off the Dirt of the Flesh that saves*. This last I take to be what they might be likely to say. And this was a great Heresie in those Times, to deny that the Sacraments do confer Grace, *ex opere operato*: 'Even by the mere outward Work done. Also that the Godfathers don't understand what they answer to the Priest. Also, that the Offering which is called *Anwegung* is an Invention. Also they dislike all the *Exorcisms* and *Benedictions* of Baptism.

Here is Evidence more than enough that there were several Sects of this People. Which is what I propos'd to prove by these Passages.

§. 5. And now, Secondly, That some of 'em (I do not say; any of the *Waldenses* strictly so called: But some of these Sects which about the same Time and the same Places opposing the Church of *Rome*, are therefore by late Writers huddled together under the Name of *Waldenses*: That some of these, I say) did deny Infants Baptism; there is this Ground of Probability.

First, one *Evervinus* of the Diocese of *Cologne* a little before the Year 1040. 1140 writes to *St. Bernard* a Letter (which is lately brought to light by *F. Mabillon*.



*Mabillon. Analect. Tom. 3.)* giving him an Account of two sorts of Heretics lately discover'd in that Country. One Sort, were by his Description perfect *Manichees*. Of the other Sort, he says; *They condemn the Sacraments; except Baptism only; and this only in those who are come to Age, who they say are baptiz'd by Christ himself, whoever be the Minister of the Sacraments. They do not believe Infant Baptism: alleging that Place of the Gospel; He that believeth, and is baptized, &c. All Marriage they call Fornication, except that which is between two Virgins, &c.*

Year after the Apostles

Then at the Year 1146. *Peter, Abbot of Clugny*, writing against one *Peter Bruis* and one *Henry* his Disciple, and their Associates (33), charges them with six Errors: The first of which was their Denial of Infant Baptism. The other five were, 2. *That Churches ought not to be built: And if built, ought to be pull'd down.* If we were to credit all the Reports that come now from *France*, the *Cevennois* would seem to be of this Opinion by their destroying so many Churches: But I hope that those Reports are not true. 3. *That Crosses ought not to be worshipt, but broken and burnt.* *Peter Bruis* had been a little before the writing of this, taken and burnt himself. This Writer says, it was a just Judgment on him who had burnt so many Crosses. 4. *That not only what Berengarius had said, viz. That there is no Transubstantiation in the Sacrament; was true: but also that that Sacrament is no more to be administered since Christ's Time.* 5. *That dead Men receive no Benefit from the Prayers, Sacrifices, &c. of the Living.* 6. *That it is a mocking of God to sing in the Church.*

1046.

He also says, that they were reported to renounce all the *Old Testament*, and all the *New*, except the four *Gospels*. But this he was not sure of: and would not impute it to 'em, for fear he might slander 'em. So it appears that he did not certainly know what they held. Yet to make his Proofs unquestionable, he first proves the Truth of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles* by their Agreement with the *Gospels*: and then the *Old Testament* by the *New*. And then out of the whole proceeds to refute their Tenets: bestowing a Chapter on each. The first of 'em was, as I said, against Infant Baptism: and is thus express'd.

*The first Proposition of the new Heretics. They say,*

' *Christ* sending his Disciples to preach, says in the Gospel; *Go ye out into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned.* From these Words of our Savior it is plain that none can be saved unless he believe and be baptiz'd: that is, have both Christian Faith and Baptism. For not one of these, but both together, does save. So that Infants, tho' they be by you baptiz'd, yet since by reason of their Age they cannot believe, are not saved. It

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Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

is therefore an idle and vain Thing for you to wash Persons with Water, at such a Time when you may indeed cleanse their Skin from Dirt in a human Manner, but not purge their Souls from Sin. But we do stay till the proper Time of Faith: and when a Person is capable to know his God and believe in him; then we do (not, as you charge us, rebaptize him, but) baptize him. For he is to be accounted as not yet baptiz'd who is not wash'd with that Baptism by which Sins are done away.

This is, as to the Practice, perfectly agreeable with the modern Antipædobaptists: but as *Cassander* observes (34), it is upon quite contrary Grounds. For the Antipædobaptists now do generally hold that all that die Infants, baptiz'd or not, of Christian or of Heathen Parents, are sav'd; and so 'tis needless to baptize 'em: Whereas these held that, baptiz'd or not, they could not be saved; and so 'twas to no purpose to baptize 'em. And this Writer does accordingly spend most of the Chapter which is in answer to this Tenet of theirs, in proving that Infants as well as grown Men are capable of the Kingdom. *Abate*, says he, of that overmuch Severity which you have taken upon you—and do not exclude Infants from the Kingdom of Heaven; of whom *Christ* says, 'Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Also he argues that the Infants of the *Jews* had a Possibility of being saved, viz. if they were circumcis'd: and if the Children of Christians have no Means to be sav'd, we are in much worse Case than they: And at last he concludes that Chapter; *Oh the Difference that is between Mercy and Cruelty, between a tender Regard to one's Children and Unnaturalness, between Christ lovingly receiving Infants and the Heretics impiously repelling 'em, &c.*

1026. It is to be noted that this Author speaks of this Opinion as then lately set on foot: and says, it might have seemed not to need or deserve any Confutation, were it not that it had now continued 20 Years (35). That the first Seeds of it were sown by *Peter de Bruis* (who was living when the Book was written; but put to death before it was publish'd, of which Mention is made in the Preface). It was first vented in the mountainous Country of *Dauphine*, and had had there some Followers: from whence being in good measure expell'd, it had got footing in *Gascoigne* and the Parts about *Tholouse*, being propagated by *Henry*, who was a Disciple and Successor of the said *Peter*.

This Writer aggravates this Charge of Novelty, by urging that if Baptism given in Infancy be null and void, as they pretended; then all the World has been blind hitherto, and by baptizing Infants for above a thousand Years, has given but a Mock-Baptism, and made but phantastical Christians, &c.—And whereas all France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and all Europe has had never a Person now for 300 or almost 500 Years baptiz'd otherwise than in Infancy, it has had never a Christian in it.

The



The next Year, 1147. *Bernard*, Abbot of *Clareval*, commonly call'd *St. Bernard*, was desir'd by Pope *Eugenius* to accompany some Bishops whom he sent into those Parts, to stop the spreading of these Doctrins, and to reduce those that had been led into 'em. And when they were come nigh to the Territory of the Earl of *St. Gyles's*, *Bernard* writes a Letter to the said Earl (36), who at that time harbour'd the fore-said *Henry* in his Country, recounting what Mischiefs that Heretic, as he calls him, had done. *The Churches are without People, the People without Priests, &c. God's holy Place is accounted profane, the Sacraments are esteem'd unholy, &c. Men die in their Sins, their Souls carried to that terrible Judicature, alas! neither reconciled by Penance, nor strengthen'd by the holy Communion: the Infants of Christians are hinder'd from the Life of Christ, the Grace of Baptism being denied 'em: nor are they suffered to come to their Salvation, tho' our Savior compassionately cry out in their Behalf, saying, Suffer little Children to come to me, &c.* He tells the Earl, that 'tis little for his Credit to harbour such a Man that had been expell'd from all Places of *France* where he had come. The Issue was, *Henry* was banish'd.

I know not whether it was before this, or after (I think it was after) that *St. Bernard* writing his 65th and 66th *Sermon on the Canticles*, takes occasion to discourse largely against a sort of Heretics, whom he names not, but says they call'd themselves *Apostolical Men*. He describes 'em thus in several Places of those two Sermons. 1st, *That they held it unlawful to swear in any other Case: but being examin'd of their Tenets, they would swear and forswear in the Denial of them. And that to conceal their Opinions, they would give Catholic Answers to all Questions of the Faith: they would go to Church, shew Respect to the Minister, offer their Gift, receive the Sacrament, &c.* He shews by Scripture that all true Religion owns it self. And this receiving the Communion in Dissimulation, is what *Reinerius*, about 100 Years after this Time, observes, that the *Siscidenses* would then do, and the *Lyonists* he says would; but the *Waldenses* would not. 2. *That they held Marriage to be a wicked Uncleanness (only some of 'em said that Virgins might marry, but none else) and yet they kept company with Women in a way that gave great Scandal: and Women us'd to run away from their Husbands and come and live with them. That they held Uncleanness to be only in the use of a Wife: whereas that is, as he shews, the only Case which makes it to be none.* 3. *That they held the eating of all Flesh, and Milk, and whatever is generated of Copulation, unlawful.* He says if they did this out of a Desire to keep under the Body, he would not blame 'em: but if it was out of a *Manichean Principle* (for this as well as the foregoing was a Tenet of the old *Manichees*) they fell under that Censure of the Apostle (37); *Teaching Doctrins of Devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats,* &c.

Year af- &c. 4. That they owned not the Old Testament, and some of them none of  
ter the A. the New, but the Gospels. 5. That they denied Purgatory. 6. They laugh  
Posties at us, says he, for baptizing Infants, for our praying for the Dead, and for  
desiring the Prayers of the Saints. So he gives in opposition to them the  
Grounds of Infant Baptism, as well as of the other Doctrins by them  
denied.

The Heretics he speaks of here, appear plainly to have been of  
*Manichean* Principles; and so probably to have derided all Baptism:  
whereas *Henry*, as well as *Peter Bruis*, allowed of Water Baptism to  
the Adult: So that probably these mention'd in the Sermons are not  
the same with those in the Letter; for *Peter* and *Henry* are charg'd  
with no *Manichean* Doctrin, save that *Peter* of *Clugny* had heard some  
say that they denied all the Scripture but the Gospels; but he owns  
that he had no certain Account of that: and probably the Report that  
imputed it to 'em arose by mistaking the Tenets of these for those.

1092. Then at the Year 1192. one *Alanus* reckoning up the Opinions of  
the *Cathari*, says some of 'em held Baptism of no use to Infants: o-  
thers of 'em to no Person at all.

It is to be noted, that neither *Petrus* nor *Bernard* do call them that  
they write against, *Waldenses*; nor do so much as mention the Name:  
nor was there, I believe, any such Name then known.

These are the only four Writers that I know of that do plainly ac-  
cuse those they write against, of denying Baptism peculiarly to Infants.  
And the only Persons they mention are that *Peter*, and *Henry*, and  
their Followers: for those of *Cologne* seem to have rambled thither from  
*Dauphine*, where *Bruis* had began to preach about 20 Years before.

925. Mr. *Stennet* in his *Answer to Russen*, ch. 4. p. 84. would indeed have us  
believe that there were above 100 Years before this time, viz. Anno 1025,  
some that denied Baptism peculiarly to Infants, namely, the Follow-  
ers of *Gundulphus*. For this, he quotes a Passage reported by Dr. *Allix*  
from the History of a Synod held at *Arras* that Year, which is lately  
brought to light by *Dacherius. Spicileg. T. 13.* where these Men being  
examined by the Bishop of *Cambray*, do indeed deny that Baptism can do  
any Good to Infants. But in the same Examination being farther in-  
terrogated, the Men confess'd that they thought Water Baptism of  
no Use or Necessity to any one, Infant or Adult. Now is this fair  
quoting, to take the first of these, and leave out the latter Part which  
follows in Dr. *Allix's* Book? These Men whom Mr. *Stennet* represents  
as Antipædobaptists (and if they had been so, they would have been  
the earliest that any History mentions) were as to the Point of Ba-  
ptism, *Quakers* or *Manichees*.

And so all the other Writers that I have seen (except the four  
aforesaid) do, if they have any thing at all about the Denial of Baptism,  
impute to the Heretics they speak of, the Denial of all Water Ba-  
ptism.



ptism. As the Fragments of the History of *Aquitain*, cited by *Pithaus*. Year after the Apostles  
*Joannes Floriacensis* cited by *Massonius*. *Radulph. Ardens.* and many more, whose Sayings are produc'd by Bp. *Usher* (38). The Words of *Ecbertus* I gave before (39), That Infants ought to have no Baptism, and grown Persons no Water Baptism. *Reimerius*, as I said, about the *Lyonists* speaks ambiguously. *Erbrardus* and *Ermingardus* are cited by *Danvers* (40) as Witnesses that some of whom they write, denied Infant Baptism: But Mr. *Baxter* having searched them (41) says, that they speak of those People as denying the Law and the Prophets: maintaining the two Gods, whereof the evil one made the World: denying the Resurrection, and all Use of Marriage; or the Lawfulness of it. So that they must have been *Manichees*, who do all of 'em deny all Baptism, but especially Infant Baptism.

*William* of *Newbourg*, who lived then in *England*, describes some of these Men by the Name of *Publicani*, and by their being *Gascoigners*: and says (42), about 30 of 'em came out of *Germany* into *England* under *Henry II.* about 1170. and being examin'd of their Faith, they denied and detested holy Baptism, the Eucharist, and Marriage. *Fox* out of *Historia Guisburnensis* mentions the same Men: and that the chief of 'em were *Gerardus* and *Dulcinus*. He gives no Account of any Opinion they had against Baptism. But *Hollingshead* says, they derogated from the Sacraments such Grace as the Church by her Authority had ascribed to 'em.

Several Councils and Decretals made about this time to establish the Doctrin of Baptism both in general, and also particularly that of Infants: in opposition, as it seems, to some that denied all Baptism, and to others that denied that of Infants. As for Example, The *Lateran Council* under Pope *Innocent* the 3d. Anno 1215. c. 1. The Sacrament of Baptism performed in Water with Invocation of the Trinity is profitable to Salvation, both to adult Persons and also to Infants, by whomsoever it is rightly administred in the Form of the Church. And the said Pope has in the *Decretals* a Letter in Answer to a Letter from the Bishop of *Ales* in *Provence*, which had represented to him that some (43) Heretics there had taught that it was to no purpose to baptize Children, since they could have no Forgiveness of Sins thereby, as having no Faith, Charity, &c.

Also the *Lateran Council* under *Innocent* the 2d. 1139. did condemn *Peter Bruis*, and *Arnold* of *Brescia*, who seems to have been a Follower of *Bruis*, for rejecting Infants Baptism.

These

(38) Lib. de success. Eccl. (39) §. 4. (40) Treat. Pt. 2. ch. 7. pag. 210.  
 (41) More Proofs, pag. 394. (42) Hist. lib. 2. c. 13. (43) Opera Innocent. tertii  
 T. 2. pag. 776. Ed. Col. 1575.

Year af- These Proofs do, I think, evince that there were some about this  
ter the A- Time that denied all Baptism; and some others that denied peculiar-  
postles ly Infant Baptism; among those Parties of Men that have been late-  
ly call'd *Waldenses*.

I know many Pædobaptists believe neither of these: And *Perin* their Historian does endeavor to clear 'em of this as of a Slander. Two Things the Pædobaptists say to this Matter which are very considerable.

1. That it is common for Men to slander their Adversaries about the Opinions they hold: as appears not only by many Instances in that ignorant Age; in which the Monks, who were then the only Writers, verified in themselves that Character quoted by *St. Paul* (44); *Always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies*, more lively than ever the *Cretians*, for whom it was made, could possibly do: but also by too many in this Age: as *Viccomes* a learned Papist has in this very Matter to his own Shame (45) left on Record that *Luther, Calvin, and Beza*, were Adversaries of Infant Baptism.

2. That we ought in all Reason either to deny Credit to these popish Writers concerning these Men: or else to believe 'em in one Thing as well as another. If we allow 'em for good Witnesses; then those that they describe were Men of such unsound Opinions in other Things, as that no Church would be willing to own 'em for Predecessors. But if we account 'em Slanderers; we ought not to conclude from their Testimony that any of these Men denied Infant Baptism: which does not appear by any of their own Confessions; and which the present *Waldenses* do account as a Slander cast on their Ancestors.

These Considerations do in great measure justify those Pædobaptists who maintain that there is no *certain* Evidence of any Church or Society of Men that oppos'd Infant Baptism, till those in *Germany* about 180 Years ago. The Proof concerning any Sort of the *Waldenses* is but *probable*. I owned before that the Probability is such as does weigh with me. But for the main Body of 'em there is no Probability at all.

§. 6. And now, Thirdly: That there were several Sects or Societies of 'em that did not deny the Baptism of Infants, is proved from this; That a great many Writers against 'em diligently reciting the erroneous Opinions of those they write against, and that often in smaller Matters, yet mentions nothing of this.

§ 136. *Lucas Tudenis* writes largely against the *Albigenses* that were then in *Spain*: but among all the Accusations of 'em, true or false, has nothing of

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(44) Tit. 1. 12. (45) De rit. bapt. l. 2. c. 1.



of this. *Petrus de Pilichdorf* (in the Year 1395, as he himself gives the Date, *Cap.* 30.) writes a Book of Confutation of the several pretended Errors of the *Waldenses* of his time in 36 Chapters; but has nothing of Baptism: tho' he descends to speak of many lesser Matters, and aggravates all with very railing Words; yet he finds nothing to accuse them of, but such things as the Protestants now hold: except one or two, as the *Unlawfulness of all Oaths*, &c. *Aeneas Sylvius* wrote in 1458 his *Historiam Bohemicam*, in which he reckons up the Tenets of the *Picards*, a sort of these Men. But (54) he mentions no Difference they had with the then establish'd Church about Infant Baptism; save that they spoke against Chrism, &c. And *Fox* reciting their Tenets out of him, mentions only this; that *Baptism ought to be administered with pure Water without any Hallowed Oyl*. *Nauclerus* also in his *Chronicon* written 1500. recites their Doctrins particularly (55) and mentions no such thing as the Denial of Infant Baptism. Yet he also takes Notice of so small a Matter, as that they affirmed Water to be sufficient without Oyl. There are in *Gretzer's* Collection (56) of Pieces written against the *Waldenses*, six Treatises in all (beside *Reinerius* and *Pilichdorf* mentioned already) reckoning up their heterodox Opinions: but not one Word of this. One of 'em is a Direction to the Inquisitors, in the examining of these Men, how to discover and convict 'em: for it seems they kept their Opinions very close; whereas if they had not baptiz'd their Children, nothing would have been a more ready Conviction. The *Magdeburgenses* (57) have a Catalog of their Opinions, taken as they say out of a very old Manuscript: and nothing of this. Bp. *Usher* quotes (58) also *Jacob Piccolominatus*, *Anton. Bonfinius*, *Bernard. Lutzenburgensis*, and several others treating of these sorts of Men, who object nothing of this.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
1295.  
1358.  
1400.

1360.  
1395.

§. 7. I have, more than ever I meant to do, troubled my self in inquiring into the History of these Men: and all that I can make of the Inquiry, is this.

First, There were a great many among 'em, that really held the impious Opinion of the *Manichees*. Some of this Sect were in these Countries before the *Waldenses*, whom the Protestants own for Predecessors, arose or were taken Notice of: which was after the Year 1100. These all of 'em denied all Water Baptism. So the *Quakers* may claim Kindred of 'em if they please: But no Baptist, whether Pædobaptist or Antipædobaptist, can. They had an Invention of their own which they us'd instead of the Christian Baptism, and which they called *Spiritual Baptism*: And they said (59), by it *Forgiveness of Sins*, and the *Holy Spirit* was given. It contain'd in it *Imposition of their Hands*, and the *Saying of the Lord's-Prayer*. Only one Sect of 'em, the *Albanenses*, said the *Hand* did no

F f f

Good;

(54) *Usher de Suc. Ecc.* c. 6. *Baxter More* proofs. p. 380. (55) Vol. 2. P. 2. pag. 265. (56) *Bib. Par. T.* 13. Ed. Col. 1618. (57) Cent. 12. pag. 1206. (58) *De success. Eccl.* c. 6. pag. 155. It. p. 306, &c. (59) *Reinerius* c. 6.

Year af- Good ; being as all other Flesh is, created by the Devil. So they us'd the Pray-  
 rer the A- er only.  
 postles

These Men were thus far on the Antipædobaptists side, that this Mock-baptism of theirs they gave to the adult only. And they derided the Christians for two things : one, that they us'd Baptism with Water at all ; and the other, that they gave it to Persons that had no Sense of it, *viz.* Infants. And this, for ought I know might be all the Ground of the *Waldenses* (who by the first Writers are not well distinguish'd from these Men) being accus'd of denying Infant Baptism.

1154. This sort of Men continued a considerable time. *Reinerius* says (60), in his time there were not above 4000 in all the World that were *Cathari*, quite pure [or perfect] of both Sexes ; but of *Credentes* (so they call'd their Disciples that were not yet perfect) an innumerable Multitude.

Tho' the Authors do not well distinguish the Names : yet most generally this sort that denied all Baptism, and held the other vile Opinions, are denoted by these Names, *Cathari*, *Apostolici*, *Luciferians*, *Run-carians*, *Popelicans*, alias *Publicans*.

2. There were another sort that held none of those impious Tenets of the *Manichees*, concerning two Gods, &c. But they join'd with the other in inveighing against the Church of *Rome*, which in these times began to be very corrupt. And the Papists do sometimes confound these with the other, and affix to these some of the Opinions of the other.

If any of these that own'd Water Baptism, denied it to Infants, and if *P. Cluniacensis* did not mistake their Opinion upon the Occasion aforesaid ; it was the *Petrobrusians*, otherwife call'd *Henricians*. What *Reinerius* says of the *Lyonists* is very general and obscure. And of the others no such thing is said. Especially this is constant ; that no one Author that calls the People he writes of, *Waldenses*, does impute to 'em the Denial of Infant Baptism.

3. If there were any such ; they seem not to have continued long, but to have dwindled away or come over to those that practis'd Infant Baptism. For none of the *later* Writers concerning these Men do charge 'em with any thing of this. This the Reader will observe, if he mind the Date of the Year which I have affixed to each Writer. And 'tis a manifest Sign that either none of those whom we now denote by the Name *Waldenses*, that own'd Water Baptism, held any thing against Infant Baptism ; but that the elder Writers imputed it to 'em upon the Mistake aforesaid of taking the *Manichees* Opinions for theirs ; or upon vulgar Reports which by this time appear'd to be False : Or else that if there had been formerly any such Sects in that great Variety ; they were by this time extinguish'd.



*Pilichdorf* writes against them under the Name of *Waldenses*. *Reinerius* does but once just mention that Name, as denoting one Sect: one can't tell which. But *Pilichdorf* intitles his Book *Against the Sect of the Waldenses*, and calls 'em at every Word *Waldensian Heretics*: but ascribes no Opinion to them that deserves that Name, nor any Error at all about Baptism. He is the only Man of their Adversaries, who tho' he give 'em ill Language, yet charges 'em with no particular Opinion (or no material one) but what they themselves own in their Confessions. He wrote, as I said, *Anno 1395*. By which Time their Opinions must be justly and distinctly known. If they had formerly been mistaken to be of the same Opinion with those *Manichean* Sects; they had now had Time to clear themselves from that Imputation. And so we find by his Words they did. For he says (61), *The Waldenses do dislike and even loath the Runcarians, Beghards, and Luciferians*. And they seem by his Description to have been in the same State of Religion that they were found in 130 Years after by the Protestants.

Year after the Apostles

1295.

1425.

1040.

1060.

And he also supposes that from their Beginning they had been free from any false Doctrin about the Sacraments. For in his first Chapter he speaks of their Original: that it was from one *Peter Waldensis* (others call him *Waldus*) who in the Time of *Innocent* the 2d. (so he says, but others place him at 1160 which was the Time of *Alexander* the 3d.) reading that Command of our Savior to the rich young Man, *Mat. 19. 21*. (some others also add, that he was also affrighted at the sudden Death of one of his Companions) took a Resolution of selling all he had, and giving it to the Poor: and was imitated by some others, particularly one *John* of the City of *Lyons*. After a while they took on 'em to preach: and being forbid, (for they were Laymen) they refused to forbear, and so were excommunicated. Then they betook themselves to preaching privately; and, as he adds, *out of Hatred to the Clergy and the true Priesthood, they began out of the Errors of old Heretics, and adding some new and pernicious Articles, to destroy, condemn, and reject all those Means by which the Clergy, as a good Mother, do gather their Children, except the Sacraments only*.

He means, as appears by what follows, they rejected Indulgencies, Pardons, canonical Hours, Prayers to the Saints, &c. But if they had rejected Infant Baptism; he would not have fail'd to have mention'd that. By which it appears that either this Man had never heard of the *Petrobrusians*: or else had not heard that they denied Infant Baptism: or else did not take them to have been *Waldenses*.

And in this last mention'd Sense *Cassander* (62) speaks of the *Petrobrusians* as a Sect that, together with the Salvation of Infants, denied their Baptism: but of the *Waldenses*, as practising it.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
1026.  
1046.  
1030.

The *Petrobrusians* could not properly be call'd *Waldenses*, because they set up their Party before *Waldus* did his. For *Peter Bruis* had preach'd 20 Years when *Cluniacensis* wrote, as I shew'd before: which was 1146. And *Waldus* began by the earliest Account in the Time of Pope *Innocent* the 2d. whose first Year was 1130.

So if we take the Name [*Waldenses*] strictly, for one sort of Men; as those old Writers generally do: then there is no Account that any of them were Antipædobaptists. But if we take it in that large Sense, as many late Writers do, to include all the sorts that I have rehearsed, then there is probable Evidence that one sort of 'em, viz. the *Petrobrusians*, were so: but not that the general Body of the *Waldenses* were. And that Opinion of the *Petrobrusians* seems to have been in a short time extinguish'd and forgotten.

§. 8. Now because I take this *Peter Bruis* (or *Bruce* perhaps his Name was) and *Henry*, to be the first Antipædobaptist Preachers that ever set up a Church or Society of Men holding that Opinion against Infant Baptism, and rebaptizing such as had been baptiz'd in Infancy; I will for the Sake of the Antipædobaptists give the History of 'em so far as it is upon Record. And the same thing may gratifie the Quakers: for I believe they were the first likewise of all that have owned the Scriptures (as I see no Reason to conclude but this People did; tho' there was a Report that they rejected some Books of 'em) that ever taught that the Use of receiving the Lord's-Supper is not to be continued.

They were both *Frenchmen*. Both of mean Rank or Quality: for *Peter* of *Clugny* bespeaks (63) 'em thus; *Because the Darknes of a mean Condition kept you obscure; Had you therefore a Mind by some very wicked Exploit to make your selves to be taken Notice of?* Yet they had been in Priests Orders, and had had each of 'em a Place or Employment in that Office: but the Benefices belonging to 'em were it seems but small. Because he says; *If the Places wherein you ministred as Presbyters afforded you but little Gain; would you therefore resolve to turn all into Confusion and Profaneness?* *Peter* had had a Church or Parish, but was turn'd out of it; and, as this Writer insinuates, for some Misdemeanor. *Henry* had been a *Monk*, and had deserted the Monastery. For so he adds; *Because one of you was for a Reason (he knows why) turn'd out of the Church which he had, &c. The other throwing off the Monk's Habit, turning an Apostate, &c.*

The Places where *Bruis* first made a Party and gain'd Profelytes, were in that Country which is since call'd *Dauphine*. For the Book which *Peter* of *Clugny* writes against 'em, is by Way of a Letter to three Bishops within whose Diocesess this had happen'd: And the Bishops were *Eberdunensis*, *Dienensis*, & *Wapiensis*. The Bishops of *Embrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*. In the Preface (which was written some time after the Book, and after *Bruis* was dead) there is added the Archbishop of *Arles* in *Provence*. But

'tis



'tis said in the Book, that the City of *Arles* it self was free from the Infection: only some Parts of his Province had been drawn into this Perswasion. It was in the mountainous and wild Parts of the said Diocesess that it first took Footing: for so *Cluniacensis* writes (64); *I should have thought that it had been those craggy Alps, and Rocks cover'd with continual Snow, that had bred that Savage Temper in the Inhabitants; and that your Land being unlike to all other Lands had yielded a sort of People unlike to all others; but that I now perceive, &c.*

The Time that it began, he mentions to have been 20 Years before. And at the Time when the Book was writ (which was 1146) those foresaid Diocesess were, he says, clear of it. By the Care of the said Bishops it had been rooted out there: but that the Preachers, when expell'd thence, had planted it in the plain Countries of *Provincia Narbonensis*. And there, says he, *the Heresie which among you was but timerously whisper'd or buzz'd about in Deserts and little Villages, does now boldly vent it self in great Crowds of People and in populous Towns.* And the Places specified in the Book are; The Places about the Mouth of the *Rhone*: the plain Country about *Tholouse*, and particularly that City it self: and many Places in the Province of *Gascoigne*. About the Year 1144 *Bruis* being then in the Territory of *St. Gyles's*, where he had made many Profelytes; he was by the Zeal of the faithful People (so *Cluniacensis* calls it) taken, and in that City, according to the Laws then, burnt to Death. The Time I compute thus; *Cluniacensis* had wrote that Letter to the Bishops aforesaid: but understanding that *Bruis* was put to Death, and the Doctrin expell'd out of their Diocesess, he suppress'd the Publishing of his Letter: but hearing that *Henry*, whom he calls *the Heir of Bruis's Wickedness*, did still propagate it in several Places; and that there was Danger of its reviving where it seem'd to be extinct: he put a new Preface to his Work and published it. Which was in the Year 1146.

Of the Morais of *Peter Bruis* this Writer gives no Account, save that he describes in how tumultuous and outrageous a Way things were managed by him and his Party, where they prevail'd (65): *The People rebaptiz'd: The Churches profan'd: The Altars dug up: The Crosses burnt: The Priests scourg'd: Monks imprison'd, &c.* And he tells how they would, on a *Goodfriday* to choose, get together a great Pile of Crosses which they had pull'd down, and making a Fire of 'em would roast Meat at it; on which they would make a Feast in Defiance of the Fast kept by Christians on that Day.

As for *Henry*, after he had gone about preaching in many Cities and Provinces of *France*, he was on the Year 1146 or 7, found in the said Territory of the Earl of *St. Gyles's*, when *St. Bernard* and some Bishops came to those Parts to confute these new Doctrins. And of him *Bernard* does give a Character in his Letter to that Earl: And it is a very scurv'y Character for a Preacher.

The

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

The Man, says he, is a Renegado, who leaving off his Habit of Religion, (for he was a Monk) return'd, as a Dog to his Vomit, to the Filthiness of the Flesh and the World: and being asham'd to stay where he was known, &c. he became a Vagabond; and being in Beggery, he made the Gospel maintain him (for he is a Scholar) and setting to Sale the Word of God, he preach'd for Bread. What he got of the silly People, or of the good Women, more than would find him Victuals, he spent in gaming at Dice, or some worse Way: For this celebrated Preacher, after the Day's Applause, was at Night often found in Bed with Whores, and sometimes with married Women. Enquire, if you please, Noble Sir, how he left the City Losanna, what sort of Departure he made out of Mayne, and also from Poictou and from Bourdeaux: to none of which Places he dares return, having left such a Stink behind him. If any one shall think that in the Credit one is to give to this Description there ought to be some Allowance made for the Malice of his Enemies: I have nothing to say against that.

He that writes the Life of St. Bernard (66), says that upon this Mission, Henry fled, and lying hid for some Time, but no body being willing to receive him, was at last taken and delivered chained to the Bishop (the Bishop of Ostia, I suppose; who was a Cardinal, and the chief Man of the Mission) but what was done with him, is not said. But of the People it is said, that those who had erred were reduc'd, the wavering were satisfied, 2048. and the Seducers so confuted that they durst no where appear. And a little after this, Bernard has a Letter to the People of Tholouse (67) congratulating their Recovery from the Confusions that had been among them on Account of those Opinions.

Their Way of preaching against the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is thus represented by Cluniacensis (68); Your Words as near as I can learn 'em are these; 'Oh good People don't believe your Bishops, 'Presbyters, and Clergymen that seduce you. As they deceive you 'in many other things, so they do in the Office of the Altar; where 'they tell you this Lie, that they do make the Body of Christ and 'give it you for the Salvation of your Souls. They lie notoriously. 'For the Body of Christ was only once made by himself at the Sup- 'per before his Passion: and was once only, viz. at that Time, given 'to his Disciples. Since that Time it was never made by any one, 'nor given to any one.

As the People of this Way were from Peter Bruis commonly call'd Petrobrusians; so they were from Henry sometimes call'd Henricians.

C H A P.



C H A P. VIII.

*Of the present State of the Controversie. That all the national Churches in the World are Pædobaptists. Of the Anti-pædobaptists that are in Germany, Holland, England, Poland, and Transylvania.*

§. 1. **A**LL the Opinions that had any great Number of Abettors in the ancient times, tho' they may have been condemn'd by general Councils, yet have so continued or sprung up afresh, that they have in some Country or other become the general Opinion. So *Nestorianism*, *Eutychianism*, &c. have each of 'em found some Place in which to this Day they do prevail as the national Constitution.

As for Antipædobaptism, whatever be judg'd of the Proofs brought to shew that there have been some Societies of Men that have owned it, as the *Petrobrusians* lately mention'd, &c. there is no Pretence that it has been, or is now, the Opinion of any national Church in the World. Wherever there are at present any Christians of that Perswasion, they are as Dissenters from the general Body of Christians in that Place. If this admit of any Exception, it is in the Country of *Georgia* or *Circassia*: of which I shall speak presently.

This, for all *Europ*, is notorious. The Papists do not only own Infant Baptism, but do generally still hold that an Infant dying unbaptized, tho' by Misadventure, cannot come to the Kingdom of Heaven; but must go to the Region of *Hades* call'd *limbus infantum*. And they have scarce any Antipædobaptists mixt among 'em in the Countries where they have the Government.

In many of the Protestant or reformed Countries there are some of this Perswasion: in some more; in some fewer: and in some none at all. But in none of 'em has it prevail'd to be the establish'd Religion. And tho' the contrary be not at all pretended, yet Mr. *Walker* has taken Pains to prove this by reciting (1) their several Confessions, wherein they own Infant Baptism: and among the rest, that of the *Waldenses* or *Vandois* assembled at *Angrogne*.

The Church of *England* is taken Notice of by some to speak very moderately in this Matter. (2) *The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church: as most agreeable to the Institution of Christ*. Yet they own, as I shew'd before, (3) the *Necessity of this Sacrament where it may be had*. And they do not think fit to use the Office

1435.

(1) *Model. Pica* Ch. 27. (2) *Article* 27. (3) *CH. VI. §. 8.*

Year of Burial (in which the deceased is stiled a Brother) for Infants that  
 ter the A. die without it.

restles The *Greek* Christians also of *Constantinople* and other Parts of *Europ*  
 under the *Turks* Dominion are known to baptize Infants. *Sr. Paul Ri-*  
*caut* among others has given a full (4) Account of their Manner of  
 doing it; And wherein they differ from the Ceremonies of the *Latins*.

The same may be said of the *Muscovites*: Who were from their  
 first Conversion a Part of the *Greek* Church, but do of late choose a  
 Patriarch of their own. Of their Practice in this Matter for the last  
 Centuries *Mr. Walker* has recited Evidences in the Chapter aforesaid:  
 And for their present Practice, every one knows it. They are said  
 formerly to have baptized none before the 40th Day, except in Case of  
 Necessity: But *Dr. Crull*, who has wrote latest of 'em says, (5) that  
 now they baptize their Children as soon as they are born.

§. 2. In all the Countries of *Asia* the Government is either *Mahome-*  
*tan* or *Pagan*. Yet in many of 'em, and especially of those under the  
*Turks*, the greatest Part of the People are still Christian: There are al-  
 so many Christians in several of the Countries that are under the *Persi-*  
*an* Government: And some in those of the *Mogol*. These have all con-  
 tinued now a long time under Persecution and daily Hardships, and in  
 great Want of the Means of Instruction: Yet have kept most of the  
 main Articles of Christian Religion. They are some of them *Nestorians*,  
 as those who acknowledge the Patriarch of *Mosul*: Some *Eutychians*;  
 as the *Jacobites*, the *Maronites* (and the *Armenians*, as most say: But *Sr.*  
*Paul Ricaut* judges otherwise of them) An Account of their several Te-  
 nets is given by *Brerewood* in his *Inquiries*, *Heylin* in his *Cosmography*,  
 &c. They do all hold and practise Infant Baptism.

*Coll. Danvers* (6) says that the *Armenians* are confest by *Heylin Microcosf.*  
*pag. 573. to defer Baptism of Children till they be of grown Years.* *Heylin* in  
 his Youth wrote a short Tract of Geography called *Microcosm*: And af-  
 terward living to a more mature Age, he wrote a large Volume on the  
 same Subject, called *Cosmography*; wherein he added a great many Par-  
 ticulars concerning each Nation, that were not in the former Piece:  
 Also several things he altered and amended upon better Information;  
 and he left out such things as he had not found to be confirmed. Now  
 in that former Piece he had divided *Armenia* into three Parts, 1. That  
 which is properly so called. 2. *Georgia*. 3. *Mengrelia*. And of the  
 Christians of *Armenia* properly so call'd, had said; that one of the  
 things in which they differ from the Western Christians is in receiving  
 Infants to the Lord's Table presently after their Baptism. Which he also  
 confirms in (7) the later Book. Of the *Georgians*, he had indeed said  
 in that former Piece; that they baptize not their Children till 8 Years  
 old.

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(4) Present State of *Greek* Church, Ch. 7. (5) Present State of *Muscovy*, Vol. 1.  
 c. 21. (6) Treat. Pt. 1. ch. 7. cent. 16. (7) Lib. 3. in *Turcomania*.



old. But in the later and larger Tract, says no such thing: But on Yearaf the contrary says; *They are agreeable in doctrinal Points to the Church of the A-Greece, whose Rituals also the People do to this Day follow: Not subject for potities all that to the Patriarch of Constantinople (tho' of his Communion) but to their own Metropolitan only.*

For what he had said of them in his former Piece, *that they baptize not till the 8th Year*, he had quoted in the Margin *Brerewood*. But *Brerewood*, in the Edition that I have (London 1622) do's not say this of the *Georgians*: But making one Chapter (Chap. 17.) of the *Georgians*, *Circassians* and *Mengrelians*, (whom he makes three several People all bordering together) of the *Georgians* says the same that *Heylin* do's in his later Book, *viz.* that they are conformable to the *Greeks*: But says, that the *Circassians* baptize not their Children till the 8th Year, and enter not into the Church (the Gentlemen especially) till the 60th, or as others say, the 40th Year, but hear Divine Service standing without the Temple; that is to say, till through Age they grow unable to continue their Rapines and Robberies, to which Sin that Nation is exceedingly addicted: So dividing their Life betwixt Sin and Devotion, dedicating their Youth to Rapine, and their old Age to Repentance.

Concerning these *Georgians* and *Mengrelians* [or *Circassians*] I shall speak more particularly presently. But for the *Armenians*; both *Brerewood* in his *Inquiries* (8) and *Heylin* as I quoted before, and all others, do agree that they constantly baptize Infants. And if the Reader need any larger Satisfaction, he may have it from *Sr. Paul Ricaut*, who writes distinctly of them, not from remote Report, but from the Converse he had with 'em: For many of this People do frequent *Smyrna*, *Constantinople*, &c. He gives (9) a full Account of their *Baptism of Infants*; and that they esteem it necessary, as being that which washes away original Sin. And also that (as *Heylin* and *Brerewood* had said) they administer to the Child after it the *Holy Eucharist*, which they do only by rubbing the Lips with it.

The *Maronites* give Baptism to Infants with this particularity, (10) that they baptize not a Male-Child till he be 40 Days old, nor a Female till 80 Days: which is the time limited, *Lev. 12.* for the Purification of the Mother. Also they, as well as the *Armenians* give the *Eucharist* to Infants presently after their Baptism.

Of all these sorts of Christians the *Western* Part of the World has all along had some Knowledge and Account: but it is otherwise of those in *India*, call'd the Christians of *St. Thomas*, inhabiting about *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, and all that vast Tract or Promontory lying between the Coast of *Malabar* and the Coast of *Coromandel*. These were utterly unknown and not heard of by us of the *West* for a thousand

G g g

Years

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(8) Cap. 4. (9) Present State of the *Armenian Church*, ch. 8. (10) *Heylin. Cosmograph. Syria.*

Year af- Years and more, *viz.* till about the Year 1500, when those Parts  
 ter the A. were discovered by the *Portuguese*. There were then estimated to be  
 postles 15 or 16 thousand Families of 'em, living among the Heathens to whom  
 1400. they were subject. They were found in the Practice of Infant Ba-  
 ptism: but they did not administer it till the Child were 40 Days old,  
 except in the Case of Danger of Death. An Account of the State of  
 Religion in which they were found, and of this among the rest, is gi-  
 ven by *Hieron. Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis* (11). And of the Me-  
 thods by which they were 100 Years after brought over to a Communion  
 1500. with the Church of *Rome*, by Mr. *Geddes* in his Account of the Synod  
 of *Diamper*. The Practice of these *Indian Christians* may convince  
 our Antipædobaptists of their Mistake in thinking that Infant Baptism  
 began in the known Parts of the World but of late Years: for how  
 then should it have been communicated to these Men, who had ne-  
 ver heard of such a Part of the World as *Europ*?

In short, there can be no Question made of the Practice of any Chri-  
 stians in *Asia* as to this Matter; unless it be of those I mention'd be-  
 fore, that inhabit the Countries of *Georgia* and *Mengrelia* [or *Circassia*].  
 And therefore I will be a little more particular about them.

*Georgia* was formerly called *Iberia*: and *Mengrelia* [or *Circassia*] was  
 called *Colchis*. They border together, lying in the remote Part of *A-*  
*sia* between the *Euxin* and *Caspian* Sea: and are in Religion much the  
 same.

230. It is to be noted that these People were converted to the Christian  
 Faith in the time of *Constantin*, by the Means of a Christian Servant  
 Maid; much after the same Manner as *Naaman* the *Syrian* was to the  
 Knowledge of God. The Maid by Prayer to Christ cured the Queen  
 of *Iberia* of a Sickness: This and some other Evidences converted the  
 King: and he sent Messengers to *Constantin* to desire some Preachers to  
 be sent to instruct the People, which was readily granted: and the  
 Nation became Christian. This is related by Authors that liv'd a-  
 bout that time, such as *Rufinus* (12), *Socrates* (13), &c.

300. And as they received the Faith from that Church under *Constantin*, so  
 340. they are recorded in the succeeding times to have held Communion  
 with the same, *viz.* the *Greek Church*. And how that Church (as well  
 before their Division from the *Latins*, as since) manag'd in the Matter  
 of Baptism, has been already shewn. In after times the *Saracens*, and  
 then the *Turks*, possessing those Parts of *Asia* that lye between the  
*Greeks* and them, must needs break off the Correspondence in great  
 Measure: And they themselves as well as the *Greeks*, have been since  
 conquer'd by the *Mahometans*. Yet they have and do still keep up  
 some Face of Christianity, tho' in great Ignorance. And the Genera-  
 lity of late Historians and Geographers do still speak of 'em as confor-  
 mable

(11) Lib. 3. prope finem. (12) H. E. Lib. 10. c. 11. (13) H. E. lib. 1. c. 21.



mable to the *Greek Church*, so far as they practise any Christian Worship at all: As I shew'd even now that *Heylin* in his last Book does. Year after the Apostles 1577.

But Sir *Paul Ricaut*, who was *Consul* at *Smyrna* and travell'd in some other Parts of the *Levant* about the Year 1677, heard the same Report of 'em that *Brerewood*, and *Heylin* at first, heard: *Heylin* of the *Georgians*; and *Brerewood* (as he distinguishes 'em) of the *Circassians*. Sir *Paul Ricaut's* Words are these (14),

*The Georgians, which in some Manner depend on the Greek Church, baptize not their Children till they be 8 Years of Age. They formerly did not admit 'em to Baptism until 14: But by means of such Preachers as the Patriarch of Antioch sends among them yearly, they were taught how necessary it was to baptize Infants; and how agreeable it was to the Practice of the ancient Church. But these being a People very tenacious of the Doctrins they once received, could hardly be perswaded out of this Error: Till at length, being wearied with the importunate Arguments of the Greeks, they consented as it were to a middle Way, and so came down from 14 to 8 Years of Age; and cannot as yet be perswaded to a nearer Compliance.*

When I read this first, I thought that we had at last found a Church of Antipædobaptists (tho' a great Way off) and that a National one, as far as it may be so call'd in a Nation mostly Christians, tho' under *Mahometan* Government. For the Words, as they are placed, do intimate that this People keep off Children from Baptism by their Principle; and that, as is represented, of a long standing.

But as Sir *Paul Ricaut* could have this only by Report, and that from a Country very remote from the Places where he travell'd, and very unfrequented: So it happened that Sir *John Chardin* was actually (15) travelling in those Countries of *Georgia* and *Mingrelia* about the same time: And also was acquainted there with a Missionary, call'd *F. Joseph Maria Zampy*, who had liv'd there 23 Years, who shew'd him a MS. Account drawn up by himself of the Observations he had made concerning the Religion of the *Mingrelians* and *Georgians*; which Account, Sir *John* says, was perfectly agreeable to all that he himself observ'd there. 1577.

Now Sir *John*, and the said Missionary both, do observe, that these People do indeed many of 'em put off the Baptizing of their Children for a great while: And that many of the People there are never baptized at all. But they speak of this, not as a Principle or Tenet of theirs, that so it ought to be done: But as proceeding from a wretched Neglect and stupid Carelesness which they shew in that and in all other Points of Christian Religion. Christianity is there, as it seems, almost extinguish'd: And whoever reads the Book, sees the most deplorable Face of a Church that is in the World. It may be necessary to recite some Passages of the Book and of the Manuscript there exhibited.

Year af- Sir John Chardin himself says (16); *Their Religion was, I believe, formerly the same with that of the Greeks. But for the present State of it, says; I could never discover any Religion in any Mengrelian: Having not found any that know what Religion, or Law, or Sin, or a Sacrament, or Divine Service, is.*

The MS. says (17), *This People has not the least Idea of Faith or Religion. The most of 'em take Eternal Life, the Universal Judgment, the Resurrection of the Dead; for Fables. And a little after (18), God only knows the deplorable Estate of these wretched Priests, or the Validity of their Priesthood. For it is always uncertain whether they are baptiz'd; and whether the Bishops that have ordained them have been consecrated or baptiz'd themselves.*

And of their Baptism, gives this Account (19);

*They anoint Infants as soon as they are born, on the Forehead. The Oyl for this anointing is call'd Myrone. The Baptism is not administred till a long time after. No Man baptizes his Child till he has Means [or, unless he have Ability [Sil'n'a möyen] to make a Feast at the Christening. Hence it comes to pass that many Infants die without receiving it.*

*When they administer it to any Infant, they do not carry it to Church: But in a common Room the Priest, without putting on any Priestly Habit, sits him down and reads a long time in a Book. After a long Reading the Godfather undresses the Infant, and washes him all over with Water: and then rubs him over with the Myrone which the Priest gives him. This done, they clothe the Infant again, and give him something to eat, &c.*

*There is not one Priest among 'em that understands the Form of Baptism: So that there is no Question but their Baptism is utterly invalid. On this regard the Fathers Theatins baptize as many Infants as they can. They give 'em Baptism under Pretence of applying some Medicine to 'em, &c.*

Sir John himself at another Place in his Book tells how the Romish Priests that are there, do this. *A Priest that is called to see a sick Child, calls for a Bason of Water, as it were to wash his Hands: Then before his Hands be dry, he touches the Forehead of the Child with a wet Finger, as if he observ'd something concerning his Distemper; Or by shaking his Hand causes some Drops of Water to fly in the Face of a Child that stands by, as it were in Sport: Saying the Form of Baptism either Mentally or with a muttering Voice. One would think this as defective a sort of baptizing, as that of the ignorant native Priests.*

Sir John was invited to two Christnings there. He went that he might see the Fashion of it. He gives an Account of one of 'em (20). *It was much after the Manner related in the MS. The Priest read, but talk'd at the same time to those that came in and out. The People went irreverently to and fro in the Room: And so did the Boy that was to be baptiz'd, chewing a Piece of Pig the while. He was, he says, a little Boy of five Years old.*

It



It is to be noted that the Manuscript gives this as the common Account of the Rites both of the *Mingrelians* and *Georgians*. And so Sir *John* himself when he comes to the *Georgians*, has only this of their Religion (21). *The Belief of the Georgians is much the same with that of the Mingrelians. The one and the other received it at the same Time; viz. in the fourth Century: And by the same Means of a Woman of Iberia that had been a Christian at Constantinople. In a Word, the one as well as the other have lost all the Spirit of Christianity: And what I said of the Mingrelians (that they have Nothing of Christianity but the Name, and that they neither observe nor hardly know any Precept of the Law of Jesus Christ) is no less true of the People of Georgia.*

This State of the Matter, as it is different from what Sir *Paul Ricaut* gives (for this People do baptize Infants when they think of it, and when they have got their good Chear ready) so it might give Occasion to the Report which he, and *Heylin* formerly, had heard. For it is probable the Patriarch of *Antioch* might send to 'em to be more diligent in baptizing their Infants. But the Arguments that this People needed to perswade 'em to it, were not such as are used to Antipædobaptists; but such as we should use to Christians that are falling back into Heathenism or total Irreligion.

§. 3. In *Africa* there are but two sorts of Christians; the *Cophtri* of *Egypt*, who are the Remains of the old Christian Church there: And the *Abassens*. Both of these baptize their Infants as is clear by Accounts given of 'em by all Historians and Travellers. *Brerewood* (22), *Heylin* (24), and others speak of their particuliar Observations about it. The *Cophtri* baptize none till he be 40 Days old, tho' he die in the interim. The *Abassens* (as we said before of the *Maronites* in *Asia*) baptize the Male Children at 40 Days, and the Female at 80 Days after their Circumcision: For they Circumcise their Children of both Sexes. But these last do in the Case of Peril of Death baptize sooner. They do both give the Eucharist to Infants after Baptism.

But here also a Mistake in a late Book of Travels needs to be rectified. Mr. *Thevenot* tells in his Account of *Egypt* (25), that while he was at *Gran Cair*, he had some Conference with an Ambassador that was there from the *Abassens* Country, about the Religion and other Affairs of those Parts. This Ambassador told him that the *Abassens* Circumcise their Children at 8 Days old, as the Jews: And fifteen Days after, baptize 'em. Before that the Jesuits came thither, they did not baptize 'em till 30 or 40 Years.

Whoever reads what all other Historians say of this People, viz. that they baptiz'd 40 Days after Circumcision, will easily observe that Monsieur *Thevenot* has here mistaken in the last Word of the Sentence,

Years

(21) Pag. 206. (22) Inquiries, ch. 22, 33. (24) Cosmogr. Ægypt. Æthiopia superior (25) Travels Tom. 1. Pt. 2. Ch. 69.

Year af- Years for Days. Either he misheard the Ambassador, or else mistook  
 ter the A- in setting it down: or else the *French* Printer mistook it, for it is so in  
 postles the *French* as well as in the Translation of the Book into *English*. There  
 are a great many of those *Eastern* Christians that put off the Baptism  
 40 Days: But if any had delay'd Baptism till 40 Years (to which  
 Age half of Mankind does never arrive) we should have heard more  
 of it than from that Hour's Conference.

§. 4. This is the Account of the Practice of the National Churches.  
 But tho' there be no National Church but what baptizes Infants; yet  
 there are, and have been for about 180 Years last past, in several  
 Countries of *Europ* considerable Numbers of Men, that differ from the  
 Establish'd Churches in this Point. The History of their Beginning  
 and Progress in *Germany* is so well known, and so much talk't of, that  
 I shall say the less of it. It is in short this.

1417. No sooner had the Reformation begun by *Luther*, Anno 1517. taken  
 good footing in *Saxony* and some other Parts of *Germany*; great Num-  
 bers of People and some Princes (who were at this Time generally  
 weary of the Abuses and Corruptions of Popery and long'd for a Re-  
 formation) greedily embracing it: But that within 5 or 6 Years there  
 1422. arose a sort of Men that pretended to refine upon him. One *Nicolas*  
*Stork*, and *Thomas Muncer*, seconded within a while by one *Baltazar*  
*Hubmer*, preach'd that the Baptism of Infants was also an Abuse that  
 must be reformed: And they baptiz'd over again such as became their  
 Disciples. They added also other things; that it was not fit, nor to  
 be endur'd in the *Kingdom of Jesus Christ*, that some should be so Rich  
 and others so Poor: Or that the Boors should be held to such burthen-  
 som Services by their Landlords. Abundance of People flock'd to  
 'em. And the more, for that there had been before Discontents, and  
 some Insurrections, of those poorer Sort of People, because of their  
 foresaid Hardships.

There was this Difference between *Luther's* Method and theirs, that  
 he and his Partners preach'd up Obedience to all Lawful Magistrates in  
 Temporal things; but they carried things with a higher Hand in De-  
 fiance of Magistracy: And *Muncer* call'd himself *the Sword of the Lord*  
*and of Gideon*.

1425. *Luther* and the Protestants enter'd their Protestation against their  
 Proceedings, as bringing a Scandal on the new begun Reformation.  
 But they went on: And after some time (great Numbers of disorder-  
 ly People joining with 'em) became Masterless, made a sort of Army,  
 committed great Ravages on the Estates of Rich Men, where they  
 1434. marched. And at last, Anno 1534, a strong Party of this sort of  
 Men coming mostly from *Holland* seized on the City of *Munster*: Where  
 one *John Becold*, called *John of Leyden*, being advanced to be their King,  
 they pretended to Prophecy and Revelation; and did under the Name  
 of



of Christ's Kingdom practise several Tyrannies and Enormities, as Polygamy, Plundering, &c. Year after the Apostles

Some regular Forces being brought against 'em, they were subdued : And the King and some of the Heads of 'em being put to Death, the rest were dispers'd into several Parts of *Germany* : And a great many of 'em fled into the *Low Countries* ; where there were already great Numbers of 'em.

The Antipædobaptists that are now, do not love to hear of these Men, nor do own 'em as Predecessors. Neither is there any Reason that their Miscarriages should be imputed to 'em, provided that they renounce and keep themselves from all such Seditious Practices. Especially since many of the People professing that Opinion did a little after separate themselves from the tumultuous Rabble, and made a Declaration of better Principles under better Leaders, as I shall shew by and by. Almost all Alterations in Religion, either for better or worse, have at the Beginning some Disorders. It is happy where Magistrates, Pastors, and People do all at one time agree and conspire in any Reformation that is thought necessary : But it is seldom known.

That which is more material to the History of Infant Baptism, is to inquire whether this *Stork, Muncer, Hubmer, &c.* did at that time, viz. Anno 1522. set up this Tenet as a Thing then new or newly reviv'd ; or whether it had been continued and handed down by some dispersed People from the times of the *Petrobrusians* (of whom I spoke in the last Chapter, §. 5.) to this time. *Danvers* says (26), that the present *Belgic Anabaptists* do with one Mouth assert and maintain the latter. The chief Reason he brings either of his own or of theirs, is because it appears that there were great Numbers of 'em in several Parts of *Germany* in *Luther's* time : And that he and others of the first Protestants had Disputations with 'em in *Saxony, Thuringia, Switzerland, &c.* whereby it is evident that they had a Being in those Parts before *Luther's* time : For it cannot rationally be suppos'd that they should all of a sudden be spread over so great a Territory as the upper *Germany*.

But of the sudden Increase both of the Protestants and of these Men I gave some Account before. He brings also some Authorities. But they are out of Books of no Credit for any thing before their own time. *Dutch Martyrology, Frank, Twisk, Merning, &c.* If there were any Continuation of the Doctrin for the said 2 or 3 hundred Years ; it must have been very obscure, and by a very few Men : Because there is in all that interval no Mention of 'em in any good Autor. The only Authority that I remember to have read after 1260 and before 1522, which may seem to make any thing to the Purpose of Antipædobaptism, is a Letter written to *Erasmus* out of *Bohemia* by one *Joannes Slechter Covelcius*, dated Octob. 10. 1519. a Part whereof is published by *Colomecius*

Year after meſius in his *Collection of Letters of Men of Note*, Ep. 30. This Letter, as the A- it is dated 3 Years before *Stork* and the reſt are ſaid to have begun, ſo it ſpeaks of a Sect that had been then in being in that Country for ſome time. I will recite that Part of the Letter intire: Becauſe, tho' it be not all to this Purpoſe, yet it is all worth the Reading; that we may ſee what Schemes of Doctrin were abroad in the World a little before *Luther* began to oppoſe the Church of *Rome*.

The third Sect is of thoſe whom we call *Pyghards*: They have their Name from a certain Refugee of the ſame Nation, who came hither 97 Years ago, when that wicked and ſacrilegious *John Zizka* declar'd a Deſiance of the Churchmen and all the Clergy. This was 1420.

Theſe Men have no other Opinion of the Pope, Cardinals, Biſhops and other Clergy, than as of manifeſt Antichriſts: They call the Pope ſometimes the Beaſt, and ſometimes the Whore mentioned in the Revelations. Their own Biſhops and Priests they themſelves do chooſe for themſelves, ignorant and unlearned Laymen that have Wife and Children. They mutually ſalute one another by the Name of Brother and Siſter.

They own no other Authority than the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. They ſlight all the Doctors both Ancient and Modern, and give no Regard to their Doctrin.

Their Priests, when they celebrate the Offices of the Maſs, [or Communion] do it without any Prieſtly Garments: Nor do they uſe any Prayer or Collects on this Occaſion, but only the Lord's-Prayer; by which they Conſecrate Bread that has been leaven'd.

They believe or own little or nothing of the Sacraments of the Church. Such as come over to their Sect muſt every one be baptiz'd anew in mere Water. They make no Bleſſing of Salt nor of the Water; nor make any Uſe of conſecrated Oyl.

They believe nothing of Divinity in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: only that the conſecrated Bread and Wine do by ſome occult Signs represent the Death of Chriſt. And accordingly, that all that do kneel down to it or worſhip it, are guilty of Idolatry. That that Sacrament was inſtituted by Chriſt to no other Purpoſe but to renew the Memory of his Paſſion: and not to be carried about or held up by the Prieſt to be gazed on. For that Chriſt himſelf, who is to be ador'd and worſhip'd with the Honor of Latreia, ſits at the Right-Hand of God, as the Chriſtian Church confeſſes in the Creed.

Prayers of the Saints, and for the Dead, they count a vain and ridiculous thing: as likewiſe auricular Confession; and Penance injoined by the Prieſt for Sins. Fes and Faſt-Days are, they ſay, a Mockery, and the Diſguiſe of Hypocrites.

They ſay, The Holidays of the Virgn Mary, and the Apoſtles and other Saints, are the Invention of idle People. But yet they keep the Lord's-Day, and Chriſtmas, and Eaſter, and Whitſontide, &c. He ſays there were great Numbers of this Sect then in *Bohemia*.



Where it is here said that they rebaptized; it is not certain whether they did it as judging Baptism in Infancy invalid, or as judging all Baptism received in the corrupt Way of the Church of Rome to be so. The Coherence of the Words seems to incline to the latter. And *Ottius Hist. Anabap. Anno 1521.* affirms the latter to be true.

There is, I think, no doubt but these *Pyghards* were the same that *Æneas Sylvius* gives an Account of in his *Hist. Bohem.* written 60 Years before, and calls *Picards*. He in that History says nothing of their denying Infants Baptism, as I observed in the last Chapter, §. 6. *Baltazar Lydius* and *Burigenus* do both of 'em recite the Confessions of these Men, offer'd by themselves to King *Vladislaus*, in which they expressly own it. *John Hufs*, whose Doctrin these Men followed, is never said to have denied it: only he is (27) accused to have consented to that Opinion of *Wickliff*, that a Child that missees of Baptism may possibly be saved.

1408.

1315.

These *Pyghards* do in their Confessions say, that they are falsely call'd *Waldenses*. I am apt to think they had this Name of *Picards* or *Pyghards* from the old *Beghards*, which was one of the Sects that we do now comprehend under the Name *Waldenses*, tho' the *Waldenses*, so call'd by *Pilichdorf*, did, as he says, (28) abominate the *Beghards*. One of the Autors in *Gretzer's* Collection of Writers against the *Waldenses*, called *Conradus de monte puellarum* says, that this Sect was then rise in all Germany, and that the Men of it were called *Beghards* and the Women *Begines*: but has nothing about their Baptism. And I have heard that there are now Popish Monasteries in *Flanders* of Men called *Beghards*, and Women *Beguines*. I know not what Signification that Name may have in any Language, that can make it appliable to such different Constitutions (for the old *Beghards* did, as all the rest whom we call *Waldenses*, abominate the Church of Rome) unless it signify the same as our English Word *Beggar*: and so they should have their Name from their Poverty, as some sorts both of the *Friers* and also of the *Waldenses* had.

I said that the Antipædobaptists dispers'd from *Munster*, fled some into several Principalities of the upper Germany, and some into the Low Countries. They that continued in Germany found but cold Entertainment: partly because of their new Doctrins, and partly because of the Disorders they had committed during that short time of their Reign. The Papists generally reproach'd the Protestants, that they were a Sect sprung from them, and would call all Protestants, in Scorn, *Anabaptists*: but the Protestants disowned 'em, and wrote against 'em. And *Sleidan* gives several Instances wherein the Protestant Princes and States declar'd against harbouring 'em; and made Answer to the Reproaches of the Papists, that they took more Care to rid their

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Year af- Countries of 'em than they themselves did. And there are said to be  
ter the A- very few of 'em now in either the Popish or the Protestant Countries  
postles of the upper *Germany*.

§. 5. Those of 'em that retir'd into the *Belgic* Provinces, found there more Partizans than any where else. At *Amsterdam* particularly they were near acting the same Tragedy they had done at *Munster*. One *John Geles* sent out of *Munster* by *John* of *Leyden* to get Supplies of Men, and to stir up other Cities, had formed a Design to surprize *Amsterdam*, May 12. 1535. Which by his Numbers in the Town, and some from other Places, he was like to have effected. But they were defeated and kill'd. Also One *John Mathew* set up for a Chief, and chose to himself 12 Apostles: and found a great many Disciples to his Doctrin. They prophesied that the End of the World would be within a Year: and fill'd Peoples Heads with many other enthusiastical Notions. Being suppress'd by the Magistrates, and some of 'em put to Death, they are said to have endur'd it with great Constancy.

1436. *Cassander* mentions also (29) one *John Batenburg*, who after the ceasing of the Sedition of *Munster* began another. There were several other Disturbances of less Moment, which I pass by.

But *Cassander* and all agree that a little while after this, one *Menno*, a Countryman of *Friezeland*, a Man of a sober and quiet Temper, that held the Doctrin of Antipædobaptism, did disclaim and protest against the seditious Doctrins and Practices of those at *Munster*, and of *Batenburg*: and taught that the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, which they had pretended to set up by external Force, consisted in Patience, Meekness, and suffering quietly if Occasion should be. That one *Theodoric* succeeded this *Menno* in the same Doctrin. And *Cassander* says, that in  
1460. his time, which was about 140 Years ago, almost all that continued the Profession of that Opinion in the *Belgic Provinces* were Followers of this *Menno*. And so to this Day they generally call themselves *Menmonists*, or by Abbreviation, *Minnists*.

He gives 'em this Character; Most of 'em do shew Signs of a pious Disposition: and it seems to be rather by Mistake than by any wilful Wick- edness that they, carried by an unskilful Zeal, have departed from the true Sense of the Scripture, and the Uniform Agreement of the whole Church. And says, that they seem worthy rather of Pity and due Information, than of Persecution or being undone.

One thing he says (30) of this *Menno*, that is particular, viz. That whereas the Credit of Antiquity and perpetual Tradition carries great Authority with it, even with those that set up new Doctrins, &c. — And accordingly some of these Men had at first endeavour'd to fix the Origin of Infant Baptism upon some Pope of Rome: *Menno* had more Sense [or was more wa-  
ry,



ry, prudentior] than so. He was forc'd to own that it had been in Use from Year after the Apostles time. But he said that the false Apostles were the Authors of it. ter the A-

Cassander does there confute this Notion with so good Reasons, that I wonder he should call it a more wary one than the other. For as it had been indeed an unwary thing in *Memo* to deny that the baptizing of Infants was in Use in the Ages next the Apostles; when he might, for ought he knew, be convicted of Falshood by the remaining Acts and Records of those times: so to maintain that all the Books that were preserved by the Church were such as were written by the Followers of the false Apostles, and none by the Followers of the true, is an Imagination rather more absurd than the other. There were false Apostles indeed: but they set themselves to slander and speak and write against the true Ones, as appears by what St. Paul and St. John do say of 'em. But the Books and Writings which the Church has preserv'd are of such as do own the Authority of the Apostles.

As for the present State of the *Minnists*, a late Writer of those Parts, an Extract of whose Book is given by Mr. Boval (31), says, *Except Holland, where they live peaceably, they are almost extinct*. By *Holland*, I suppose he means the united Provinces. 1599.

In those Provinces there are considerable Numbers of 'em: especially in *Holland* and *Friezeland*. They have the Repute of being very fair Traders, and very sober Men. They use a Plainness in their Garb to some Degree of Affectation, as the *Quakers* in *England* do. And they hold Opinions something like theirs, against the Lawfulness of Oaths, of War, &c.

The other Tenets attributed to 'em (32), are; That there is no original Sin. That only the New Testament is a Rule of Faith. That Christ had his Flesh, not of the Virgin *Mary*, but from Heaven. That 'tis possible to live without Sin in this Life. That departed Souls sleep till the Resurrection, &c.

But some that have liv'd in that Country say, that all these Opinions are not common to 'em all: but that some Churches of 'em hold some of these Opinions, and other Churches others of 'em. For their general Humor is to divide into several Churches on the least Difference of Opinions. Those of the old *Flemmish* Way keep a very strict Discipline, and excommunicate People on very nice Occasions: The *Friezelanders* receive all. Some of 'em allow of no Baptism but by Immersion, or putting the baptized Person into the Water: but the most Part of 'em admit of Baptism by Affusion of Water. In short, every Congregation of 'em almost does espouse some particular Tenets: only they do all of 'em renounce Infant Baptism.

(31) Hist. of Works of learned July 1699. (32) Stoup. Religion of the *Hollanders*.

Year after the Apostles One cannot impute this, as any peculiar Fault or Folly, to the *Minnists*, that they are apt to divide and separate from one another on any small Differences of Opinion. 'Tis a Humor too general, and prevailing among many other People of that Country (as well as of ours) to think that they ought to separate from all that hold any thing in Religion different from what they themselves hold. Whereas the great Aim and Interest of Religion is Unity and Communion in the Worship of God, notwithstanding different Sentiments in Points not Fundamental; and Schisms and Parties are forbidden, as Courses that will certainly ruin it: there is no Sin that such People think to be a less Sin than Schism is. The Papists do upbraid the Protestants in general with this Humor: as if it were the natural Principle, and the Mill-Stone on the Neck of Protestantism. 'Tis too true, that the Protestant Religion and Interest has been much impaired by it in many Countries; where it has grown and increased in Spite of the best Endeavors of the Ministers in shewing and declaring to the People the Sinfulness of it. About which the Papists of all Men, should make no Noise, because they are the only Men that get Ground by it: they, and some few designing Persons who propose an Interest by heading of Parties. But they cannot say that this is true of all. There are some Protestant Countries so happy, as to keep their People in great Union and Uniformity.

1558. But some of the *Minnists* do differ from the rest, and from all Catholic Christians in Points more material, and such as are indeed inconsistent with Communion. For about the Year 1658 the *Socinians*, that were grown to a considerable Number in *Poland*, were expell'd thence. Many of 'em sought a Refuge in these Parts. They had most of 'em added the Opinion of Antipædobaptism to what *Socinus* had taught 'em against our Savior's Divinity: and the common Name by which they had in *Poland* been called, was *Anabaptists*. So when they came to *Holland*, they assai'd mostly to strike in with the *Minnists*: And they have since brought over many of 'em to their Opinion concerning the Nature of Christ. One sort of the *Minnists*, called *Collegians*, are generally *Socinians*, believing in nothing but the human Nature of *Jesus Christ*, and holding it unlawful to pray to him; wherein they surpass the Impiety of *Socinus* himself. These hold a general Assembly twice a Year at *Rhinsburg*: where 'tis said they observe this Order, that he that comes first distributes the Communion to all the Assistants: for they have no Regard to the Ordination of Ministers.

Others of the *Minnists* are *Arians*: of which Opinion one *Galenus* now living in *Amsterdam* is said to be the chief Patron. And so these are by some called *Galenists*.

And generally speaking, the *Minnists* tho' they do not all profess these Opinions derogatory to our Savior's Divinity, yet do refuse the Use of the Words *Trinity*, *Person*, &c. and such other Words concerning the



the Nature of God, as are not in Scripture, but are used by the Church to exprefs the Sense thereof.

Year after the Apostles

The first Socinians that were in *Holland* (for there were some few before the Year I spoke of) had, as *Socinus* himself had, but a slender Opinion of Infants Baptism: yet did not absolutely refuse it. For at the Synod of *Dort*, Anno 1618, was read the Confession of the two Brothers, *John* and *Peter Geysteran*, Remonstrant Ministers: and was rejected by all with Detestation. For it appear'd that they under the Name of Remonstrants, and, under Pretence of the five Articles, did maintain the horrid and execrable Blasphemies of *Socinus* and the Anabaptists. So say the Acts (33) of the Synod. But all that their Confession says of Baptism, is; That Infants are baptiz'd not by any positive Command of God, but to avoid Scandal. And that they value the Baptism of the Adult more than that of Infants.

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§. 6. In *England* there were now and then some Dutchmen found of the Antipædobaptist Opinion ever since the time that it had taken footing in *Holland*: but none of the *English* Nation are known to have embrac'd it in a long time after. *Danvers* indeed would find some of this Opinion in *England* even before those of *Munster*. He would perswade (34) that the *Lollards* held it. But they held nothing but what I mention'd before, CH. VI. §. 7. that Infants dying unbaptiz'd may yet be saved, as I shewed then, and appears more fully by *Fox* (35).

1328.

In the Year 1533. 25th of H. 8. *John Frith* (who was Martyr'd that Year) wrote a short Tract, which he calls a *Declaration of Baptism* ('tis publish'd with his other Works, *Lond.* 1573.) In it he takes Notice of the Antipædobaptist Opinion as then lately risen in the World (it was about 11 Years standing in *Germany*, and was but lately got into *Holland*, for this was a Year before the Outrage and Disperſion at *Munster*). What he says of it is this, Now is there an Opinion risen among certain, which affirm that Children may not be baptized until they come unto a perfect Age; and that because they have no Faith. But verily methinks that they are far from the Meekness of Christ and his Spirit; which when Children were brought unto him, receiv'd them lovingly, &c. And after a short Discourse, he breaks off from that Point thus; But this Matter will I pass over. For I trust the English (unto whom I write this) have no such Opinions. And that the *English Lollards* had been all along free from any such Opinion is evident from a very ancient Tract of theirs which they presented to the Parliament, which is recited by one *Dinmock* who writes an Answer to it, and dedicates that Answer to K. Rich. 2. which must be about or before the Year 1390. This Tract is brought to light from some ancient Manuscripts at *Cambridge* by the Learned Dr. *Allix*, at the End of his Remarks on the History of the Churches of the Albigenſes.

1433.

11

(33) Acta Synod. Dordrecht. Sed. 138. (34) Treat. P. 2. ch. 7. pag. 303, 304.  
(35) In *Henry* 6. pag. 608.

Year as In it the *Lollards* complaining of Popish Abuses, reckon this for one; the forbidding of Marriage, and keeping Men from Women; from whence did follow Effects worse than those of Fornication it self committed with Women. For, they say, tho' *slaying of Children ere they be christned, be full sinful*; yet *Sodomy* was worse.

1436. The Convocation *Anno 1536* do take Notice of the Antipædobaptists Opinions, of which they must have heard from *Holland* and *Germany* (the *Munster* Buliness having been two Years before) and do pass some Decrees against 'em. The rather because some People in *England* began to speak very irreverently and mockingly about some of the Ceremonies of Baptism then in Use.

The Lower House of Convocation sent to the Upper House a Protestation, containing a Catalog of some Errors and some profane Sayings that began to be handed about among some People: craving the Concurrence of the Upper House in condemning 'em. Some of 'em are these (36).

17. That 'tis as lawful to *Christen a Child in a Tub of Water at home, or in a Ditch by the Way, as in a Fontaine in the Church.*

I think it may probably be concluded from their Expressions, that the ordinary Way of baptizing at this time in *England*, whether in the Church or out of it, was by putting the Child into the Water.

18. That the Water in the Fontaine is only a thing conjur'd.

19. That the hallow'd Oyl is no better than the Bishop of Rome's Grease or Butter.

63. That Holy Water is more savory to make Sawce with than other Water, because it is mixt with Salt; which is also a very good Medicine for a Horse with a gall'd Back: and if there be put an Onion thereto, it is a good Sawce for a Gibbet of Mutton.

1436. But there is none of all these foolish Sayings that reflects any thing on *Infant Baptism*. Yet the King and Convocation (apprehensive I suppose of what might be) setting forth several Articles about Religion, to be diligently preach'd for keeping People steady in it, have these about Baptism.

1. That the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Savior Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of Everlasting Life: according to the Saying of Christ; *Nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c.* Unless one be born of Water, &c.

2. That it is offer'd unto all Men, as well Infants, as such as have the Use of Reason, that by Baptism they shall have Remission of Sins, &c.

3. That the Promise of Grace and Everlasting Life, which Promise is adjoined to the Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the Use of Reason, but also to Infants, &c. — they are made thereby the very Sons and Children of God. Inſomuch as Children dying



- ing in their Infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby: otherwise not. Year after the A-
4. Infants must needs be christned, because they be born in original Sin: which Sin must needs be remitted: which cannot be done but by the offices of Grace of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exercises his Grace and Efficacy in them, and cleanses and purifies them from Sin by his most secret Virtue and Operation.
6. That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists and Pelagians Opinions contrary to the Premises, and every other Man's Opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists and Pelagians Opinions in this Behalf, for detestable Heresies and utterly to be condemn'd.

These Precautions shew, if there were at this time in England no Doctrins held by any against Infant Baptism, yet that they feared lest such should be brought over hither. And two Years after, Anno 1538. 1438. Fuller (37) recites out of Stow; that four Anabaptists, three Men and one Woman, all Dutch; bore Fagots at Paul's Cross: And that three Days after, a Man and Woman of their Sect was burnt in Smithfield. And says, This Year the Name of this Sect first appears in our English Chronicles.

But Fox had spoke of some 2 or 3 Years before. For taking Notice of the Influence that Queen Ann Bolein had over Hen. 8. he observes (38), that during her time we read of no great Persecution, nor any Abjuration to have been in the Church of England: Save only that the Registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists; of whom ten were put to Death in sundry Places of the Realm, Anno 1535, other ten repented and were saved. This must have been the Year before the said Convocation. 1438.

The Bishop of Salisbury Hist. of Reform. Pt. 1. l. 3. p. 195. mentions these Men, but not under the Name of Anabaptists. He says, that in May this Year 1535. Nineteen Hollanders were accused of some heretical Opinions: 'Denying Christ to be both God and Man, or that he took 'Flesh and Blood of the Virgin Mary; or that the Sacraments had 'any Effect on those that receiv'd 'em: in which Opinions fourteen of 'em remained obstinate and were burnt by Pairs in several Places. Here is nothing peculiarly about Infants Baptism. But the Circumstance of time, May 1535. leads one to think that they were some of them that were to have made a Part in the Insurrection at Amsterdam. For the Author of an English Pamphlet written 1647. call'd *A short History of the Anabaptists* (who has made a good Collection out of *Sleidan*, *Hortensius*, &c.) says that many Dutchmen from several Parts who had been appointed to assist John Geles in the Surprize of Amsterdam beforementioned, hearing the ill Success, fled into England in two Ships. Now that Insurrection was on this very Month. And that Author reckons those two Shiploads to be the first Seminary of Dutch Antipedobaptists

Year af- ptists in England. But however that was, there were no *English*  
 ter the A- among 'em.  
 posties

But altho' during this King's Reign (and for a good while after as we shall see) there were no *English* Men that held any Opinion against Infant Baptism; yet, as I said that in *Germany* the Papists upbraided the Protestants with the Name of *Anabaptists*, so it was done here also in the latter times of this Reign. For this King *Hen. 8.* in a Speech made at the Proroguing of the Parliament, *Dec. 24. 1545.* (recited by the Lord *Herbert* at that Year) complaining of the great Discord among his Subjects, and of the reproachful Names they gave one to another, says; *What Love and Charity is there among you? when one calls another Heretic and Anabaptist: and he calls him again, Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee?*

1449. In King *Edward's* time: in the third Year of his Reign, *Heylin* says (39); *At the same time the Anabaptists who had kept themselves to themselves in the late King's time, began to look abroad, and disperse their Dotages: for preventing which Mischief before it grew to a Head, some of the chief of 'em were conven'd, &c.* He does not say whether these were *Dutch* or *English*. And at the same Year 1549. *Ottius* in his *Annal. Anabaptist.* recites a Letter from *Hooper* to *Bullinger*, wherein he complains that *England* was troubl'd with a sort of Anabaptists: but reciting their Tenets, he mentions nothing of Infant Baptism, nor does he say whether they were *English* or *Foreigners*.

In Queen *Mary's* time, *Philpot* had, a little before his Martyrdom, an Occasion to write a (40) Letter to a Fellow-Prisoner of his, to satisfy him in some Doubts that he had concerning the Lawfulness of Infant Baptism. This shews that the Question was then ventilated in *England*. *Philpot*, besides the Arguments from Scripture, brings some of the Quotations from Antiquity that I have produc'd: and concludes; *The Verity of Antiquity is on our Side: and the Anabaptists have nothing but Lies for them, and New Imaginations; which feign the Baptism of Children to be the Pope's Commandment.*

280. But this good Man grants a great deal more of the Question in Point of Antiquity than he should have done: when he says in his Letter: *Auxentius one of the Arian Sect with his Adherents was one of the first that denied the Baptism of Children: and next after him Pelagius the Heretic. And some other there were in St. Bernard's time, as it does appear by his Writings. And in our Days the Anabaptists, &c.*

315.  
 1030.

The Ground of his Mistake concerning the *Arians*, that they should be against Infants Baptism, is; that the *Arians* are by some old Writers call'd *Anabaptists*: but that was because they rebaptiz'd all that had been baptiz'd by the Catholics, in Infancy or at Age; not that they



they disliked Infants Baptism: as I shewed before (41). And the particular Mistake concerning *Auxentius* must have been caused by those Words of St. *Ambrose* in his Oration against *Auxentius*; *Why then does Auxentius say, that the faithful People who have been baptized in the Name of the Trinity, must be baptized again?* Where any one that will read the Place will see that *Auxentius's* Reason for saying so, was not any Difference that the two Parties had about Infants Baptism, but the different Faith they had about the Trinity, in whose Name Baptism was given.

*Pelagius* denied original Sin: from whence *Philpot* by too visible a Mistake, concluded he had denied Infants Baptism.

In the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, as there were no *English* Antipædobaptists, so there were very few left in *Holland*; till after the Revolt of those Provinces from *Spain* they encreased again. 1465.

For Bishop *Jewel* in his *Defence of his Apology*, written about the 7th Year of this Queen, being twitted by *Harding* with the Anabaptists; *Are not these your Brethren?* And *Harding* having said that the *Roman Catholic* Countries were cleared of 'em, (among which he expressly there reckons *Base Almain*, i. e. the *Dutch Low Countries*) *Jewel* replies to him; *They find Harbour amongst you in Austria, Silesia, Moravia, and such other Countries where the Gospel of Christ is suppress'd: but they have no Acquaintance with us either in England, Germany, France, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, or any other Place where the Gospel of Christ is clearly preach'd.*

From whence we may gather, that this sort of People were at this time, (which was about 40 Years after their Rise) almost totally suppress'd in all these Parts of the World. 1465.

But yet about the 16th Year of Queen *Elizabeth* a Congregation of *Dutch* Antipædobaptists was discover'd without *Aldgate* in *London*, whereof 27 were taken and imprison'd. And the next Month one *Dutchman* and ten Women were condemn'd. One Woman recanted: Eight were banish'd: two were burnt in *Smithfield*, as *Fuller* (42) out of *Stow* relates. Their Tenets are recited these, *Infants not to be baptiz'd. Christians not to use the Sword. All Oaths unlawful. Christ took not Flesh of the Virgin Mary.* This agrees in every Point with the Account given before of the Doctrin of the *Minnists*. These were the first that that Queen ever caused to be burnt for any Opinion in Religion. 1472.

*Fox* that wrote the *Book of Martyrs* was then living; and he ventured to intercede with the Queen for the Life of those two: but could not prevail; She shewing such a Sense of the Necessity of suppressing any new Sect by Severity at the Beginning. In his Letter to her (43) there are these Words; *As for their Errors indeed, no Man of Sense can*

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deny that they are moſt abſurd. And I wonder that ſuch monſtrous Opinions could come into the Mind of any Chriſtian. But ſuch is the State of human Weakneſs; if we are left never ſo little a while deſtitute of the Divine Light, whither is it that we do not fall? And there is great Reason to give God Thanks on this Account, that I hear not of any Engliſh Man, that is inclined to that Madneſs, &c. He intreats the Queen that theſe two may be baniſh'd, as the reſt were; or otherwiſe puniſh'd.—But to roaſt alive the Bodies of poor Wretches, that offend rather by Blindneſs of Judgment than Perverſeneſs of Will, in Fire and Flames raging with Pitch and Brimſtone; is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the Practice of the Romaniſts than the Cuſtom of the Evangelicals.

From his Words Fuller concludes that this Opinion had not then taken any Footing among the Engliſh: for Fox was likely to know if it had.

At what time it began to be embrac'd by any Engliſh I do not find it eaſie to diſcover. But 'tis plain that no very conſiderable Number in England were of this Perſwaſion till about 60 Years ago. The firſt Book (except ſome Books taken in a Jeſuit's Trunk, which he had brought over on Purpoſe to ſpread this Opinion, which I muſt mention by and by: but except them) the firſt that ever I heard of, that was ſet forth in Engliſh, upholding this Tenet, was a Dutch Book, called, *A plain and well grounded Treatiſe concerning Baptiſm*. This was translated and printed in Engliſh Anno 1618. the 16th Year of King James the Firſt. But neither in that King's Reign, nor in that of his Son King Charles the Firſt, till toward the latter End of it, have we any Account of any conſiderable Number of People of this Way, very little mention of 'em, or of that Queſtion, in any Engliſh Books.

Dr. Featly, who wrote 1645. ſays in his Preface; *This Fire in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and our gracious Sovereign till now, was cover'd in England under the Aſhes; or if it broke out at any time; by the Care of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Magiſtrates it was ſoon put out. But of late ſince the unhappy Diſtractions—* hundreds of Men and Women together rebaptized in the Twilight, in Rivulets, and ſome Arms of the Thames, &c. And in his Letter to Mr. Downham mentioning the great Increate of monſtrous Sects and Hereſies at that time, eſpecially of Papiſts and Anabaptiſts, he ſays; *They boaſt of their great Draught of Fiſh; the Papiſts of 20000 Profelytes, the Anabaptiſts of 47 Churches*. Upon which View of Sects ariſing in ſuch times, he does in another Place of his Book ſet forth the Miſchiefs of a general Toleration in any State: Which Obſervation of the Doctor's made upon the firſt Toleration that had ever been in England, the Experience of all times ſince following has ſhewn to be a juſt one. None can deny but that this Evil does follow upon it; how neceſſary ſoever it may ſometimes be on other Reſpects.



It was during the Rebellion against King *Charles I.* and the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell* that this Opinion began to have any great Number of Converts to it. In those times of *Stirs*, they boasted in their Books that that (44) Prophecy was fulfilled; *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased.* That Usurper gave not only a Toleration, but great Encouragement to all sorts of Religions that oppos'd the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterians*. Neither of these could he trust: but labor'd to weaken 'em what he could. And the more Dissenters and Separaters there were from these, the safer he reckon'd he sat. The Event, of these joining afterward together to vindicate their Country from Tyranny and utter Confusion, shew'd that he was in the right.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
1542.  
1553.

In these times of general Liberty this Opinion encreased mightily: many owning it out of Conscience (we must in Charity judge) as thinking it to be the Truth; but many also for Advantage. For *Oliver* next to his darling *Independents* favor'd this sort of Men most: and his Army was in great Part made up of 'em. You must suppose then, that they left out of their Scheme of Doctrins that Tenet of the *Minists*, that the *Sword is not to be made Use of by Christians*, for they had many of 'em the Places of Troopers, Captains, Major-Generals, Committee-Men, Sequestrators, &c.

It appears by a Passage in the Life of Judge *Hale*, (45) how much that Party was favor'd at that time. For 'tis there related how that Judge having the Case brought before him of some *Anabaptists* who had rush'd into a Church, and disturb'd a Congregation while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without some Violence; was minded to proceed severely against 'em. For he said it was intolerable for Men who pretend so highly to Liberty of Conscience, to go and disturb others, &c. But these were so supported by some great Magistrates and Officers, that a Stop was put to his Proceedings. Upon which he declar'd he would meddle no more with Tryals on the Crown Side: Yet some time before the Death of the Usurper, many of the Antipædobaptists as well as of the other separate Parties that had rais'd him, fell into a Dislike of him, and he of them. So far that he, as one Captain *Dean* relates, cashier'd several of them: and they, as the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* relates, enter'd into several Conspiracies to assassinate him. I have been advertis'd that I ought in this 2d. Edition to insert in Order to their Vindication their Address to King *Charles* the 2d, recited by that Noble Lord in the 15th Book of his Excellent *History of the Rebellion*. I will therefore give the Substance of it in short; being sorry that it does not tend more to their Credit than it do's. They (as well as all the other Parties of that time except the Churchmen) seem to have return'd to their Allegiance to the

1558.

(44) Daniel 12. 4. (45) Burnet's Life and Death of Sr. Matthew Hale pag 44

Year af- King, not out of Conscience, but because they found themselves undone  
ter the A- without him.  
postles

Several Sorts and Sects of Men joined in the Address: but it was sent to the King being then at *Bruges*, by a Gentleman, an Antipædobaptist of special Trust among 'em. They recount how under King *Charles I.* there had been many *Errors, Excesses, Irregularities, &c.* as *Blots and Stains* upon the otherwise good Government of that King: Whom they own to have been of the best and purest *Morals* of any Prince that ever swayed the English Sceptre: That the Parliament had raised War to free him from evil Counsellors: that they among the rest had on this Account taken Arms: and that tho' they are since sensible that under Pretence of *Reformation and Liberty* the secret Designs of wicked and ambitious Persons had been hid; yet that they themselves had gone out in the Simplicity of their Souls, having never had Thoughts of casting off their Allegiance, or extirpating the Royal Family: but only of restraining the Excesses of Government. Thus far, they say, they had gone Right, and had as yet done nothing but what they thought themselves able to justify [strange that they could say this]. But that in all their Motions since, they had been roving up and down in all the untrodden Paths of Phanatic Notions; and now found themselves involv'd in so many Labyrinths and Meanders of Knavery, that they know not how to extricate themselves. Into what Crimes, Impieties, and unheard of Villanies have we, say they, been led, cheated, cozen'd and betrayed by that grand Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite, that detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, &c. who now calls himself our Protector? — We have trampled under Foot all Authorities, We have laid violent Hands upon our own Sovereign, We have ravish'd our Parliaments, put a Yoke of Iron on the Necks of our Country-men, broken Oaths, Vows, Covenants, Engagements, &c. lifted up our Hands to Heaven deceitfully, and added Hypocrisie to all our Sins. — We were sometime wise to pull down: but we now want Art to build. We were ingenious to pluck up: but have no Skill to plant. Strong to destroy: but weak to restore. Whither shall we go for Help? If to Parliaments; They are broken Reeds. If to the Army; They are a Rod of Iron to bruise us. If to him who treacherously has usurped, and do's trayterously exercise Power over us; He says; 'I have chastis'd you with Whips, and will henceforward with Scorpions' — At last we began to whisper among our selves; why should we not return to our first Husband? &c.

And so (after many long Turns of canting Expressions) they come at last to this that they find themselves engag'd in Duty, Honor, and Conscience to make this humble Address, &c. But yet declare, that lest they should seem altogether negligent of that first good Cause, which God had so eminently own'd them in, &c. they think it necessary to offer the following Propositions (which his Lordship justly calls extravagant and wild ones) to which if his Majesty would condescend, then they would hazard their Lives to re-establish him.

1. That



1. That the King do resettlement the long Parliament, with the excluded Members.
2. That he ratifie all the Concessions made by his Father at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight. [Now those Concessions were (as this noble Historian observes in another Place. *Book 16. pag. 723, &c. Ed. Ox. 1706*) *Such as in Truth did, with the Preservation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much establish a republican Government, as was settled after his Murder. And such as His Majesty yielded to with much less Chearfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold.*]
3. That he should set up an Universal Toleration of all Religions.
4. Abolish all Payment of Tyths.
5. Pass a general Act of Oblivion.

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The Gentleman added in a Letter of his own, that he desir'd the Sum of 2000 Pound to be remitted to him from the King: which Sum not being at that time in his Majesties Power; This Proposal came to nothing.

It was by reason of the Increase which had been of this Opinion in those Times, that the Convocation which sat presently after the Restoration of King Charles II. when they made a Review of the *Book of Common Prayer* found it necessary to add to it an Office for the Baptism of those who having been born in those Times had not yet been baptiz'd; whereof there were many that were now grown too old to be baptiz'd as Infants, and ought to make Profession of their own Faith. They give in the *Preface* to the said Book an Account of the Occasion that made this necessary then, tho' not formerly: in these Words; *Together with an Office for the Baptism of such as are of riper Years. Which altho' not so necessary when the former Book was compiled; yet by the Growth of Anabaptism, thro' the Licentiousness of the late Times crept in among us, is now become necessary.*

1567

The Parliament, assembl'd upon the said Restauration, express'd the Dislike the Nation had conceived against the Tenets and Behaviour of these Men; when making an Act for the confirming all Ministers in the Possession of their Benefices, how heterodox soever they had been, provided they would conform for the future; they excepted such as had been of this Way.

It is to be noted that when this Opinion began first to encrease, they did not all of 'em proceed to Separation from the establish'd Church: they held it sufficient to declare their Sentiment against Infant Baptism, to reserve their own Children to adult Baptism, and to be baptiz'd with it themselves; without renouncing Communion in Prayers and in the other Sacrament with the Pædobaptists. In the Year 1645, when *Marshall* had in a Sermon objected to the Antipædobaptists the Sin of Separation; *Tombs* answers (46), that this was practis'd

1543

Year after the Apostles  
1544. practis'd only by some: that it was the Fault of the Persons, not of the Principle of Antipædobaptism: that he himself abhorred it: And he quotes as concurring with him, *the Confession of Faith in the Name of seven Churches of Antipædobaptists in London, Art. 33.*

But these that continued in Communion were not for *Oliver's* turn. There was great Care taken to instil into 'em Principles of total Separation; which proved too effectual: and within a while they did all, or almost all, renounce the settled Congregations, and became great Enemies to 'em. In which Separation they do still, almost all, continue.

The present State of 'em is this.

They that are now, are as commendable, as any other sort of Men are, for a sober and grave, quiet and peaceable Way of Living. They profess Obedience to Magistrates: and they will commonly express a Dislike and Abhorrence of those Plundrings and other Violences committed by some of their Party, as well as by the rest of the Army of that Usurper aforesaid of odious Memory. They are particularly commended for maintaining their Poor liberally (which is a Way that never fails to attract the good Will of the Multitude, and to make Profelytes) as also for passing Censures upon such Members of their own Congregations as live disorderly.

This Character of obedient Subjects, is what they now own and profess: and what I hope is the real Sentiment of most of 'em. One Mr. *Hicks* did indeed about 20 Years ago (if what was inform'd against him were true) give a most ugly and reproachful Account of the whole Body of this People as to this Point.

There was at that Time 1683, a villanous Conspiracy headed by *Shaftsbury, Monmouth, &c.* against King *Charles*: either to murder or at least to depose him. The Conspirators sent their Emissaries about, to see what Numbers and Parties of the People could be drawn in to join in the Rebellion. And amongst other Discoveries made afterward of this Treason, there was this following Information given upon Oath by one Mr. *West* of the Temple, which is printed in the Account of that Plot. *Copies of Informations, p. 41.*

*This Examinant farther says, That Mr. Roe told this Examinant, that he had discoursed with one Mr. Hicks a Tobacconist, an Anabaptist Preacher, a great Ring-leader of the Anabaptists: and that the said Hicks had told him that the Anabaptists could, and he believ'd upon good Consideration would, make up an Army of 20000 Men: and 1500 of the 20000 would be Horse: And tho' perhaps there would be a Necessity of making use of some great Men at the Beginning (and this Examinant thinks he mention'd the Duke of Monmouth) yet when the Anabaptists were once up, they would not lay down their Arms till they had their own Terms.*



If *Hicks* did never say so; he ought to have publicly disown'd it. And if he did; the Antipædobaptists ought to have disown'd him from being a Leader. Whether either of them were done, or whether *Hicks* be now living; I know not. God Almighty keep all Sorts of People from such Leaders, as will lead 'em in a Way to which the Scripture expressly assigns Damnation. But however, there were but two Men of the 20000 that appear'd then to have been guilty: And those Two were among some of the first that made an ingenuous and voluntary Confession. And besides, it is not credible that that Party of Men could at that Time have made up such a Number, if they had been never so unanimous in the Wickedness. P. S. I hear since, that *Hicks* is dead: but that he liv'd in *London* many Years after this; and that the foresaid Accusation was not made good against him: but that King *Charles II.* upon a Hearing of his Case in Council, discharged him.

The Number of 'em had been considerably abated upon the Restauration and the Re-settling of the Church of *England*. Many at that Time return'd to the Church, and brought the Children which they had had in the mean time, to be baptiz'd according to the Order thereof. And during the Remainder of King *Charles's* Reign the Number of 'em stood much at a Stay, or rather decreas'd. But since the late Times of general Liberty and Toleration they have increas'd again. In some of the Counties of *England* they are the most numerous of any sort of Men that do separate from the establish'd Church. This is chiefly in the South East Parts; *Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, &c.* There are very few in those Parts that make any Separation from the Church, but they. Which is the Occasion that I, as I am plac'd in those Parts, have the more minded what I have read in any ancient Book relating to that Question: From whence have sprung the Notes that make the first Part of this Work. In other Parts of *England* they are much over-numbered by the *Quakers*. There are also great Numbers of 'em in *London* and the Suburbs. And it is observ'd from some late Passages, that the *Presbyterians* look as if they would court their Friendship, and as if they aimed to add this *Stick* also to the other two.

1560

1587

Their Tenets are, besides the denying of Infants Baptism, these;

1. They do many of 'em, hold it necessary, as I said, to renounce Communion with all Christians that are not of their Way. Many of 'em are so peremptory in this, that if they be in the Chamber of a sick Man, and any Pædobaptist, Minister or other, come in to pray with him; they will go out of the Room. And if they be invited to the Funeral of any Pædobaptist, they will go to the House, and accompany the Corps with the rest of the People to the Church Door: but there they retreat; they call it the *Steeple-House*. They seem to judge thus: Those that are not baptiz'd are no Christians, and none are baptiz'd.

Year af- baptiz'd but themselves. So they make not only Baptism it self, but  
ter the A- also the Time, or Age, or Way, of receiving it, a Fundamental.  
postles

'Tis strange to see how deeply this Principle of Division is rooted in some of 'em by the Care that many of their Teachers take to cultivate it. If any one that has been one of them, be afterward prevail'd on to go ordinarily to Church, and hold Communion in all Things that he can, tho' he keep still his Opinion of Antipædobaptism, they of 'em that are of this Principle bemoan him as a lost Man; and speak of him as we should do of one that had turn'd an Apostate from the Christian Religion. If any Man, being not satisfied with the Baptism he receiv'd in Infancy, do desire to be baptiz'd again by them, but do at the same time declare that he means to keep Communion with the establish'd Church in all Things that in Conscience he can; there are (or at least have been) several of their Elders that will not baptize such a Man. To renounce *the Devil and all his Works*, &c. has been always requir'd of Persons to be baptized into the Christian Religion: But to require 'em to renounce Communion with all Christians that are not of their Opinion, is to baptize into a Sect. 'Tis a clear Case from Scripture, and particularly from *Phil. 3. 15, 16.* that the Duty of Christian Unity does require that they (and the same is to be said of all others that differ not in Fundamentals) should hold Communion as far as they can: Even tho' they do still continue in their Opinion for adult Baptism. Of which I shall say something more in the last Chapter.

I said before that this scrupulous Stiffness is not universal among 'em. *Tombs*, and several more had, and some of 'em still have, truer Sentiments concerning *the Communion of Saints in the Catholic Church*, And I have received of late a credible Account, that the most considerable Men, and of chief Repute among 'em, do more and more come over to these Sentiments.

2. They are, more generally than the Antipædobaptists of other Nations, possess'd with an Opinion of the absolute Necessity of the Immersion, or Dipping the baptiz'd Person over Head and Ears into the Water. So far, as to allow of no clinical Baptism: *i. e.* If a Man that is sick in a Fever, &c. (so as that he cannot be put into the Water without endangering his Life) do desire Baptism before he dies; they will let him die unbaptized, rather than baptize him by Affusion of Water, on his Face, &c.

They are contrary in this to the Primitive Christians. They, tho' they did ordinarily put the Person into the Water, yet in Case of Sickness, &c. would baptize him in his Bed.

They bring three Proofs of the Necessity of Immersion or Dipping.

1. The Example of *John* baptizing *Christ*, of *Philip* baptizing the *Eunuch*, and generally of the ancient Christians baptizing by Immersion.

2. That



2. That Baptism ought, as much as may be, to resemble the Death and Burial and Rising again of Christ.
3. That the Word, *to baptize*, does necessarily include *Dipping* in its Signification; so that Christ by commanding to *baptize*, has commanded to *dip*.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

To which these Answers are commonly given.

The 1st proves what was said before, that in Scripture-times and in the Times next succeeding, it was the Custom in those hot Countries to baptize *ordinarily* by Immersion: But not that in Cases of Sickness, or other such *extraordinary* Occasions they never baptiz'd otherwise. Of this I shall speak in the next Chapter.

The 2d proves that Dipping, where it may safely be used, is the most fitting Manner. But our Savior has taught us a Rule, *Mat. 12. 3, 4, 7.* that what is needful to preserve Life is to be preferred before outward Ceremonies.

The 3d, which would if it were true be more conclusive than the rest, is plainly a Mistake. The Word βαπτίζω in Scripture signifies *to wash* in general, without determining the Sense to this or that sort of Washing. The Sense of a Scripture Word is not to be taken from the Use of it in secular Authors, but from the Use of it in the Scripture. What βαπτίζω signifies among *Greek* Writers, and what Interpretation Critics and Lexicons do accordingly give it, is not much to the Purpose in this Case to dispute (tho' they also, as Mr. Walker in his *Dissertation of Baptism* has largely shewn, beside the Signification *immergo*, do give that of *lavo* in general) when the Sense in which it is us'd by the Penmen of Scripture, may otherwise be plainly determin'd from Scripture it self. Now in order to such a Determination, these two Things are plain.

First, That *to baptize* is a Word applied in Scripture not only to such Washing as is by dipping into the Water the Thing or Person washed; but also to such as is by pouring or rubbing Water on the Thing or Person washed or some Part of it.

Secondly, That the Sacramental Washing is often in Scripture express'd by other Words beside *Baptizing*, which other Words do signify Washing in the ordinary and general Sense.

For the first there are, besides others, these plain Instances.

The *Jews* thought it a Piece of Religion to wash their Hands before Dinner: They blame the Disciples, *Mark 7. 5.* for eating with *unwashed Hands*. The Word here is *νίψω*, an ordinary Word for washing the Hands. Their way of that Washing was this: They had Servants to pour the Water on their Hands, *2 Kings 3. 11. who poured Water on the Hands of Elijah, i. e.* who waited on him as a Servant (a). Now this Washing of the Hands is called by St. Luke the baptizing of a Man;

K k k

or,

(a) Dr. Pocock has largely prov'd from Maimon. and others that this was the *Jews* way. *Non lavant manus nisi è vase affusâ aquâ*, Not. Misc. c. 9.

Year after Year the Apostles or, the Man's being baptized, *Luke 11. 38.* For where the *English* is; *The Pharisee marvelled that he had not washed before Dinner*; *St. Luke's* own Words are; *ὅτι ἔπρωτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὶν τοῦ δεῖν.* that he was not baptiz'd before Dinner. And so they are translated in the *Latin*. A plain Instance, that they used the Word, *to baptize*, for any ordinary Washing, whether there were Dipping in the Case or not.

Also that which is translated, *Mark 7. 4. the washing of Pots, Cups, brazen Vessels, Tables*, is in the original, the baptizing of Pots, &c. And what is there said, *When they come from Market, except they wash, they eat not*: The Words of *St. Mark* are; *Except they be baptized, they eat not* (b). And the divers Washings of the Jews are called *διόδοσι βαπτισμοί*, divers Baptisms, *Heb. 9. 10.* Of which some were by Bathing, others by Sprinkling, *Numb. 8. 7. It. 19. 18, 19.*

For the second there are these.

Baptism is styled *ἀτεδν τὸ ὕδωρ*, the Washing of Water, *Eph. 5. 26.* *ἀτεδν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας*, the Washing of Regeneration, *Tit. 3. 5.* And to express this saying; *having our Bodies baptiz'd with clean Water*. The Apostle words it; *λαλουμένοι τὸ σῶμα*, having our Bodies washed, *καὶ ἐξέραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας*, and our Hearts sprinkled, *Heb. 10. 22.* These Words for Washing are such as are the most usual for the ordinary Ways of Washing: The same, for Example, with that which is used *Acts 16. 33. He washed their Stripes*. No Man will think they were put into the Water for that.

They had several Words to signifie, *Washing*. And they us'd 'em promiscuously for the sacramental Washing and for other Washings. 'Tis the Christians since, that have appropriated the Word *Baptize* to the sacramental Washing: Much after the same rate as they have appropriated the Word *Bible*, which in *Greek* is any Book, to the Book of God; or the Word, *Scripture*, which in the Scripture it self signifies any Writing, to the Divine Writings. But to proceed with the Tenets of the Antipædobaptists of *England*.

3. As exact as they are in imitating the Primitive Way used in the hot Countries; they do not baptize naked: which those ancient Christians always did, when they baptiz'd by Immersion; as I shew in the next Chapter. They usually spoke of the putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh as a Thing signified by the unclothing of the Person to be baptiz'd. I suppose it is for preserving Modesty, that they dispense with that Custom. So it seems in some Cases they can allow of dispensing with the Primitive Custom.

4. But a more material Thing, in which some of 'em do deviate both from the express Command of our Savior, and the received Practice of the Church, is in the Form of Baptism. One sort of 'em do count it in-  
different

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(b) This was not dipping. *Lavantes a foro totum corpus non mansabant.* *Pocock. Nat. Misc. c. 9.*



different whether they baptize with these Words; *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*: Or with these; *In the Name of the Lord Jesus*. And do in their public Confession (47) allow either of the Forms. And I have heard that some of 'em do affectedly choose the latter. But I am told, by one who should know, that, whatever has been done formerly, they that do so now, are very few; and those, Men not well thought of by the general Body of 'em: but only such as are suspected to be underhand *Socinians*: For they have many such among 'em; and it is not for the Use of those that have a Mind to obliterate the Belief of the Trinity, to baptize their Profelytes into the Faith and Name of it. I believe one Reason why *Socinus* had such a Mind to abolish all Use of Baptism among his Followers, was because Persons baptiz'd *in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, would be always apt to think those Names to express the Deity in which they were to believe: which he did not mean they should do. And some of his Followers have been so disgusted with that Form of Baptism, that they have given profane Insinuations (48) that those Words were not originally in the Scripture; but were taken from the usual Doxology into the Form of Baptism, and then inserted into the Text of *Mat. 28. 19.*

Those that baptize only in *the Name of the Lord Jesus*, plead the Examples of the Apostles, *Acts 8. 16. 19. 5.* But tho' in those Passages, where the Matters of Fact are related in short, there be mentioned in the Recital only the Name of the Lord *Jesus*, because that was the Name that the Apostles found it most difficult to persuade the Jews to own (*they having already, as St. Cyprian (49) says, the ancient Baptism of Moses and of the Law were now to be baptiz'd in the Name of Jesus Christ*) yet Interpreters have taken it for granted, that in the conferring those Baptisms, the Apostles used the whole Form which our Savior had prescribed. *Origen in Rom. 6. Didymus, l. 2. de Spiritu Sancto. Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaianum. Augustinus passim. Canon Apostol. 41, 42. aliis 49, 50.* And *Athanasius (50) says, He that is baptiz'd only in the Name of the Father, or only in the Name of the Son, or without the Holy Spirit, &c. receives nothing.* In short, it is true which *St. Austin* says (51), that in Church History you shall oftner meet with Heretics that do not baptize at all, than with any that do baptize with any other Words, viz. than those of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Yet we do find one sort of Heretics that did so. It was one Sect of the *Eunomians*: who, *Sozomon* says (52), were the first that ever did it. And he gives his Opinion that they are in as ill Case as if they were not baptiz'd at all.

K k k 2

5. Some

(47) Confess. of Anabapt. reprinted Lond. 1691. (48) The Judgment of the Fathers, &c. Pt. 1. p. 22. (49) Epist. ad Jubaian. (50) Epist. ad Serapionem (51) Lib. 6. contra Donatist. c. 25. (52) Lib. 6. c. 26.

Year af- 5. Some other singular Opinions they hold that do not at all re-  
ter the A- late to Baptism. Some of 'em, (but I think it is but few in *England*)  
postles do hold that Error which has of old been attributed to the Antipæ-  
dobaptists of *Germany*, and is said to be still held by the *Minnists of Hol-*  
*land*, that Christ took not Flesh of the Virgin *Mary*, but had it from  
Heaven; and only passed thro' her, as Water thro' a Pipe, without  
receiving any of his human Substance from her. The *Belgic Confession*  
(53) calls this the *Herese of the Anabaptists*.

- 'Tis strange to observe in how many Heresies, old and new, this  
odd Opinton so plainly contrary to Scripture, has made an Ingredient.
20. It was first invented by the *Gnostics* and *Valentinians*: For they ex-  
plain'd all that they believ'd of our Savior's Human Nature in this  
manner; as we perceive by *Irenæus* (54). Also by *Tertullian* (55) we  
40. understand that beside them *Marcion*, and *Apelles* (that was one of his  
88. Followers) held the same: But with this Difference; *Marcion* said our  
Savior had no real Flesh at all, but only in Appearance: *Apelles* own'd  
real Flesh, but not of Human Race; but made of the Substance of  
the Stars and heavenly Bodies, which was brought into the Virgin's  
Body only to pass thro' her. *Athanasius* also ascribes this Opinion  
(56) to the *Marcionites*. *Gennadius* (57), besides that he also names  
110. *Marcion*, says that *Origen*, and *Eutyches* taught that Christ's Flesh was  
348. brought from Heaven. And *Gregory Nazianzen* in an Epistle to *Ne-*  
270. *ctarius* (58) tells him that he had met with a Book of *Apollinarius* the  
Heretic, that maintain'd this heretical Tenet, that in the Dispensation of  
the Incarnation of the only Son of God, he did not take Flesh from without  
to repair our Nature: But there was the Nature of Flesh in the Son of God  
from all Eternity. But I hear that *Canisius* (59) has found and pub-  
lish'd an Epistle of his, wherein he disowns it. I shew'd before (60)  
that this of Christ's Flesh only passing thro' the Body of the Virgin,  
1150. made one of the monstrous Tenets of one Sort of the *Cathari*, spoken  
of by *Reinerius*, who were *Manichees* in the main. The old *Mani-*  
220. *chees* held that he had properly no Flesh at all, that he was not  
born of *Mary*, but came from the first Man, which first Man was  
not of this Earth.

Most of the old Heretics that taught this, did it because they would  
not yield that our Savior did really condescend so far as to take on  
him Human Nature, and be properly a Man made (as *St. Paul* expres-  
ses it) of a Woman: So they made use of it to impugn his Human-  
ity. But we have Reason to judge that most that hold it now, do  
it to impugn his Divinity: For by this Subterfuge, that his Flesh  
was

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(53) Artic. 18. (54) Lib. 1. c. 1. circa medium. It. l. 3. c. 17. (55) De car-  
ne Christi, c. 6, &c. (56) De Salutari adventu adv. Apollinaristas. (57) De Eccl.  
dogm. c. 2. (58) Apud Sozom. l. 6. c. 27. (59) Antic. Lect. T. 5. (60) CH.  
VII. §. 4.



was sent originally from Heaven; and only pass thro' the Body of the Virgin, they evade the Arguments for his Divinity and Præexistence; taken from those Places of Scripture which speak of his coming from Heaven, coming forth from the Father, and coming into the World, &c. expounding these Texts, not of an Eternal Præexistence, but of his Flesh made in Heaven and sent down. For they do not understand it, as *Apollinarius* is said to have done, that this Heavenly Flesh was from Eternity; but made at a certain time before the World, as the *Arians* said his Divine Nature was.

So that this Opinion, as well as the former, fits those Antipædobaptists best that are inclin'd to *Socinianism*. But what then will these Men make at last of our Blessed Savior? The old Heretics, some of 'em denied him to be God, and others of 'em denied him to be properly Man: But these deny both, and say that he is neither God, nor properly Man: As not being made of a Woman, nor the Seed of *David*. Will they make no more of him than the *Jesus Christ of the Quakers*; many of whom speak of *Jesus Christ* as being nothing else but something within themselves, a Notion of their Brains?

Whereas *Gennadius* imputes, as I said, this Opinion to *Origen*; I did suspect it (when in the first Edition I wrote it down) to be *Gennadius's* Mistake (having never observ'd any Saying of *Origen* tending this Way) and I do since find that *Huetius* has prov'd it to be so. He must have mistaken it for another, which *Origen* did indeed hold, and which is in the Consequence so near akin to this, that they are by *Athanasius* both condemn'd in one Sentence. He held a Præexistence (not of Christ's Flesh, but) of his human Soul.

He had imbib'd from *Plato's* Notions a phancy that all Souls were created at the Beginning: and then he thought it probable that in that præexistent State some of these Souls behaved themselves better than others, and so were put into better Bodies. And then (according to that rambling Faculty that he had of building Castles in the Air one on the Top of another) he imagin'd that there might be some one Soul among these, that might behave it self far better than any of the rest, and so might be chosen by God out of the rest to be assumed by the  $\alpha\gamma\theta$ . To which Sense he interprets *Pf. 45. 7.* making it to be said to this Soul; *Thou hast loved Righteousness, &c. Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladness above thy Fellows.* After which, he finds out a great many Pieces of Work for this Soul to do, before the time that it was united to the Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Christians of those elder times took great Offence at his thus bringing the Romantic Notions of the Heathen Philosophers and the Fictions of his own Brain into the most sacred Points of the Christian Faith: the main Property whereof is, that it be kept whole, undefiled, unmix'd, and unalter'd, and (as *Tertullian* says) *not to be mended.*

Year after Year the A- veral Ages a Debate among the Churches, whether they should receive his Books, and honor his Memory, as of a Catholic Christian; or pestles hold both in Execration, as of a Heretic. And tho' the Admiration they had of his great Parts, Learning, Memory, Pains, &c. (which were greater than had been in any Christian before, or perhaps have been since) and their Love to the Piety that he had shewn, did much prejudice 'em in his Favor; yet because of this and other heterodox Tenets, he was by the greatest part condemned (such a Zeal the Christians of that time shewed against any one that went about to bring any Alteration into their *Form of sound Words*) but many on the other Side did attempt Apologies for him. The first and best of which is, that which was drawn up by *Pamphilus* the Martyr assisted by *Eusebius* in Six Books; which I know not how some come to call, *Six Apologies*.

Some of his Tenets these Apologists do endeavor to justify by giving a qualifying Explication of 'em: and some that were imputed to him they shew to be imputed wrongfully. But this, which I have been speaking of, there is not one of 'em pretends to justify: but yet they say he ought not to be accounted a Heretic, because he did not affirm it positively, or teach it dogmatically, or hold it obstinately; but only propos'd it to the Consideration of the Hearers or Readers, whether such a thing might not be. So *Pamphilus* (after he had endeavor'd to refute the rest of the Accusations against him from his own Words) when he comes to this (which is the 8th of the 9 capital Errors there discuss'd) says; (a) *I must make Answer here my self*. The Answer he makes, is, that *Origen* knowing that, *That Tenet of the Soul is not plainly contain'd in the Doctrin of the Church*, did (whenever some Words of Scripture gave him Occasion, or a Hint rather, of disputing of it, and he did discuss and handle what seemed probable to him thereon) propose his Thoughts to be judg'd of and approved by the Readers, not desiring any thing as a plain [or positive] Point [dogma] or having the Authority of an Article [Sententia] and did generally add to it such qualifying Words, as these; *If that Account which I give of the Soul do seem to any one to have any Probability in it*. And that he never wrote any Treatise particularly of the Soul (as he had done of almost every thing else) which *Pamphilus* says, is a Sign that he did not venture to define any thing dogmatically about it.

This Part of the Apology is true. For whereas there are but two Places in his Works, where he insists purposely on this Præexistence of Christ's Soul: one *contra Cels.* l. 1. the other *mei ἀρχόν* l. 2. c. 6. (in other Places he only touches it by the by) In the first of these he (as soon as he begins to talk of that Matter of the Præexistence of



of Souls, upon which it is that he proceeds to speak of Christ's Soul) Year af-  
admonishes the Reader thus; (b) *I speak this according to the Notion of the A-*  
Pythagoras, Plato, and Empedocles, whom Celsus often quotes. And in <sup>Postles</sup>  
the later of 'em, where he purposely insists on the Article of Christ's  
*Incarnation*, he first confesses it to be a Miracle and Mystery which it  
is beyond the Power of the Apostles, or even of the highest Angels to  
explain. But yet in the next Words ventures on the Explication of it,  
(which he gives to the Purpose aforesaid, of a Soul præexisting and  
united to the λόγος and then incarnated) but premises that he will  
not define rashly [temeritate aliquâ] but propose rather *his own GuesSES*  
[or Imaginations, *Suspiciones nostras*] than any positive Affirmations. He  
do's not say; 'Tis every Whit as clearly reveal'd as any Article of Faith  
whatsoever: Or, *No Christian Doctrin is more clearly deliver'd than is this*  
*of my Discourse.*

These Excuses did alleviate, but not quite take off the Scandal ta-  
ken at this Innovation in the Faith. When a Man in his Station, a  
Presbyter of the Church, do's vent any such odd and singular Phan-  
cy in Religion; tho' he do it with never so much Caution and De-  
claration that he is not positive in it, yet it always do's some Hurt  
because of the Inclination and Itch that People have to catch at a new-  
fangled Opinion: and it cannot be so absurd, but that it will meet  
with some sorts of Men or Women at least, whose Brains stand  
awry in that Particular enough to make 'em embrace it. It is al-  
ways remembered among the Heads of Accusation afterward brought  
against him: and in that solemn and autoritative Denunciation of him  
for a Heretic given out by *Theophilus*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*,  
(c) as the Præexistence of Souls in general makes the first, so this Præ-  
existence of Christ's Soul in particular makes the 6th of the 35 Er-  
rors there imputed to him. And the Patriarch is particularly enra-  
ged at his perverting the Sense of that Text, *Phil. 2. 6, 7. ἕνεκεν ἑαυ-*  
*τοῦ.* by giving a new Interpretation of it adapted to his new Hypothe-  
sis.

I believe *Theophilus* must have taken this from some Book of his not  
now extant: for he never, as I remember, misapplies it so in those  
that are. He often applies that Text, as other Christians do, to  
the λόγος. I will give an Instance in the next Chapter §. 10. And  
so for *John* 1. 10. *Col. 1. 15, 16.* He even in the midst of his Dreams  
did never dream of a Man-Creator.

The Place of *Athanasius*, where he condemns in one Sentence, as I  
said, both this Opinion of the human Soul, and the other of the Flesh,  
of Christ præexisting, is, in his Epistle to *Epiſtetus*. *Ἐικότως καταγνώσκειται*  
*ἐαυτὸν πάντες οἱ νομιζόντες περὶ τῆς Μαρίας εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάρκα, καὶ περὶ ταύτης*  
*ἐργάζεσθαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπινον τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς ἐκπαλαιας αἰεὶ ῥαγε-*  
*νῆσθαι.*

Year after Year. So they will all condemn themselves that think Christ's Flesh was before the Apostles: and that before her God the WORD had a human Soul, in which he was before his coming into the World. God Almighty preserve to us the old Christian Religion, and keep us in the Love of it, and deliver us from all new ones, and from any such hankering after 'em as may argue our being weary of the old. But to return to the Tenets of the *English Antipædobaptists*.

6. Another Opinion which they hold more generally, is the *Millenary Opinion*. They do many of 'em, take that Prophecy, *Rev. 20. 4, 5. of the Souls of them that were beheaded for the Witness of Jesus, &c. and which had not worshipped the Beast, &c. living and reigning with Christ a thousand Years*, in a proper Sense. So as to reckon that the Saints shall rise from the Dead 1000 Years before others shall. And they think that Christ will then come down and be here upon the Earth (tho' that be not said in the Text) for that thousand Years: And then, Satan being let loose to deceive the Nations for some time; the general Resurrection and End of the World will be.

In the reciting and inculcating this Doctrine to other People that are not of their Way, many of 'em are apt, instead of saying the *Saints* shall rise before the *Wicked*, to say *We* shall rise before *You*.

7. Another thing which almost all the Antipædobaptists in England do hold, is, that that Decree of the Apostles at Jerusalem, mention'd *Acts 15. 29. of abstaining from Blood and from things strangled*, does still oblige all Christians. So they will eat of no such things.

In these two last mention'd Opinions they have many of the most ancient Catholic Fathers on their side. And in the later of the two, the *Greek Church* has all along been, and still is (61) of their Opinion. The Council in *Trullo* which is accounted a general one, forbids the making (62) of the Blood of any Animal into a Sauce. And so does one of the Canons call'd *Apostolic* forbid (63) the Eating of Blood, or any thing strangl'd, or torn by Beasts.

8. They do many of 'em (but not all) hold the Opinion which *Calvin* in a Treatise on Purpose (64) confutes as held by the *German Antipædobaptists*, and which by the foregoing Account is said to be still held by the *Minnists of Holland*, from whom our Antipædobaptists must have had it; That the Soul sleeps, or is senseless, from the time of a Man's Death till the Resurrection of his Body.

This Opinion is very wide from that of the Primitive Christians: Yet many of the most ancient of 'em held an Opinion that is middle between this and that which is now commonly held. They held that the Soul at Death goes, not to Heaven (at least none but Martyrs Souls) but to *Hades*: And that after the general Resurrection the Soul and Body

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(61) Sir Paul Ricaut Hist. of Gr. Church, ch. 20. (62) Can. 67. (63) Can. 63.  
(64) Psychopannychia.



Body united again are received to Heaven. That the Souls of the Patriarchs were in *Hades*: And that Christ's Soul went to *Hades*. By *Hades* they mean the general Receptacle, or State, of Souls good and bad till the Resurrection: Save that some few of 'em make *Hades* the Place of the Bad, and *Abraham's Bosom* of the Good: But generally they speak of *Abraham's Bosom* as one part of *Hades*. So that it was counted a Place or State quite different from Heaven and from Hell: As we *English* do commonly now understand the Word *Hell*.

'Tis great Pity that the *English* Translators of the Creed and of the Bible did not keep the Word *Hades* in the Translation, as they have done some original Words which had no *English* Word answering to 'em. By Translating it *Hell*, and the *English* having no other Word for *Gehenna* (which is the Place prepared for the Devil and the Damned) than the same Word *Hell* likewise; it has created a Confusion in the Understanding of *English* Readers. We say, Christ descended into *Hell*. We ought to mean *Hades*: For so 'tis in the Greek, κατέβη εἰς ᾍδην. And so St. Peter, *Acts* 2. 31. His Soul was not left εἰς ᾍδην in *Hades*. But when we read of *Hell*, *Mat.* 5. 20, 22, 29, 30. and such other Places where the original Word is *Gehenna*, we ought to understand the Hell of the Damned. And the Import of these two Words in the Original differs so much, that whereas all Christians ever believed that Christ descended into *Hades*; yet if any had said, he descended into *Gehenna*, he would have been accounted to blaspheme. And yet the *English* expresses both by the same Word.

To give an Account at once of all the Places in the Bible where the Word *Hell* is used: Where we read *Hell* in these Texts following; it is in the original *Gehenna*, or else *Tartarus*; and ought to be understood the Hell of the Damned. *Mat.* 5. 22, 29, 30, *Mat.* 10. 28. *Luke* 12. 5. *Mat.* 18. 8, 9. *Mark* 9. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48. *Mat.* 23. 15, 33. *James* 3. 6. 2 *Peter* 2. 4. But where we read *Hell* or *Grave* in these Texts following, the Word is *Hades*; and ought to be understood only, the State or Receptacle of departed Souls: Or, in some of 'em, no more than in general a State of Dissolution. *Mat.* 21. 23. *Luke* 10. 15. *Mat.* 16. 18. *Luke* 16. 23. *Acts* 2. 27, 31. 1 *Cor.* 15. 55. where 'tis translated *Grave*. *Rev.* 1. 18. *it.* 6. 8. *it.* 20. 13, 14. And in the old Testament, wherever we read *Hell*, it is to be understood *Hades*. *Jacob* and *David*, &c. whenever they speak of their dying, call it their going to *Sheol*, *Hades*. Which Words our *English* Translates some times *Hell*, sometimes *Grave*, &c. And this shews St. *Austin's* Observation to be a Mistake: For he says (65) that *Infernum*, which is the Translation of *Hades* in many Places, is never taken in Scripture in a good Sense, or as the Fate of a good Man.

Year af- 'Tis plain that *Tertullian* took it otherwise by the following Passages, ter the A- beside many other. In his Book *de Animâ* c. 7. he speaks of the diffe- postles rent State of departed Souls, receiving either *Torment in Fire*, or *Com- fort in Abraham's Bosom*, in *carcere seu diversorio inferum*, in the *Prison or Receptacle of Hades*. And in his Book *de Idololat.* c. 13. He speaks of *Lazarus* being *apud inferos in Sinu Abrahæ*. Which translated into *English* in our common Way of speaking would be; in *Hell* in *Abraham's Bosom*. It must be translated *Hades*.

Note that in all the Texts of the *Revelation*, *Death* and *Hades* θά- ντος & ᾠδης are joined together. And that at the general Resurre- ction *Death* and *Hades* deliver up the *Dead* that are in them, viz. to be tried at that great Judgment: And then *Death* and *Hades* are cast into the *Lake*, &c. i. e. there is to be no more *Death* nor *Hades*; but all is to be either *Heaven* or *Hell*, i. e. an *Eternal* and *Unchangable* Estate of *Wo* or of *Bliss*.

67. Beside the Places aforesaid, several, if not all, of the most ancient  
300. Copies of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, had the Word ᾠδης in *Ch.* 2. 24.  
In the A- For where we read; *having loosed the Pains of Death*; for it was not pos-  
postles sible, &c. they for θάνατος read ᾠδης the *Pains of Hades*. So reads *Ire-  
time. naus*, l. 3. c. 12. *St. Austin* *Epist.* 99. and other Places. And *Polycarp*,  
*Epist. ad Philipp.*

Now the Ancients did not think that the State of the Soul in *Hades* was to sleep, or be Senseless. On the contrary our Savior in the Parable, *Luke* 16. 22, 23. represents *Dives* and *Lazarus* both in *Hades* (or one in *Hades* and one in *Abraham's Bosom*, if we take *Abra- ham's Bosom* as out of *Hades*) but a great Way off from one another, in very different States; neither of 'em asleep, but one in *Torment*, the other in *Repose*. And all the Ancients do instance in this Para- ble as a Proof that before the general Judgment there will be a Dif- ference made between the State of Good Men's Souls and those of

100. Wicked Men. *Tertullian* (66) speaks of some who argued that there will be no Judgment before the great One when the Soul and Body shall be joined: And answers them; *Quid ergo fiet in tempore isto & Dormiemus?* &c. 'What then shall we do in the mean time? shall we be 'asleep? Souls don't sleep, not even when they are in the Bodies, &c.  
120. And *Eusebius* (67) tells of some Heterodox People in *Arabia*, who held that the Soul for the present dies together with the Body, and is raised to Life again together with it. He says *Origen* being sent thither presently convinc'd those People.

But as the foresaid Christians of these ancient Times did not think that the Soul sleeps; so neither were they, generally speaking, of the Opinion that the Souls of dying Men go presently to *Heaven* or to *Gehenna*. I shall for Brevity only recite what *Irenæus* says. He had been



been saying (68) that most of the Heretics denied the Resurrection of the Body; but held instead of it, that when they died their Souls should presently fly away up to Heaven: and that some erroneous Catholics held with them in this later Tenet, tho' not in the former. He urges against them the Example of our Savior; *Who, says he, observ'd in himself the Law of dead Persons, and did not presently after his Death go to Heaven, but staid three Days in the Place of the Dead.* 'Tis plain then, by the way, that he took that *Paradise* where the Thief was to be that Day with our Savior, to be not properly Heaven, but a Station in *Hades*. Then a little after he argues thus; *Whenas then our Lord went into the midst of the Shadow of Death, where the Souls of deceased Persons abode; and then afterward rose again in the Body, and was after his Resurrection taken up to Heaven: It is plain that the Souls of his Disciples, for whose Sake the Lord did these Things, shall go likewise to that invisible Place appointed to them by God, and there abide till the Resurrection, waiting for the Time thereof; and afterward receiving their Bodies, and rising again perfectly, i. e. in their Bodies, as our Lord did, shall so come to the Sight of God.* ' For the Disciple is not above his Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master.

As therefore our Master did not presently fly up to Heaven, but waiting till the Time of his Resurrection that was appointed by the Father, which had been foreshewn by Jonas; and rising the third Day was so taken to Heaven: So we must also wait the Time of our Resurrection appointed by God, which is foretold by the Prophets; and so rising again be taken up, so many of us as the Lord shall account worthy.

This, as might be shewn by many more Quotations, was the most general Opinion of those Times. 'Tis true indeed that some Fathers spoke of the Soul as going directly to Heaven: And that this became afterward the prevailing Opinion in the *Western Church*: which is also affirmed in a Homily (69) of the Church of *England*, set forth in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*. So that it seems to have been the general Opinion of the Protestants in *England* at that Time. But before the making of that Homily, several of our first Reformers declar'd against it. As Tyndal in his Answer to Sir Thomas More, and Frith in his Answer to Bishop Fisher. And ever since the making of it, there have been, and still are, some Divines of great Note and Station in that Church who do plainly enough shew their Sentiment to be otherwise.

The Reasons given by the former, viz. Tyndal, Frith, &c. were to this Purpose; That the placing of the Soul in Heaven does destroy the Arguments wherewith Christ and St. Paul do prove the Resurrection of the Body. As when our Savior proves that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob shall rise again in their Bodies; because God, who is

Year af- since their Death call'd in Scripture *their God, is not the God of the*  
 ter the A- *Dead but of the Living, for all live to him*: Whereas if *Abraham's Soul*  
 postles had been then in Heaven, that had been no Proof that his Body must  
 arise; for God then might have been his God tho' his Body had not  
 risen. And St. *Paul* proves to the *Corinthians* the Resurrection, because  
 else the Christians would be of all Men most miserable, as having Hope  
 only in this Life. And he comforts the *Thessalonians* concerning their  
 Friends departed, not by saying that they were gone to Heaven, but  
 that they should rise again at the last Day, and so go to Heaven. That  
 the Opinion of separate Souls going to Heaven was the Invention of  
 the Heathen Philosophers, who knowing nothing of the Resurrection  
 did so false the Hopes of a future State; and that some Christians  
 (the Papiſts, *Tyndal* ſays) had confounded and mixt the Christian and  
 the Heathen Doctrin together. And again, if the Souls be in Heaven,  
*Tell me, ſays Tyndal, Why they be not in as good Caſe as the Angels be:*  
*And then what Cauſe is there of the Reſurrection?* All this while theſe  
 Men would not determin in what State the ſeparate Souls really are:  
 But *Frith* ſays, *I dare be bold to ſay that they are in the Hand of God, and*  
*that God would that we ſhould be ignorant where they be, and not take up-*  
*on us to determin the Matter.* And *Tyndal* ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe,  
 and adds concerning the Souls of good Men; *I believe they are in no*  
*worſe Caſe than Chriſt's Soul was before his Reſurrection.*

To theſe Reaſons the later Divines, of whom I ſpoke, do add; That  
 by the Order of the laſt Judgment, in *Mat. 25.* and the Pleas there  
 uſed, and Sentence there given, it ſhould ſeem that the Souls had not  
 as yet been ſentenc'd and ſent either to Heaven or Hell. *Come ye*  
*Bleſſed, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, &c. Go ye Cursed into e-*  
*verlaſting Fire, &c. For I was a hungry, &c. Lord, when ſaw we thee, &c.*  
 And then afterward; *And theſe ſhall go away into everlaſting Punishment -*  
*And the Righteous into Life eternal,* does not look as if they had been  
 call'd out of Heaven and Hell to receive a Sentence to go to Heaven  
 and Hell; but that they had been till this Time in Expectation of  
 their final Sentence. Tho' the Souls had been (as theſe Men do con-  
 ſtantly hold againſt the Antipædobaptiſts) the bad Ones in ſome De-  
 gree of Torment and Horror, the Good in a quiet Repoſe and hope-  
 ful Expectation, and as the Office of Burial ſays, *in Joy and Felicity.* Or,  
 as the Ancients expreſs it, *in refrigerio.*

To this may be added; That whereas the general Hypotheſis is,  
 that the Souls of the Patriarchs were taken by Chriſt out of *Hades*,  
 and carried up with him into Heaven at his Aſcenſion thither; St.  
*Peter* on the contrary, preaching after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, ſays expreſ-  
 ſly, *Acts 2. 34.* that *David* was not then aſcended to Heaven. The  
 Answer to which (being, I ſuppoſe, that *David* was not aſcended to  
 Heaven in Body, as Chriſt was; but his Soul might be there) ſeems  
 inconſiſtent with St. *Peter's* Reaſoning at that Place. For he is ſhew-  
 ing



ing that that Saying of *David*; *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hades*; Year after the A-  
 could not be understood of *David* himself, who was both dead and ter the A-  
 buried, and his Sepulchre then extant; but that *David* being a Pro- Postles

phet and seeing this before, spoke of the Resurrection of *Christ*, that his Soul was not left in Hades: where St. Peter seems to understand it, that *David's* Soul was in Hades (as well as his Body in the Sepulchre) to that Day. The rest of their Arguments I leave to be seen in their Books.

But as to the Antipædobaptists Opinion of the Sleep of the Soul; a late Writer (70) that lives in a Part of *Kent* that abounds with them, ascribes to some of them an Opinion much worse than the ordinary one of the Sleep of the Soul till the Resurrection. For he says, some of that Sect have been heard to say (and he believes it is the private Tenet of others of 'em) *That Infants dying before actual Sin, their Souls consume with their Bodies: And they die never to be any more. Therefore they forbear the giving of Baptism, as unnecessary for them.* I hope and believe that this can be the Opinion of but very few, and those some ignorant People, among 'em. And I am lately assur'd by a Man of chief Note among 'em, that he never knew any one Man of any sort of 'em that held this. And indeed since our Savior shewed such a Concern and tender Regard for Infants, saying withal, *Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*: And since God and Nature have implanted in the Heart of all pious Parents such an earnest Desire of the eternal Good of their Infants: 'Tis an unnatural Thought, that neither that Concern of our Savior, nor that Desire of godly Parents shall ever have any Satisfaction in the Case of such Infants as die; but that one must despair of 'em, as Persons that will be lost for ever, notwithstanding any Means that can be us'd for their Salvation. P. S. One Party of the Antipædobaptists do deny any Sleep of the Soul. And I have it from good Hands, that they that do now hold it, are but few in comparison, and such as are accounted of the more ignorant Sort.

9. Many of the Antipædobaptists in *England* are said to be against any Singing of Psalms in Divine Worship. I recited before (71) out of *Petrus Cluniacensis* that the *Petrobrusians* held, that 'tis a Mocking of God to sing in the Church. And the *Lyonists* said, it is a hellish Noise. I believe the Disgust taken at that time was against the excessive Regard then given in the Popish Churches to the Sound and Music, which hinder'd the Attention to the Sense of the Prayers. But to condemn all Singing of Praise to God, is a Thing too contrary to the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament. Some of 'em do not dislike Singing in general: but say that the Psalms of *David* are not so proper now, as some that may be compos'd on purpose for the Use of the Christian Church. And some others of 'em are not at all

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against

Year against Singing, any more than other Christians are. And it grows ter the A- of late to be more and more in use with 'em. Tho' many of 'em gossiles formerly have scrupl'd the Use of Psalms, as sung by the whole Congregation jointly; yet of late that Humor is in great Degree worn off: and the Practice of Singing *David's Psalms*, and in the Way that other People do, has generally obtain'd among 'em.

10. The same may be said of the Use of the Lord's Prayer. Many of 'em do out of an odd and unaccountable Humor reject the Use of it. But, tho' this be an Imputation laid by some People on the whole Body of 'em, yet I know that some of 'em, and believe that most of 'em do both use it, and teach their Children to use it. The *Petrobrusians*, as well as all the other Sorts of the *Waldenses*, extolled the Use of it.

11. So for extrem Unction of the Sick, spoken of *James* 5. 14, 15. Mr. *Russen* of *Hyth* in *Kent*, a Place that is full of these People, says (72); *I am sure it is both their Opinion and Practice, as to some, tho' probably all do not use it.* P. S. This I find to be confess'd since by Mr. *Stennet*. But he tells me, it is but rarely practis'd: and that not (as the Papists use it) only or chiefly in Cases desperate; but mostly in Hopes of Recovery, and for that End.

12. Mr. *Russen* mentions also (73) a Way of Marriage us'd among them not according to the Use of the Church of *England*, and so of doubtful Validity in the Law of the Land. And he says, *This was introduc'd to give room for the Jesuits and Romish Priests to take Women: for they being prohibited Marriage, and accounting Marriage one of the seven Sacraments, durst not take a Wife or be married after the Manner of either the Romish or English Church, &c. but would take Women in the Congregation of Anabaptists or Quakers.* But he (tho' writing against them something angrily) confesses, and it is a known Thing, that many of 'em are married at our Churches: but more, he says, in their privat Assemblies. But this all of 'em that I can speak with; deny to be true in Matter of Fact. They are for the most part married in the Church. That Scruple diminishes among 'em.

13. Their Way of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper is in a Posture that shews, outwardly at least, less of Devotion than the Way of most other Christians. They receive it sitting at a common Table, and (as the foresaid Writer expresses it) *with the Hat on, and handing the Elements one to another* (74). P. S. I find since that the *Hat on* is denied: the *Sitting* confess'd.

14. Some of 'em are *Sabbatarians*, i. e. they hold it still necessary, even for the *Gentile* Christians, to keep every *Saturday* as a Sabbath-day. One *Bampfild*, a Man of Note among 'em, formerly wrote a Treatise on that Subject, wherein he has, they say, said more for it than



than one would imagin could be said for so heterodox a Tenet. There are however in the Country few or none of this Opinion: what are, are at *London*. Whether the same Men do keep the Lord's-day too, I know not. Year after the Apostles

15. They differ more among themselves about the Practice of *Confirmation*, or Laying on of Hands after Baptism. Some of 'em do wholly omit and reject the Use of that Ordinance, as being Popish, or having no Foundation in Scripture, or at least not now to be continued. And this it seems was the Way of those Churches or Societies of 'em, that in the Times I spoke of, did first openly set up at *London*. Others of 'em account it a necessary Thing. And some of these latter making it an Order among themselves, as the Church of *England* does, that none shall be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed (the Church of *England* adds, *or be ready and desirous to be confirmed*) there necessarily follows a Breach of Communion between the two Parties. And therefore *Danvers* (76) says, *All those Churches of that Constitution (which require this Ordinance) are founded in Sin and Schism, as well as in great Error and Ignorance.* He says, *It does not appear that any baptized Church or People did ever in any Age or Country own such a Principle or Practice to this Day, except some in this Nation in these late Times.* And gives this Account of the Rise of it; *That about the Year 1646 one Mr. Cornwell, heretofore a public Preacher, then a Minister of a baptized Congregation in Kent, coming into that baptized Congregation meeting in the Spittle, Bishopsgate-street, preach'd that those who were not under Laying on of Hands, were not Babes in Christ, &c. Whereupon several were perswaded, &c. and made a Rent and a Separation: and from that very Schism propagated the same Principle and Practice among many others in the Nation ever since.* But this Account of *Danvers* is lookt on by the moderate Men that are now among 'em, to be no just one. They say, that the most of those that do now use *Confirmation*, admit to the Communion and receive as Brethren, those that scruple the using it: and *à contra*.

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16. As to the Point of *Prædestination*: Those of 'em that are of the *Arminian* Opinion, they call the *General Men*; as holding a general and universal Redemption by Christ: and the *Calvinists* they call the *Particular Men*, as holding a *particular* and absolute Redemption of some particular Persons. I had said in my first Edition that they generally made a different Opinion about this, to be a Bar against Communion one with another. Some of 'em do tell me, that this is not general; but only the Temper of some hot and eager Spirits on both Sides: that the Country where I dwell, is full of such of 'em as are of the least Repute: but that the major Part of their *Elders* or *Rulers* all over *England* do now admit either Sort. I am glad if this

last

Year af- laſt be in fact the truer Account of the Generality of 'em: For (as I ſer the A- ſaid then) if the Church of Chriſt be never to be One, till all Chriſtians do explain themſelves a like in the nice Diſputes that happen in reconciling God's Preſcience and Predeſtination with Man's Free-Will; it will never be One in this World. All Proteſtants that make Diviſions on this Account, ſhould learn Wit from our common Enemies. They, tho' they do in their Books carry this Diſpute to the Height, yet do keep themſelves from Separation for it: in which Practice they are, both in Point of Intereſt and of Duty, certainly in the Right.

The Antipædobaptiſts may be ſure I am not their Enemy, when I note this their Humor of dividing from one another, as an imprudent thing. For as it is the Intereſt of the great Enemy of Mankind that Chriſtians ſhould be divided as much as is poſſible: and of the *Papiſts* that *Proteſtants* ſhould be ſo: So whoever were an Enemy to theſe Men in particular, would wiſh to ſee ten Parties or Diviſions for every one that is among 'em.

17. Many (but it ſeems not all) of the *General Men* are *Pelagians* in the Point of Original Sin. They own nothing of it. The other do: as appears both by the *Confefſion of Faith* (77) of ſeven Churches of 'em, which I mentioned before; and alſo by their preſent Profeſſion. Some of the *General Men* ſay, they wonder how theſe that own Sin in Infants, can be againſt their Baptiſm. The *Pelagians* that owned no Sin in Infants, yet granted the Neceſſity of their Baptiſm to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven: theſe believe they have Sin, yet deny them Baptiſm for the Forgiveneſs of it.

18. *Socinians* they have ſome that creep in among 'em: but I have not heard of any Church or Congregation of 'em that makes Profeſſion of that Doctrin; but on the contrary, that they that profeſs it openly are rejected from their Communion. And as much as I have ſaid againſt their Diviſions, I do not ſee how they that worſhip and believe in Chriſt as God, can join with them that either renounce the Worſhip of him, or believe him to be only a Creature lately made, and even ſtill to be, in the beſt Nature that he has, of finite Worth, Dignity and Capacity.

A late *Confefſion* publiſh'd in the Name of 100 Churches of 'em ſhews thoſe Churches to be Catholic as to the Faith of the Trinity. But yet ſome printed Papers of much the ſame Date with that Confefſion paſſing between ſome of their Congregations, do ſhew that there are great Scandals given or taken, by ſome of 'em againſt others on account of *Socinian* Tenets. There are ſome of theſe Papers ſigned by ſeveral of their Meſſengers, Elders, and Representatives and



and printed 1699. renouncing that Assembly of Antipædobaptists which they call *the General Assembly*, held at *Goswel-street*, London, and perswading others to do the like; saying, that it is to the Reproach of *Jesus Christ* and the Pollution of the Churches to hold Communion with that Assembly: and that it is inconsistent for any who hold the Divinity of our Lord *Jesus Christ* to do so.

Year after the Apostles

But all this is not (as far as I can learn) that they charge the *General Assembly* with *Socinian* Tenets; but only with refusing to turn out some that are accus'd of holding 'em: which Accusations they think to be fully prov'd; but the others, it seems, say they are not.

Since my first Edition there is printed in 1706, a *Socinian* Pamphlet, intitled; *The Unreasonableness of making and imposing Creeds*. It is without a Name; but the Author seems to be an Antipædobaptist, that is angry with two Parties of his Brethren, one called, *The General Assembly*, the other, *The General Association*. Which, as he represents, having been at some Variance, did on June 9. 1704. unite on the following Terms;

First, They set down two Articles of Faith concerning God the Father and our Lord *Jesus Christ*: containing an orthodox Confession of the Trinity, and being much of the same Sense as are the two first of the 39 Articles of the Church of England. [This he calls a Specimen of *modern Creed-making*.]

Then they enact, That if any of their Members shall publish or say any thing contrary to that Faith; He shall be *esteemed disorderly, and dealt with accordingly*. But they add, that if any Member receiving this Faith, shall *reflect* on any Member that does not receive it (provided he do not teach the contrary) He also shall be *esteemed disorderly and dealt with accordingly*.

And on these Terms that the *Assembly* and *Association* do presently meet together as formerly, and unite. And they enact, That all Papers that have been published, relating to any Difference between 'em, be suppressed. I suppose they had in their Eye the Papers that I spoke of.

Upon which this Author observes that *they that have not Throats wide enough to swallow this rough Creed*, must not tell their Reason why. But if they will hold their Tongues and *only think*; they shall have the Favor not to be reflected on. Upon which he falls into a Vein of the vilest Raillery, Burlesque, Buffoonry, and Mockery of the Doctrine of the Trinity, that this impious Age has produc'd. And it has produc'd a great deal: too much in all Conscience to be born with. That *Socinian* Doctrine seems to have infected all its Disciples (this Antipædobaptist as well as the Pædobaptist ones) with such a Degree of Searedness, that they do no longer Discourse in any serious Way; but, as if they were talking of some Play or Jest, make themselves Sport with the awful Mystery of *God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*. And since they cannot argue, would laugh us out of our Faith. One would

Year af- think that if their Consciences urge 'em to argue against the God of  
ter the A- the Christians, they should in a Christian Nation be compelled to do  
postles it with less Effrontery and Impudence.

These Antipædobaptists, as he tells us afterward, met again in 1705. and agreed that none should be a Member of the *General Assembly* (which, it seems, is a Body made up of the *Representatives* of particular Churches) unless he do subscribe the whole of the fore said Draught of 1704. So that no *Socinian* can be chosen a *Representative* [or Proctor] to sit in the *General Assembly*. For which he is very angry with 'em, tho' all the World beside must think it but a necessary Caution.

At last, he tells 'em in a laughing Way, that *to make any Canons without the Queen's Licence, is a Præsumptio*. Which is, I suppose, brought in to insult, and triumph over, the Convocation of the Church of *England*, for its being under such Restraint: whereas these Bodies of Men do in their Assemblies make and publish any Rules that they think needful on any emergent Occasion; and do actually inflict and execute their Church-Censures on such of their Members as do not observe 'em.

19. They are generally much inclin'd to hold public Disputations about Religion before the Multitude. Having plain Places of Scripture to produce concerning Adult Baptism, and several Examples of it; they work much on such of the People as had not minded this before, and had not had a right State of the Question between the Pædobaptists and the Antipædobaptists: wherein the former grant that in a Nation newly converted to Christianity (and such are all the Cases mention'd in the Scripture) the Adult People must be baptiz'd first, before their Infants can be baptized.

Their most eager Disputes are against the *Quakers*. And they have Reason. For since so great a Part of their Zeal is spent in setting the Time and Manner of Baptism-Right, as they judge: and it happens among them (as indeed the like does among all Parties) that there are some that have little Religion beside their Zeal in that Matter: the *Quaker* gives them the foulest Affront possible. He cuts off all their Religion at one Stroak; saying that all Water-Baptism, at what Age soever it be given, is a useless Thing: and perverts all the Places of Scripture where it is spoken of, with some far fetch'd Interpretations: as he does likewise in the Case of the other Sacrament. And tho' among People of Sense that do own the Scripture (as some at least of the *Quakers* do) one would think that this Dispute should quickly be at an End; yet 'tis strange to observe what Numbers there do continue in many Places of *England* of that enthusiastical Sect, that can turn the plainest Places of Scripture into a Riddle.



'Tis a great Discredit to the Climate and Air of England that that Year after the Apostles sort of Distemper of Brain that disposes Men to Quakerism, should be no where so epidemical as there. The same Men in the popish Religion would have been *visionary Saints, Hermits, Carthusians, &c.* In the Indian Religion they would have been *Ghebers* (78), and their Cant now is much like the others *Ghiberish*. In the Mahometan they would have been of those *Dervises* that have Raptures of crying *Allah, Allah*, till their Heads grow giddy and they fall down. If the Sets of Opinions for the late Sects have, as some think, been contriv'd by the Jesuits; that Jesuit that contriv'd this, shew'd so dull a Faculty for the Work, that he might, one would have thought, have despair'd of any Disciples: And yet it is become one of the most spreading in England. A late Author says (79) he has been credibly inform'd, that a St. Omer's Jesuit declar'd that they were 20 Years hammering out the Sect of the Quakers. 'Tis strange they could not forge nor smooth it any handsomer. For as all Poetry, Fiction, or Play, ought to represent, if not true History, yet something that may look, or be conceiv'd, like it; so they that would frame a Religion pretending to be founded on the Scripture, or to be believ'd together with it, should dress it up with Tenets that have some Appearance of Likeness to the Declarations of Scripture; and not make it to renounce such Things as the Scripture does injoin in so plain Words as it does the two Sacraments. But there is a Sort of People that take a malicious Pleasure in trying how broad Affronts the Understandings of some Men will bear.

'Tis the vulgar People among the Quakers that we speak of as thus led by the Nose, and possess'd with this sort of Enthusiasm. Their Leaders and the politic Men among 'em (if they be not of the fore-said Hammerers) seem to have for the Bottom of their Religion, *Deism*; and to think that Reason and human Philosophy is a better Rule for a Man to direct his Conversation by, than any Tradition or reveal'd Doctrin. For what other than such is the Consequent of that Principle; that the *Light within us*, which comes at last to be no other than our own Reason, is better than any *Light without us*, i. e. than any Scripture?

20. The English Antipædobaptists have for their Church-Government, *Elders*, or Presbyters. These have a ruling Power in the Congregations. *Deacons*: These take Care of the Poor. *Teachers*: Any whom the Congregation approves of for that Purpose, as fit to teach: So of these they have abundance. Yet those Congregations of 'em that are accounted the most regular, do not appoint or suffer any (that are not yet ordained Elders) to preach publicly, but only in a probational Way, in order to be ordained if they continue to be approved: except

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(78) See Mr. Thevenot's Travels into Persia. (79) Foxes and Firebr. Pt. 1. pag. 4.

Year after the Apostles on some Case of Necessity, as in the Want of Elders, &c. They have some whom they call *Messengers*, which is the *English* Word for *Apostles*. And there are of these two sorts. Some are such of their *Presbyters* as being found of the best Ability, Judgment, &c. are appointed (beside the Care of their own Congregation) to go sometimes about a certain District, Diocese, or Province. And when any of these comes to preach in any other Man's Congregation, or to be present at any Meeting of their Churches; he is received and heard with greater Respect than ordinary, and his Authority more regarded than of ordinary *Presbyters*. But for direct and proper Jurisdiction over other *Presbyters* or People, he has none: nor any Power of *Ruling* but in his own Congregation. The other sort is of such as are nothing else but *Messengers* in the ordinary Sense of the *English* Word: viz. Men appointed as *Messengers* to carry the Sense and Opinion of some Congregations to other Congregations at a Distance.

They have some, whom they call *Representatives*: i. e. Men chosen and delegated by the particular Churches that they have all over *England*, to meet at *London* every *Whitsontide*, to consider of the common Affairs of their Religion. This Meeting of *Representatives*, is, as I take it, that which is called the *General Assembly*; something resembling our Lower House of Convocation. The Place is in *Gosmet-street, London*. But one Congregation does sometimes send 2 or 3 *Representatives*.

All these are chosen with the Approbation of the People: only the People themselves are in their Approbation much swayed by the Advice of their *Messengers, Elders*, &c. and by the Opinion which they give concerning the Fitness of any one. And then they are ordained by the Laying on of an Elder's Hands.

They do, in the Disputes which they hold with People of the Church of *England*, frequently urge, that this their Way, viz. for the People to have their Suffrage in the Choice of Church-Officers, is the most regular Way: as being that which was us'd by the Primitive Christians. Which is a Piece of History that cannot fairly be denied. It was certainly the Primitive Way for the Bishop to choose the *Presbyters* with the Approbation of the People: and for the *Presbyters* and People together, being for the most part assisted by some neighbouring Bishops, to choose a new Bishop in the Room of one that died. This continued for many hundred Years: and those Christians that have gone about to mend this Way, have made it much worse.

But the Antipædobaptists have upon the whole no Reason to boast of the Regularity of their Management in this Matter. For whereas the Primitive Practice was, as I said, for the Bishop to choose the *Presbyters* with the Approbation of the People; The Antipædobaptists, as they have preserved and increased the Privilege of the People have quite shut out the Office of a Bishop (for by the foregoing Account

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the Messenger has not any of the Power of a Bishop) which of the Year at two is the more necessary. For the Multitude partly for Want of the A. Judgment concerning the Fitness of any one, and partly by their Inclination to Faction and Party, and being (a) *puffed up for one against another*, are found by woful Experience, in all Churches where that Way is used, to be wretched Choosers for themselves. The Original and Primitive Pattern is the best.

21. They have this Way of adjusting Differences that arise among themselves on Account of Trespasses, Dues, or other Money Matters: which I recite as being worthy of Imitation. If any one of 'em does wrong to another, or refuses to do, or to pay, what is equitable in any Case: if he will not be brought to Reason by a private Arguing of the Matter, nor by the Verdict of two or three Neighbours added; the Plaintiff brings the Case before the Congregation when they with their Elder are assembled in the Nature of a Vestry. And in difficult Cases there lies an Appeal from a particular Congregation to some fuller Meeting of their Church under a *Messenger*. And he of the two, that will not stand to the ultimate Determination of the Assembly by their Usage appointed, is no longer acknowledg'd by the rest as a Brother.

As this is very much according to our Savior's (80) and St. Paul's (81) Direction in such Cases; so I have been told that it has the good Effect to prevent abundance of Law-Suits, and end many Quarrels: very few of 'em offering to withstand the general Verdict and Opinion of all their Brethren. And there is no Reason to doubt but that a like Course would, if it were put in Practice, have a like good effect among other Societies of Christians.

22. The like Discipline (of renouncing Brotherhood) they use against such of their Communion as are known to be guilty of any such Immorality as is a Scandal to the Christian Profession of a sober and godly Life: for which Care of their Members there is no Man but will commend 'em. And therefore I do not mention the ordering of this as particular in them: All Churches by their Constitution do order the same thing to be done. But the Administration or putting in Execution of this Order is in some Churches very slack and negligent; and in some, very much perverted by corrupt Officers of the Courts. The Bishops visiting of every Parish in particular (which when it began first to be omitted by some Bishops, was so earnestly injoin'd by (82) Canons) is now almost antiquated and forgotten. And there is many times a very huddling Work made of a Visitation.

So

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(a) 1 Cor. 4. 6. (80) Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17. (81) 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, &c. (82) See Bouchelli Decreta Eccl. Gal. l. 5. Tit. 15. c. 2, 5, 9, &c. It. Bp. *Stillingsfleet's* Charge at his primary Visitation. pag. 54, &c.

Year af- So far as this Disciplin is omitted or perverted in any Church; so  
 ver the A- far is that Church fallen into a very dangerous Decay. Among all  
 postles the Exceptions made by the several sorts of Dissenters against the  
 Church of *England*, there is none nigh so material as this: nor is  
 there any Neglect, the amending whereof would, beside the stopping  
 of the Mouths of Gainfayers, produce a greater spiritual Advantage  
 to their People. In the mean time the Dissenters ought to consider  
 and allow these things following.

1. That this is much more difficult in a national Church than in  
 one of their Societies. For none side with them but what do it out  
 of some Zeal: whether it be a true and godly Zeal, or an ignorant and  
 factious one; still it is Zeal, and may be made Use of to a vigorous  
 Execution of the Orders past among 'em. But there is in all Nations,  
 besides the zealous Men, a sort of *flying Squadron* that have really no  
 Concern at all for any Religion, but being perfectly indifferent, do of  
 Course fall in with the national Church, as being the most fashionable  
 at that time. These, wherever they light, are a great Hindrance to  
 the due Execution of any Canons for Disciplin. They are either by  
 their Riches and Power too big, or else by their Number too many for  
 the Force of the Law. The Dissenters, notwithstanding the Boasts of  
 their Exactness of Disciplin, would find themselves embaras'd, if this  
 were their Case.

2. That tho' the Scripture does command Churches to excommu-  
 nicate wicked Men, yet it does not allow private Men to make Sepa-  
 rations from a Church that does not duly practise that Command. Let  
 a Man but take Care that he do not deserve by his own Wickedness to  
 be turn'd out of the Church: and if others who do deserve it, be not  
 upon a Motion made, turn'd out; that is not his Fault, nor will be  
 imputed to him. The Church of *Corinth* was faulty in this, when St.  
*Paul* wrote his first Epistle to 'em: and tho' he does there (84) re-  
 prove 'em for this Fault; yet at the time of his 2d. Epistle there  
 were still many wicked Men (85) whom they had not yet turn'd out;  
 and yet in both his Epistles (86) he charges that none go about to  
 make any Division. And from that time to this time there has been  
 no Church free from these *Spots in the Feasts of Charity*. It is indeed  
 impossible for any Church, while it is in this World, absolutely to  
 free it self. In the mean time private Christians are advis'd to with-  
 draw their Familiarity (87) and Conversation from those that they  
 know to be such. And so far every private Man has the Power of  
 Excommunication in his own Breast.

3. That whereas there are but four sorts of Men whom the Scripture  
 does command to be excommunicated. 1. Idolaters (88), Unbelie-  
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(84) 1 Cor. 5. 2. (85) 2 Cor. 12. 20, 21. (86) 1 Cor. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 11, 12.  
 (87) 1 Cor. 5. 11. (88) 2 Cor. 6. 16, 17.



vers (89), Teachers of false Doctrin in the Fundamentals (90) of the Faith. 2. Men of vicious and immoral Lives (91). 3. Such as in Points of Trespases or Differences between Man and Man, will not hear the (92) Church. And 4ly, Those that make Divisions in or from a Church. The Dissenters and dividing Parties should, amidst all the Zeal that they shew for executing the Law upon the three first sorts, remember that the Law is as full, as plain, as peremptory against the fourth sort as against any of the other. For there is not a Text in all the Scripture that is plainer against any Sin, or that does more expressly command any sort of Sinners to be excommunicated, than is that of St. Paul, *Rom. 16. 17. Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark those which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrin which you have learned, and avoid 'em.* Therefore he that thinks Adultery to be a Sin, and Drunkenness to be a Sin, &c. and Schism to be none; or that a Man is to be avoided or excommunicated for the one, but not for the other; is one that does not take Christ's Commands as they lie in Scripture; but picks out some that he will observe, and others that he will slight, according as they please or displease his Humor. The Word of God is, that every one should avoid, or separate from him, that goes about to make a Separation. The Dissenters, if they apply this, will be inclin'd to a little more Moderation and Charity in the Censures that they pass upon National Churches, for their Want of so severe a Disciplin as they call for.

23. The *English* Antipædobaptists have, as the other separating Parties in *England* have, some *Jesuits* that in Disguise do ever now and then strive to insinuate and get in among 'em. This Society did at first exert the chief of their Strength, and employ the ablest Men they had, in writing Books of Controversie against the Protestants: and they had the Repute of having puzzl'd the Cause better than any other Popish Writers had. This Way, however unfairly manag'd by them, had yet this Commendation; that it was *fighting in open Field*. But having been there repuls'd with some Loss, 'tis now a long time since, that they have wholly taken to that Way which Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, 30 Years ago, (93) call'd their *present Way of pickeering and lying under Hedges*. They will turn themselves into any Shape, pretend to be of any Religion, put on the Disguise of Trades-Men, Handycrafts-Men, Soldiers, Physicians, &c. to get an Opportunity either of making Profelytes to the Church of *Rome*, or of promoting Divisions among Protestants. But there is no Employment they love so well, as that of a Preacher in any of the separate Congregations. They can act this Part notably. They stick not in their Sermons to rail as fiercely as any against the Pope of *Rome*, so that they may use the Credit,

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(89) 2 Cor 14, 15. (90) 2 Tim. 2. 16, 17, 18. (91) 1 Cor. 5. 7, 12. (92) Mat. 18. 17. (93) Idolatry of Church of *Rome*, Preface.

Year after Year Credit, which they thereby get with the deluded People, to engage 'em deeper in Principles of Separation from the establish'd Church of the Countries where they live. Sometimes they have been detected in their Life-times: and sometimes the Cheat has not appear'd till a good while after.

The Author of a Book call'd *Foxes and Firebrands* has collected out of Histories, Records, Letters, &c. abundance of Instances wherein they have been found instilling or inflaming Principles of Separation among all the Sects or divided Parties in *England*, and *Scotland*, ever since the Reformation. And out of him the Author of a Book call'd, *The Picture of the Anabaptists*, has recited such, wherein they have been concerned with the Antipædobaptists. I shall not here repeat 'em.

One Instance which shews how long it is sometimes before the Intrigue is discover'd, is this; In the former Years of Queen *Elizabeth's* time; there were a sort of People call'd *Puritans*, that express'd some Dislike at some Orders or Ceremonies of the Church of *England*: but yet did not proceed to Separation, but on the contrary declar'd an Abhorrence of it. But about the Year 1567. there succeeded them (as *Fuller* relating the Matter (94) expresses it) another Generation of active and zealous Nonconformists. Of these *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, and *Benson* were the chief: inveighing against the establish'd Church Discipline: accounting every thing from *Rome* which was not from *Geneva*: endeavoring in all things to conform the Government of the English Church to the Presbyterian Reformation.

*Cambden* (a) and *Heylin* (b) do mention the same Men with the same Character: as opposing the Discipline, Liturgy, calling of our Bishops as approaching too near to the Church of *Rome*, &c.

Now neither *Cambden*, *Heylin*, nor *Fuller*, who recite the Names of these Men, ever knew any thing to the contrary, but that they were really such as they pretended, viz. Protestants puritanically inclin'd: much less did the People that were led into Separation by 'em, know any thing.

But a hundred Years after the time that these Men and their first Associates must have been dead, viz. about 20 Years ago, it was discover'd that three of the four viz. *Hallingham*, *Coleman* and *Benson* were Jesuits; And that, by the Sagacity of Bishop *Stillingfleet* (95) comparing the Histories of those times with some Jesuits Letters intercepted about the same time.

The chief Letter to this Purpose is recited by the foresaid Author of (96) *Foxes and Firebrands*, and averr'd by him to be a true Copy taken out of the Registry of the Episcopal See of *Rochester* in that Book

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(94) Church Hist. lib. 9. (a) Annal. Elizab. ad Ann. 1568. (b) Hist. of Presby. ter. l. 6. p. 257. (95) Unreasonab. of Separation. Preface. (96) Pt. I. pag. 15.



Book which begins Anno 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. and is continued to 15. Eliz. Year after the Apostles 1458.

What he recites from that Book is to this Purpose. In the Year 1568 one *Heth* went about the lower Parts of *Kent*, preaching up Division and a purer Reformation: He came to *Rocheſter*, and they, not knowing what ſeditious Doctrins he had preach'd in the Country Places, admitted him to preach in the Cathedral. The next Day there was found in the Pulpit a Letter that had dropt from him, written to him from one *Malt*, a Jeſuit, at *Madrid* (which is there recited at large) applauding the Courſe he took, and advertiſing him of the Succeſs of ſome others ſent on the like Errand: and adding theſe Words; *Hallingham, Coleman, and Benſon have ſet a Faction among the German Heretics, ſo that ſeveral who have turned from us, have now denied their Baptiſm.* This and other Evidences being brought, he was convicted in the Biſhop's Court at *Rocheſter* to be a Jeſuit, and could not any longer deny it. In his Boots were found his Beads, and a Pope's Bull for the Jeſuits to preach what Doctrin they pleas'd for dividing of Proteſtants, particularly naming the *Engliſh*. And in his Trunk were ſeveral Books for denying Baptiſm to Infants.

The Author of this Recital makes no uſe of this Paſſage of the Letter about *Hallingham, Coleman and Benſon*. But Biſhop *Stillinglee* ſhews that they muſt have been the ſame Men mentioned by the foreſaid Hiſtorians: and that by *German Heretics* are meant any Proteſtants; that Religion being then call'd the *German Herieſie*.

The Book from whence this is quoted muſt probably have been then in the Registry, becauſe the ſaid Author (who was accounted a Man of Credit) would not elſe ſo poſitively have referred to it. But I underſtand by Inquiry that it is not now there. By what Intereſt it can have been taken away ſince that Time, (which was about 30 Years ago) is hard to gueſs. But however, it ſeems that Mr. *Ruſſen* who ſays (97) at preſent; *If they look upon this Story as untrue, let them ſearch the Register, &c. where they ſhall find to their Ignominy the Verity thereof,* is miſtaken. P. S. Since the Writing of this, I underſtand that there is good Proof that it was ſtolen away in the late K. *Jame's* Time.

I ſhall mention but one Caſe more; and that is one which is not taken Notice of by the foreſaid Collectors. All that I underſtand of it is from a Pamphlet printed by one *Everard* in the Year 1664. By which it appears that he in *Cromwell's* Time had been a Captain of Horſe, and a noted Preacher againſt Infant Baptiſm. He ſpeaks as if he had had a great many Converts. This Time at which he printed his Pamphlet was a Time in which it was impoſſible for him to carry on that Trade in a Diſguiſe any longer. So he faces about, and

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Year af- endeavours to decoy 'em over with him to the Church of *Rome*. To  
 ter the A- this purpose he pretends that it had pleas'd God to bring him to an  
 postles Opportunity of discoursing concerning Religion with a very grave  
 and judicious Gentleman, who *examining every Thing from the Bottom,*  
*and laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, &c. ask'd him in the first place,*  
*whether he was sure and certain, that the Christian Religion in general was*  
*more true than the Religion of the Turks, Jews, &c.* In short, this Man  
 had by degrees made him see that there is no firm Relyance for one's  
 Faith either on the Scripture, or on the Direction of the Spirit, or  
 on Reason; but only on the Authority of the Catholic Church, by  
 which he all along means the Church of *Rome*. So he gives to his  
 Pamphlet this Title; *An Epistle to the several Congregations of the Non-*  
*conformists.* By Capt. Robert Everard, now by God's Grace a Member  
 of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ: shewing the Reasons of his Conver-  
 sion and Submission to the said Catholic Church, printed 1664.

But the Reasons therein given are so exactly the same with the ordi-  
 nary Sophisms which the *Jesuits* commonly use to amaze and con-  
 found the Minds of ignorant People, and the Writer of 'em sets 'em  
 forth with so much of the same sort of Art; that he that reads the  
 Book will easily discern that *Everard* was not now converted, but was  
 a Papist before.

We must think that the Instances of this Nature that have been dis-  
 cover'd, are probably but few in comparison with those that never  
 have been so. We oftner find where these Men have been, than where  
 they are: and it were happy for *England* if they had some Mark,  
 whereby they might be known.

There is one Tenet of the Antipædobaptists in which the *Jesuits*  
 concur with 'em, not only when they are in this Disguise, but also in  
 their late Books to which they set their Names: That is, *that Infant*  
*Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scripture.* The old Books of the Papists,  
 and even of some *Jesuits* do, as well as the Books of Protestants, prove  
 it by Arguments from Scripture, as Archbishop *Land* and *Vossius* have  
 largely shewn. But the late *Jesuits* have given a politic Turn to that  
 Point of the *Romish* Doctrin: and say, that it can be prov'd only by  
 the Custom and Tradition of the Church. They serve two Designs  
 by this Device. One is to puzzle the Protestants in general, who  
 maintain that the Scripture is a sufficient Rule. The other is to en-  
 courage the Antipædobaptists, that are among the Protestants, in their  
 Opinion and Separation. To which Purpose they do in their Books  
 furnish 'em with Answers to all the Arguments brought from Scrip-  
 ture.

Col. *Danvers* says (98), *A great Papist lately in London, going to a*  
*Dispute about Infant Baptism, told his Friend, " He was going to hear*  
*" a Miracle, viz. Infant Baptism prov'd by Scripture. And*



And one *E. P.* an Antipædobaptist Preacher, formerly of *Deptford*, Year after the Ap-  
 now I think about *Dover* in *Kent*, in a Pamphlet which he in-  
 titles, *A Three-penny Answer*, &c. has this Remark (99), *A Popish*  
*Priest confess to a Minister of the baptized way*, that "there is no Scri-  
 "pture for baptizing Infants: but yet it ought to be done, because the  
 "Church has commanded it. *This was a true and ingenuous Confession.*  
 There is no doubt but this Priest would, if Mr. P. had given leave,  
 have preach'd the same in his Congregation. And if he might have  
 preach'd in a Vizor, would have said it ought not to be done at all.

But I don't so much wonder at these Two, as I do at Mr. *Stennet*,  
 who in his late *Answer to Mr. Ruffen* has thought fit to strengthen  
 his Cause not only by quoting Cardinal *Perron*, *Fisher* the Jesuit, &c.  
 but has spent eleven whole Pages in giving us an Harrangue of Mr.  
*Bossuet*, a late Popish Author, written in Favor of the Antipædoba-  
 ptists. Is it News to Mr. *Stennet* too, that the Papists for these 80  
 Years past do this against their own Conscience, and out of a Design  
 against the Protestants in general? If it be, let him consult and com-  
 pare the popish Writers; and he will find that before that Time they  
 do themselves all of 'em prove Infant Baptism by Scripture, and that  
 'tis only the later ones that have alter'd their Tale. There seems to  
 have been about that Time a Consult of the *Jesuits*, wherein it was re-  
 solv'd to give this Cue to the Writers of their Side. Cardinal *Per-*  
*rain* began this Course: and the learned *Rivet* even then finelt the De-  
 sign, and gave the World notice of it, as I shewed CH. II. §. 9.  
 Yet even still the Papists carry it on in new Writings every Day:  
 and it takes, it seems (not only as *Saffold's* Bills do with the new  
 Folks that come to Town every Year, but) even with some of the  
 wiser sort. If the Discourse that he recites so at length, had any  
 thing of new Argument in it; it might be us'd, come it from whom  
 it would. But there is nothing of that, but what is common, and  
 even trivial, and has been answer'd 100 Times. It affirms that In-  
 fant Baptism depends *solely* on the Tradition of the Church: but  
 this is said Dictator like.

And for the complying Answer that is there given and fills four  
 or five Pages more; which was written it seems by Mr. *de la Roque*:  
 I thought at first it had been a Sham; it looks as if the Author him-  
 self, or some other Papist or Antipædobaptist, had framed an An-  
 swer under the Name of a Protestant, such as they would have. But  
 Mr. *de la Roque* was it seems a learned Man in other Points, and has  
 well refuted the Main of his Adversaries Book: which is of Com-  
 munion in one kind: but having occasion to speak of this Matter on-  
 ly by the By, and having not studied it, but depending on *Grotius*,  
 and having not well minded what *Grotius* says neither, he has yeilded

Year after the Apostles even more than his Opponent pretended to. The Opponent had said that Infant Baptism depends *solely on the Tradition of the Church*. The Answerer throws away even this Grant : and says, *The primitive Church did not baptize Infants*, p. 188. and proves it by nothing but an Allegation that is quite mistaken in matter of Fact. He says, *the learned Grotius proves it in his Annotations on the Gospel*. Let any one read the Annotations, and he will see that *Grotius* (how much soever he acts the Prevaricator at that Place) so far from proving, does not pretend that there ever was a Time in which the Church *did not baptize Infants* : but only *Libertatem & consuetudinis differentiam* : 'The Liberty and Difference of the Custom ; viz. that some in the Church did, and some did not. And how groundless his Pretence even of that is, I have endeavor'd to shew at the foresaid CH. II. §. 9.

One would think that even the weakest among the Antipædobaptists should apprehend, that this new Favor and loving Kindness which the Priests and Jesuits shew to their Side, is all of the same Stamp and Design, as was that which the late King *James*, by Counsel of the same Men, shew'd to the Dissenters in general, viz. that by furthering the Division they might weaken us all. And as all the honest Men among the Dissenters then did scorn and refuse those Favors, when they saw whither they tended : so ought the Antipædobaptists in this Case. But if they will not be dissuaded from tampering with the deceitful Gifts of the Enemy ; then their best way is, to do as some have done before 'em, viz. to borrow the Arguments of the Jesuits without saying where they have 'em. For People will be never the more persuaded that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scripture, because a Papist says so.

The *English* Antipædobaptists are as careful as Men in their Circumstances can well be, against this Intrusion of Papists in Disguise ; by requiring an Account of any new Preacher coming to 'em : but it is a thing that can hardly be ever totally prevented without a Draught of Articles of Religion, to which every Preacher should subscribe.

§. 7. Of the Antipædobaptists in *Poland* I have not much to say ; save that they were formerly there in great Numbers. *Lalins Socinus* about the Year 1550, and after him, his Nephew *Faustus*, broached there a most desperate Opinion against the Divinity of our Savior Christ (1) ; *Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen*. Some Heretics of old (but yet none within 1000 Years of that Time) had held that *Jesus* was a mere Man : And that the WORD or *Logos* did only come upon him, or inhabit in him. But these Men taught, that even the WORD himself, of whom *St. John* speaks, was a Creature. Which was a Heresie perfectly new, and surpassing in Impiety almost all that ever were.

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(1) Rom. 9. 5.



were. So they renounced the Doctrin of the Trinity. The Form of Words by which Christians are baptized, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit*, stood in their Way. Socinus therefore express'd a very slighting Opinion of all Water Baptism. He would have it be accounted needless in a Nation that is settled in the Profession of Christianity. He said (2), The Apostles practis'd it; but they had no Command so to do: And so other Christians might use it, as an indifferent Thing. That they may baptize, if they will; or let it alone, if they will. And if they will give Baptism; they may give it in Infancy, or in adult Age: 'Tis much what one. His Followers, many of 'em, took him at this last Proposal. They would baptize, but not in Infancy.

There were also some other Antipædobaptists that were not Socinians. But they were so generally mixt, that the ordinary Name given to all Socinians was *Anabaptists*. About the Year 1650 they were by public Edicts expelled that Kingdom: As the Protestants in general have since been. 1550.

And the same may be said of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and some other Countries thereabouts. There were for about 100 Years many Antipædobaptists mixt with the Protestants in those Countries. But both one and the other have since been by popish Persecutions either perverted, or forced to seek new Seats.

In *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, but especially the later, there are said to be still considerable Numbers of 'em. Some Towns and Villages consisting mostly of these Men. But 'tis said withal (3), that they are mostly Socinians. There were in *Transylvania* so long ago as the Time of the later Socinus beforementioned, viz. *Faustus Socinus*, some of these that were deeper in that Heresie, if possible, than he himself was. They held, as he (4) tells us, *The Doctrins of the TRINITY and of INFANT BAPTISM to be the chief Errors of other Churches. So that if any one would renounce these two, and would firmly hold, that all that have been baptiz'd in Infancy, must be baptiz'd when they are grown up; they would own such an one for a Brother in Point of Doctrin, &c. tho' he differ'd in some other Things.*

This is a gracious Condescension. But yet I question whether, as the Case stands, it will induce many to accept of the Proposal: Because all People thereabouts know, that by complying but a very little farther they may be admitted for true *Musselmens*; and allow'd to wear white Turbants in the City of *Stambol*: An Honor which these Gentlemen seem very ambitious of. But as for those that desire to keep the Name of Christians, God preserve 'em from the Folly of buying the Brotherhood of these Men at so dear a rate as the renouncing of their God.

C H A P.

(2) Disp. de baptismo. Epist. de baptismo ad virum nobilem. Epist. altera de bapt.

(3) Osiander. Appendix Hist. (4) Epist. de bapt. ad virum nobilem.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the most ancient Rites of Baptism.*

§. 1. **T**HE Rites and Circumstances attending Baptism have been largely handled by *Josephus Vicecomes*. I shall only briefly mention some of the most ancient.

It was the Custom of every Church of Christians to require adult Persons that were to be baptiz'd, to spend some Time in Prayer and Fasting before their Entrance into that holy Covenant: that they might come with greater Seriousness and Stedfastness of Resolution to the Sacrament thereof. And the Church did use to fast and pray with them and for them.

40. This Fasting tho' it be no where mention'd in Scripture, yet is expressly put among the Customs of the Christians by *Justin Martyr* (who must have been born in the Scripture Times) in that *Apology* which he makes to the Heathen Emperors concerning the Tenets and Practices of the Christians. The Place I recited before (1).

100. And so it is also by *Tertullian* (2). They, says he, that come to Baptism, must use the Devotions of frequent Prayers, Fastings, Kneelings, and Watchings, and the Confession of all their past Sins; that they may at least do as much as was done in *John's Baptism*. 'They were baptiz'd,' 'tis said, confessing their Sins.

I said before (3), that 'tis probable that this was none of the least Reasons for keeping the *Lent* Fast; because the Baptism of so many People was to be at *Easter*. The Council of *Laodicea* do order (4), That none be admitted to Baptism that *Easter*, that does not give in his Name before a Fortnight of Lent be out. And that they must all be able to say the Creed by Thursday before *Easter*. And that if any be baptiz'd in Sicknes: When they recover, they must learn and recite it.

§. 2. Their general and ordinary Way was to baptize by Immersion, or dipping the Person, whether it were an Infant or grown Man or Woman, into the Water. This is so plain and clear by an infinite Number of Passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak Endeavors of such Pædobaptists as would maintain the Negative of it; so also we ought to disown and shew a Dislike of the profane Scoffs which some People give to the *English* Antipædobaptists merely for their use of dipping. 'Tis one thing to maintain that that Circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the Essence of Baptism: And another, to go about  
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(1) Pt. I. CH. II. §. 3. (2) Lib. de baptismo, c. 20. (3) Pt. I CH. XVII. §. 5.  
(4) Can. 45, 46, 47.



to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent; when it was in all Probability the Way by which our blessed Savior, and for certain was the most usual and ordinary Way by which the ancient Christians, did receive their Baptism. I shall not stay to produce the particular Proofs of this. Many of the Quotations which I brought for other Purposes, and shall bring, do evince it. 'Tis a great Want of Prudence, as well as of Honesty, to refuse to grant to an Adversary what is certainly true, and may be proved so. It creates a Jealousie of all the rest that one says.

Before the Christian Religion was so far encourag'd as to have Churches built for its Service, they baptiz'd in any River, Pond, &c. So *Tertullian* says (5); *It is all one whether one be wash'd in the Sea, or in a Pond, in a Fountain or in a River, in a standing or in a running Water: Nor is there any Difference between those that John baptiz'd in Jordan, and those that Peter baptiz'd in the River Tiber.* But when they came to have Churches; one Part of the Church, or Place nigh the Church, called the *Baptistery*, was imploy'd to this Use; and had a Cistern, Font, or Pond large enough for several at once to go into the Water: divided into two Parts by a Partition, one for the Men and the other for the Women for the ordinary Baptisms.

On the other side, the Antipædobaptists will be as unfair in their Turn, if they do not grant that in the Case of Sickness, Weakness, Hast, Want of Quantity of Water, or such like extraordinary Occasions, Baptism by Affusion of Water on the Face was by the Ancients counted sufficient Baptism. I shall out of the many Proofs for it produce two or three of the most Ancient.

*Anno Dom. 251.* *Novatian* was by one Party of the Clergy and People of *Rome* chosen Bishop of that Church, in a schismatical Way, and in Opposition to *Cornelius* who had been before chosen by the major Part and was already ordain'd. *Cornelius* does in a Letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch* vindicate his Right: and shews (6) that *Novatian* came not canonically to his Orders of Priesthood; much less was he capable of being chosen Bishop: For that all the Clergy, and a great many of the Laity, were against his being ordain'd Presbyter, because it was not lawful (they said) for any one that had been baptiz'd in his Bed in time of Sickness [*τὸν ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσου πειχθέντα*] as he had been, to be admitted to any Office of the Clergy.

This shews that at the Time when *Novatian* turn'd Christian, which could not by this Account be much above 100 Years after the Apostles, it was the Custom for any one that in Time of Sickness desir'd Baptism, to have it administred to him in his Bed by Affusion: As in another Part of this Letter is said of him; *ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ κλίνῃ ἣ ἔκειτο πειχθείς.* Baptiz'd by Affusion in the Bed as he lay. 'Tis true, the Christians

(5) De baptismo, c. 4. (6) Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 43.

Year after the Apostles had then a Rule among themselves, that such an one, if he recovered, should never be prefer'd to any Office in the Church. Which Rule they made, not that they thought that Manner of Baptism to be less effectual than the other; but for the Reason express'd by the Council of *Neocæsarea* held about 80 Years after this Time: The 12th Canon whereof is; *He that is baptiz'd when he is sick, ought not to be made a Priest (for his coming to the Faith is not voluntary, but from Necessity) unless his Diligence and Faith do afterward prove commendable, or the Scarcity of Men fit for the Office do require it.*

155. Another Instance about the same Time, is this; One *Magnus*, a Country Man, writes (7) to *St. Cyprian*, desiring to be satisfied in some Points relating to the Schism of the *Novatians*. One was: Whether those that were baptiz'd in that Schism must be baptiz'd again if they come over from the Schism to the Church? This, *St. Cyprian* answers, must be; because all Baptism given by such as are in a State of Division from the Church, is void. The other was; Whether they that in the Communion of the Church are baptiz'd in Bed, as *Novatian* was, must likewise be baptiz'd again, if they recover? To this *St. Cyprian* answers as follows;

*You inquire also, dear Son, what I think of such as obtain the Grace in time of their Sickness and Infirmary; whether they are to be accounted lawful Christians: Because they are not wash'd all over with the Water of Salvation; but have only some of it pour'd on 'em. In which Matter I would use so much Modesty and Humility, as not to prescribe so positively but that every one should have the Freedom of his own Thought, and do as he thinks best: I do according to the best of my mean Capacity judge thus; That the Divine Favors are not maimed or weakned, so as that any Thing less than the whole of 'em is convey'd, where the Benefit of 'em is received with a full and compleat Faith both of the Giver and Receiver.*

For the Contagion of Sin is not in the Sacrament of Salvation washed off by the same Measures that the Dirt of the Skin and of the Body is washed off, in an ordinary and secular Bath: So as that there should be any Necessity of Soap and other Helps, and a large Pool or Fish-pond by which the Body is washed or cleansed. It is in another way that the Breast of a Believer is washed; after another Fashion that the Mind of a Man is by Faith cleansed. In the Sacraments of Salvation, when Necessity compels, the shortest Ways of transacting Divine Matters do by God's gracious Dispensation confer the whole Benefit.

And no Man need therefore think otherwise, because these sick People, when they receive the Grace of our Lord, have nothing but an Affusion or Sprinkling: Whereas the Holy Scripture by the Prophet *Ezekiel* says (8); 'I will sprinkle clean Water upon you, and you shall be clean, &c.

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He quotes to the same Purpose, *Numb. 19. 13. it. 8. 7, &c.* And having applied them, says a little after ; *If any one think that they obtain no Benefit, as having only an Affusion of the Water of Salvation ; don't let him mistake so far, as that the Parties if they recover of their Sickness, should be baptiz'd again. And if they must not be baptiz'd again, that have already been sanctified with the Baptism of the Church ; Why should they have Cause of Scandal given 'em concerning their Religion and the Pardon of our Lord ? What ! shall we think that they have granted to 'em the Grace of our Lord, but in a weaker or less Measure of the Divine and Holy Spirit : So as to be accounted Christians, but yet not in equal State with others ? No : The Holy Spirit is not given by several Measures, but is wholly poured on them that believe, &c.* Year after the Apostles

And having, in order to set forth this Equality, alluded to what is said, *Exod. 16. 18.* of every Man's having an equal Omer of *Manna*, he adds ; *By which it was signified that the Mercy and heavenly Grace of Christ which was to come in After-times would be divided equally to all ; and the Gift of the spiritual Grace would be poured on all God's People without any Difference on Account of Sex, or Years of Age (which Words are another Proof of his owning Infant Baptism) or of Respect of Persons.*

*We see, says he, this proved by the Experience of the Thing : That such as are baptiz'd and do obtain the Grace in their Sickness when Need so requires, are freed from the unclean Spirit with which they were before possessed ; and do live commendably and approved in the Church, and do every Day proceed by the Increase of their Faith to an Increase of the Heavenly Grace, &c.*

A little after, he argues thus ; *Can any one think it reasonable that so much Honor should be shew'd to the Heretics, that such as come from them should never be ask'd whether they had a Washing all over, or only an Affusion of Water ; and yet among us any should detract from the Truth and Integrity of Faith ? &c.* So that it appears, that the several Sects did, as well as the Church Party, use clinical Baptism in Case of Necessity.

The *Acts* also of *St. Lawrence*, who suffer'd Martyrdom about the same Time as *Cyprian*, do tell how one of the Soldiers that were to be his Executioners, being converted, brought a Pitcher of Water for Lawrence to baptize him with. Andtho' these *Acts*, as they are now, are interpolated and mixt with Falshoods ; yet this Passage seems to be genuin, because it is cited by *Walafridus Strabo* (9), who liv'd before those Times in which most of the *Roman* Forgeries were added to the Histories of their Saints. 158.  
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*Eusebius* (10) also mentions *Basilides* baptiz'd in Prison by some Brethren. The strict Custody under which Christian Prisoners were kept, their tyrannical Jaylors hardly allowing 'em Necessaries for Life, much 130.

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(9) De rebus Ecclesiast. c. 26. (10) H. E. l. 6. c. 5.

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less such Conveniencies as they desir'd for their Religion, makes it very probable that this must have been done by Affusion only of some small Quantity of Water. And the like may be said of the Jaylor baptiz'd by St. Paul in hast, *the same Hour of the Night* in which he was converted (11); *He and all his, straightway.*

395. These are some of the most ancient Instances of that sort of Baptism that are now extant in Records. But the farther one proceeds in reading the following Times, the more frequent they are: In so much that *Gennadius* (12) of *Marseilles* in the fifth Century speaks of Baptism as given in the *French Church* indifferently, by either of the Ways, of Immersion or Asperision. For having said; *We believe the Way of Salvation to be open only to baptized Persons; We believe that no Catechumen, tho' he die in good Works, has eternal Life:* He adds; *Except the Case of Martyrdom, in which all the Sacraments of Baptism are completed.* Then to shew how Martyrdom has all in it that Baptism has, he says; *The Person to be baptiz'd owns his Faith before the Priest: And when the Interrogatories are put to him, makes his Answer. The same does a Martyr before the Heathen Judge: He also owns his Faith; and when the Question is put to him, makes answer. The one after his Confession is either wetted with the Water, or else plung'd into it: And the other is either wetted with his own Blood, or else is plung'd [or, overwhelm'd] in Fire.*

3155. In the Times of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonaventur*, Immersion was in *Italy* the most common Way; but the other was ordinary enough. *Thomas* speaks thus (13); *Baptism may be given not only by Immersion, but also by Affusion of Water, or Sprinkling with it. But it is the safer way to baptize by Immersion, because that is the most common Custom.* And again: *By Immersion the Burial of Christ is more lively represented: And therefore this is the most common and commendable Way.* *Bonaventur* (a) says, that the Way of Affusion was probably us'd by the *Apostles*, and was in his Time us'd in the Churches of *France*, and some others: But he says; *The Way of Dipping into the Water is the more common, and the fitter, and the safer.*

One would have thought that the cold Countries should have been the first that should have changed the Custom from Dipping to Affusion, because in cold Climates the Bathing of the Body in Water may seem much more unnatural and dangerous to the Health than in the hot Ones, (and it is to be noted by the way, that all those Countries of whose Rites of Baptism, and Immersion used in it, we have any Account in the Scripture or other ancient History, are in hot Climates; where frequent and common Bathing both of Infants and grown Persons is natural, and even necessary to the Health). But by  
History

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(11) Acts. 16. 33. (12) De Eccl. dogmatibus. c. 74. (13) 3. q. 66. Art. 7.  
(a) L. 4. Dist. 3. Art. 2. q. 2.



History it appears that the cold Climates held the Custom of Dipping Year as long as any: For *England*, which is one of the coldest, was one of the latest that admitted this Alteration of the ordinary Way. *Vasquez* (14) having said that it was the old Custom both in the *East* and the *West* to baptize both grown Persons and Infants, that were in Health, by Immersion: And that it plainly appears by the Words of *St. Gregory*, that the Custom continued so to be in his Time, adds; *And it continues, as they say, to this Day among the English, as Erasmus has noted in the Margin of the 76 Epistle of St. Cyprian.* *Erasmus* is there observing how the Baptism of Infants is in different Countries variously administered: and says; *persuaduntur apud nos, merguntur apud Anglos.* 'With us [the *Dutch*] they have the Water poured on 'em: In *England* they are dipt. This is a good Authority for so late as the Time of *Henry 8.* at which Time he lived in *England*. And I produced before (15) a Passage out of a Convocation in that King's Reign which also shews that the general Custom in *England* then was to dip Infants. And it continued so for two Reigns more. I will here endeavor to trace the Times when it began to be left off in the several Countries of the West: Meaning still, in the Case of Infants that were in Health, and in the public Baptism; for in the Case of sickly or weak Infants, there was always in all Countries an Allowance of Affusion or Sprinkling to be given in haste, and in the House, or any other Place.

*France* seems to have been the first Country in the World where Baptism by Affusion was used ordinarily to Persons in Health, and in the public Way of administering it. *Gennadius* of *Marseilles*, whose Words I gave before, is the first Author that speaks of it as indifferent.

It came more and more into Request in that Country, till in *Bonaventure's* Time it was become, as appears by his Words, last quoted, a very ordinary Practice: And tho' he say, some other Churches did then so use it, yet he names none but *France*.

The Synod of *Angiers*, 1275. speaks of Dipping or Pouring as indifferently used; and blames some ignorant Priests, for that they dip or pour the Water but once: and instructs them that the general Custom of the Church is to dip thrice, or pour on Water three Times.

The Synod of *Langres* mentions pouring only; Let the Priest make three Pourings or Sprinklings of Water on the Infant's Head, &c.

And so from thence to the Year 1600 (and still to this Day for ought I know) the synodical Acts and Canons of the Churches in *France* do mention, sometimes Dipping or Pouring, and sometimes Pouring only: But the Practice for a long Time has been Pouring only. The Synod of *Aix* 1585, says; Pouring or Dipping, according

Year according as the Use of the Church is, and orders, that the Pouring of the Water be not done with the Hand, but with a Ladle [or, Vessel] kept in the Font for that Purpose. This Account of the Synods, I have out of Bozell. *Decret. Eccl. Gallicane*, l. 2. de baptismo.

From France it spread (but not till a good while after) into Italy, Germany, Spain, &c. and last of all into England.

For Italy: I have shewn already, that Dipping was the more ordinary Custom at the Year 1260. By what Degrees it alter'd, is not worth the While to search. In 200 Years Time the other became the ordinary Way.

In Germany, *Walafridus Strabo* 850. *Rupertus* 1120. and several others, do so speak of Baptism, as that it appears by their Words, that Dipping of Infants was the general Custom; except of such as were sick, &c. and must be baptiz'd in haste. But the Council of *Cologn* under *Herman*, in the Year 1536. speaks of it more indifferently. 1436. The Child is thrice either dipped, or wetted with the Water, &c. And 15 Years after, the *Agenda* of the Church of *Ments* published by *Sebastian*, do recommend and prefer the later; Then let the Priest take the Child in his Left-Arm: and holding him over the Font, let him with his Right-Hand three several Times take Water out of the Font, and pour it on the Child's Head, Ita quod aqua tingat caput & scapulas, so as that the Water may wet its Head and Shoulders. Then they give a Note to this purpose; that Immersion, once or thrice, or pouring of Water, may be used and have been used in the Church: And that this Variety does not alter the Nature of Baptism: And that a Man shall do ill to break the Custom of his Church for either of 'em. But they add, that 'tis better, if the Church will allow, to use Pouring on of Water. For suppose, say they, the Priest be old and feeble, or have the Palsie in his Hands, or the Weather be very cold, or the Child very infirm, or be too big to be dipt in the Font; then 'tis much fitter to use Affusion of the Water. Then they bring the Instance of the Apostles baptizing 3000 at a Time, the Instance of *St. Lawrence* that I spoke of before, and the Story (which, I suppose is forged) of *Chlodoveus* baptiz'd in that fashion by *Remigius*: And say; That therefore there may not be one Way for the Sick and another for the Healthy, one for Children and another for bigger Persons; 'tis better that the Minister of this Sacrament do keep the safest Way, which is, to pour Water thrice: unless the Custom be to the contrary.

In England there seem to have been some Priests so early as the Year 816 that attempted to bring in the Use of Baptism by Affusion in the public Administration; for *Spelman* recites a Canon of a Council in that Year (16), Let the Priests know, that when they administer Holy Baptism,

(16) Concil. Anglicana, Tom. 1. p. 331. Synod. apud Celecyth. sub Walfredo.



*Baptism, they must not pour the Water on the Head of the Infants: But they must always be dipt in the Font. As the Son of God gave his own Example to all Believers, when he was thrice dipt in the Waters of Jordan; so it is necessary by Order to be kept and used.*

Lynwood, who was Dean of the Arches in the Time of *H. 5.* 1422. 1322. and wrote the best Account of our *English Constitutions*, having spoken of the Manner of baptizing Infants by dipping, adds this Note (17); *But this is not to be accounted to be of the Necessity [or Essence] of Baptism: But it may be given also by Pouring or Sprinkling. And this holds especially where the Custom of the Church allows it.* 'Tis to be noted that France had, as I shew'd just now, before this Time admitted of the Way of pouring Water: And Lynwood had liv'd in France under *H. 5. of England*, who was King there.

Some do prove from Wickliff that it was held indifferent in *England* in his Time whether Dipping or Pouring were used: Because he says at one Place (a); *Nor is it material whether they be dipped, once or thrice, or Water be poured on their Heads: But it must be done according to the Custom of the Place where one dwells.* But we ought to take the whole Context as it lies in his Book. He had been speaking of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation, from that Text, *John 3. 5.* and then adds; *& ordinavit ecclesia quod qualibet persona fidelis in necessitatis articulo poterit baptizari [l. baptizare]——Nec refert, &c.* And the Church has ordained that in a Case of Necessity any Person that is Fidel [or that is himself baptized] may give Baptism, &c.——Nor is it material whether they be dipped, &c. Such Words do not suppose any other Way than Dipping used ordinarily: But only in a Juncture of Necessity, or Fear of the Infant's Death. 1280.

The Offices or Liturgies for public Baptism in the Church of *England* did all along, so far as I can learn, injoin Dipping without any Mention of Pouring or Sprinkling. The *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Printed 1530. the 21st of *H. 8.* orders thus for the public Baptisms; *Then let the Priest take the Child: And, having asked the Name, baptize him by dipping him in the Water thrice, &c.* And John Frith, writing in the Year 1533 a *Treatise of Baptism*, calls the outward Part of it, the plunging down in the Water and lifting up again. Which he often mentions without ever mentioning Pouring or Sprinkling. 1430. 1433.

In the *Common-Prayer Book* printed 1549. the 2d. of *K. Edward the 6th.* the Order stands thus; *Shall dip it in the Water thrice, &c. So it be discreetly and warily done: Saying N. I baptize thee, &c.* But this Order adds; *And if the Child be weak, it shall suffice to pour Water upon it, saying the foresaid Words.* Afterward, the Books do leave out the Word, *thrice*: and do say; *shall dip it in the Water, so it be discreetly, &c.* Which Alteration; 1449.

Year after the Alteration, I suppose was made in the 6th. of *Edw.* the 6th. for then there was a new Edition of the Book with some light Alterations. And from thence it stood unalter'd as to this Matter to the 14th of

1452. Ch. 2d.

1562. From this Time of King *Edward*, Mr. *Walker* (b) (who has taken the most Pains in tracing this Matter) derives the Beginning of the Alteration of the general Custom. He says, that *Dipping* was at this Time the more usual, but *Sprinkling* was sometimes used: Which within the

1450. Time of half a Century (meaning from 1550 to 1600) prevail'd to be the more general (as it is now almost the only) way of *Baptizing*.

1453. But it is not probable that in so short a Reign as that of King *Edward*, who died in 1553, the Custom could receive any great Alteration. Customs in which the whole Body of the People is concern'd, alter but slowly, when they do alter.

1458. And in Queen *Mary's* Time the Custom of *Dipping* seems to have continued. For *Watson* the Popish Bishop of *Lincoln* did on the Year 1558, which was the last of Queen *Mary*, publish a Volum of Sermons about the Sacraments: in the Fourth of which he says; *Tho' the ancient Tradition of the Church has been from the Beginning to dip the Child three Times, &c. yet that is not of such Necessity; but that if it be but once dipped in the Water, it is sufficient. Yea, and in Time of great Peril and Necessity, if the Water be but pour'd on the Head, it will suffice.* A Sign, that Pouring was not in Queen *Mary's* Time us'd but in Case of Necessity.

But there are apparent Reasons why that Custom should alter during Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

The Latitude given in the Liturgy, which could have but little Effect in the short Time of King *Edward's* Reign, might, during the long Reign of this Queen, produce an Alteration proportionably greater. It being allowed to weak Children (tho' strong enough to be brought to Church) to be baptiz'd by Affusion, many fond Ladies and Gentlewomen first, and then by degrees the common People, would obtain the Favor of the Priest to have their Children pass for weak Children, too tender to endure dipping in the Water. Especially (as Mr. *Walker* observes) if some Instance really were, or were but fancied or framed, of some Child's taking Hurt by it.

And another Thing that had a greater Influence than this, was; That many of our *English* Divines and other People had, during Queen *Mary's* bloody Reign, fled into *Germany*, *Switzerland*, &c. and coming back in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, they brought with them a great Love to the Customs of those Protestant Churches wherein they had sojourn'd: And especially the Authority of *Calvin*, and the Rules which he had establish'd at *Geneva*, had a mighty Influence on a great Number

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(b) Doctrin of Baptisms, c. 10. pag. 147.



ber of our People about that Time. Now Calvin had not only given his Dictate in his *Institutions* (c) that the Difference is of no Moment, whether he that is baptiz'd be dipt all over; and if so, whether thrice or once; or whether he be only wetted with the Water poured on him: But he had also drawn up for the Use of his Church at Geneva (and afterwards published to the World) a (d) Form of administering the Sacraments, where when he comes to order the Act of Baptizing, he words it thus; *Then the Minister of Baptism pours Water on the Infant; saying, I baptize thee, &c.* There had been, as I said, some Synods in some Dioces of France that had spoken of Affusion without mentioning Immersion at all; that being the common Practice: but for an Office or Liturgy of any Church; this is, I believe, the first in the World that prescribes Affusion absolutely. Then *Musculus* had determin'd (e), *As for Dipping of the Infant; we judge that not so necessary, but that it is free for the Church to baptize either by Dipping or Sprinkling.* So that (as Mr. Walker (f) observes) no wonder if that Custom prevail'd at Home, which our reformed Divines in the Time of the Marian Persecution had found to be the Judgment of other Divines, and seen to be the Practice of other Churches abroad; and especially of Mr. Calvin and his Church of Geneva.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

1436.

1445.

And when there was added to all this the Resolution of such a Man as Dr. Whitaker, Regius Professor at Cambridge (g), *Tho' in Case of grown Persons that are in Health, I think Dipping to be better; yet in the Case of Infants and of sickly People, I think Sprinkling sufficient:* The Inclination of the People, back'd with these Authorities, carried the Practice against the Rubric; which still requir'd Dipping, except in Case of Weakness. So that in the later Times of Queen Elizabeth, and during the Reigns of King James and of King Charles I. very few Children were dipt in the Font. I have heard of one or two Persons now living, who must have been born in those Reigns, that they were baptiz'd by dipping in the Font; and of one Clergyman now living, that has baptiz'd some Infants so: but am not certain. But the Children were however all that Time carried to it: As much as to say; 'The Minister is ready to dip the Child, if the Parents will venture the Health of it.

Mr. Blake, who wrote in 1645 a Pamphlet, intitled; *Infants Baptism freed from Antichristianism*, says p. 1. (in answer to his Adversary who had said that Infants, pretended to be baptiz'd by the Ministers of the Church, have not true Baptism, since they are not dipped, but sprinkled) *I have been an Eye-witness of many Infants dipped: and know it to have been the constant Practice of many Ministers in their Places*  
for

1545.

(c) L. 4. c. 15. §. 19. (d) Tractat. Theolog. Catechismus. pag. 57. Ed. Bozæ 1576. (e) Loci Commun. de Baptismo. p. 431. (f) Ch. 10. §. 107. (g) Practitiones de Sacr. de Baptismo Q. 1. c. 2.

Year after the Apostles for many Years together. And again, p. 4. speaking of the present Practice of that Time, says, *Those that dip not Infants, do not yet use to sprinkle 'em: There is a Middle-way between these two: I have seen several dipped; I never saw nor heard of any sprinkled, or (as some of you use to speak) rantiz'd. — Our Way is not by Asperision, but Perfusion; not sprinkling Drop by Drop, but pouring on at once all that the Hand contains. And for Sprinkling says; I leave them to defend it that use it.*

Of what Age Mr. Blake was when he wrote this, I know not: but in a Pamphlet which he wrote the Year before, viz. 1644. call'd, *The Birth-Privilege*, and which he dedicates to his Parishioners of *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, he so speaks as that one may guess him to have been about 42 Years old. He says in the said *Dedication*; *I have served you for Christ a double Apprenticeship of Years almost compleat: which Time has seem'd to some to have added more than a Third to the Years of the Days of my Pilgrimage.* What he means by [*seem to some*] I cannot imagin. But if he at 1644 were about 42, and could remember as he says; The Dipping of Infants must have been pretty ordinary during the former Half of King *James's* Reign, if not longer. And for Sprinkling properly call'd; It seems it was at 1645, just then beginning, and used by very few. It must have began in the disorderly Times after 41. For Mr. Blake had never used it, nor seen it us'd.

1544. But then came the *Directory*, which forbids even that: And says; *Baptism is to be administred, not in private Places, or privately (these are the Men that have since brought Baptism in private Houses to be so spreading a Custom as it is) but in the Place of public Worship, and in the Face of the Congregation, &c. And not in the Places where Fonts in the Time of Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed.* So (parallel to the rest of their Reformations) they reformed the Font into a Bason. This learned Assembly could not remember that Fonts to baptize in, had been always us'd by the Primitive Christians, long before the Beginning of Popery; and ever since Churches were built: but that Sprinkling, for the common Use of Baptizing, was really introduced (in *France* first, and then in other popish Countries) in Times of Popery: And that accordingly all those Countries in which the usurped Power of the Pope is, or has formerly been, own'd, have left off dipping of Children in the Font: But that all other Countries in the World (which had never regarded his Authority) do still use it: And that Basons, except in Case of Necessity, were never us'd by Papists or any other Christians whatsoever, till by themselves.

The Use was; The Minister continuing in his Reading-Desk, the Child was brought and held below him: And there was placed for that Use a little Bason of Water about the Bigness of a Syllabub Pot, into which the Minister dipping his Fingers, and then holding his



his Hand over the Face of a Child, some Drops would fall from his Fingers on the Child's Face. For the *Directory* says, it is *not only lawful, but most expedient* to use Pouring or Sprinkling. Year 1662. ter the A. postles

Upon the Review of the Common-Prayer Book at the Restauration, the Church of *England* did not think fit (however prevalent the Custom of Sprinkling was) to forego their Maxim; that it is most fitting to dip Children that are well able to bear it. But they leave it wholly to the Judgment of the Godfathers and those that bring the Child, whether the Child may well endure dipping, or not: as they are indeed the most proper Judges of that. So the Priest is now order'd; *If the Godfathers do certify him that the Child may well endure it, to dip it in the Water discreetly and warily. But if they certify that the Child is weak, it shall suffice to pour Water upon it.* The Difference is only this; By the Rubric as it stood before, the Priest was to dip unless there were an Averment or Allegation of Weakness: Now he is not to dip, unless there be an Averment or Certifying of Strength sufficient to endure it. 1561.

Except such Antipædobaptists as do not allow of Affusion in any Case (and I think there are few such but in *England*) all the rest of the World will agree that this *Order* is the most unexceptionable of any that could be given: and does keep as close to the Primitive Way as the Coldness of our Region, and the Tenderness to which Infants are now us'd, will admit. But in the *Practice*, the Godfathers take so much Advantage of the Reference that is made to their Judgment, that they never do certify the Priest *that the Child may well endure it*: And the Priests do now seldom ask that Question. And indeed it is needless, because they do always bring the Child so drest in Cloaths, as to make it plain that they do not intend it shall be dipt. When dipping in the Font was in Fashion, they brought the Child wrapt up in such a Sort of Clothing as could presently and without Trouble be taken off, and put on again. I think they call'd it a *Chrysom*, or some such Name. And besides; the Fonts that have been built since the Times I spoke of, are, many of 'em, built so small and Bason-like, that a Child cannot well be dipt in 'em, if it were desir'd.

Since the Times that Dipping of Infants has been generally left off, many learned Men in several Countries have endeavor'd to retrieve the use of it: But more in *England* than any where else in Proportion.

*Sotus* gives his Opinion (h), that *Baptism ought still to be given by Dipping; so as that it is not lawful to give it otherwise, unless for some necessary, or creditable, and reasonable Cause.* But *Vasquez* (i) takes him

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up

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(h) In 4. Dist. 3. q. unicâ. Art. 7. (i) In tertiam. Diap. 145. c. 2.

Year af- up for this with some Anger; and he maintains that now a-days, since  
ter the A- it is grown the common Custom, Affusion is perfectly as well as Dip-  
postles ping. This he says of Affusion, or *Pouring on of Water*: But for sprink-  
1495. ling of Water, he says; *That is not at all in use, and so cannot be pra-  
tis'd without Sin, unless for some particular Cause.* Estius also does much  
commend Dipping: But now that the other is the common Custom,  
would have nothing alter'd.

In *England* Mr. Mede shew'd his Inclination to retrieve the ancient Custom plain enough (indeed he carried the Argument for it too far) when he said (k), that *there was no such Thing as Sprinkling or Rhantism us'd in Baptism in the Apostles Days, nor many Ages after them.* If he takes *Sprinkling* strictly (as it is distinguish'd from *Pouring on of Water*) it may be true: but if he say so of *Pouring Water*, it is not true, unless he limit it to *ordinary Cases.*

Bishop Taylor in his *Rule of Conscience*, and also Mr. Dan. Rogers in his *Treatise of Sacraments*, have said so much on this Head; that *Danvers* the Antipædobaptist catches hold of their Words, and brings them among his Authorities (l) that to baptize is nothing else but to dip. But he is forc'd to curtail and misrepresent their Words: for they do both of 'em in their own Words (which he has left out) own, that Baptism by Affusion is true Baptism. But so much is true, that they do both of 'em plead hard that it ought not to be used but in Case of Necessity, and that the Ministers should in no other Case dispence with the Act of Immersion. And indeed as the Rubric then stood, it requir'd Immersion *positively*, unless the Child were weak. Here by the way I cannot but take notice how much Trouble such an adventurous Author as this *Danvers*, is able to give to such a careful and exact Answerer as Mr. Walker. *Danvers* does in this Place deal with above 20 other Writers after the same Rate as he does with the two I mention'd, viz. *Scapula, Stephanus, Pasor, Vossius, Leigh, Casaubon, Beza, Chamier, Hammond, Cajetan, Musculus, Piscator, Calvin, Keckerman, Diodat, Grotius, Davenant, Tilenus, Dr. Cave, Wal. Strabo, and Archbishop Tillotson.* He does in the Space of 12 Pages (m) quote all these in such Words as if they had made Dipping to be of the Essence of Baptism. Mr. Walker shews that he has abus'd every one of 'em; by affixing to some of 'em Words that they never said, by adding to others, by altering and mistranslating others, and by curtailling the Words of the rest. But what a Trouble is this, to go upon such a Man's Errand from Book to Book, search the Chapters, (which he commonly names wrong) recite the Words first as he quotes 'em, and then as they really are in the Book? This cost Mr. Walker three large Chapters (n). And what would it have been to answer the

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(k) Diarrhe on Tit. 3. 5. (l) Treat. of Bapt. Pt. 2. ch. 4. (m) From 192 to p. 204. (n) Ch. 11, 12, 13.



the whole Book, which is all of a Piece? This is the Book that is so much handed about among the Antipædobaptists of England.

Year after the Apostles

But to go on to mention some more learned Men of England that have wish'd for the Restoring of the Custom of Dipping such Infants as are in Health. Sir Norton Knatchbull says thus; (o) *With leave be it spoken; I am still of Opinion that it would be more for the Honor of the Church, and for the Peace and Security of Religion, if the old Custom could conveniently be restor'd.* Yet he there declares himself fully satisfied with the Lawfulness of the other Way, so far as that no Body ought to doubt of its being true and full Baptism. For avoiding the Danger of Cold, he thinks it advisable to restore another ancient Custom, also, of Baptizing only at certain Times of the Year, except such Infants as are like to die. But Infants were, as I shew'd before (p), by that ancient Custom excepted from any Obligation to stay till those Times. And *Easter* is in our Climate no very warm Season. And there is nothing commoner than for Infants to die suddenly.

Mr. Walker has taken the most Pains (I may venture to say it) of any Man in the World, to shew that Baptism by Pouring, or Sprinkling, is true Baptism, and is valid; and that Baptism so given ought not to be reiterated: and that all Ages of the Church have been of that Opinion: and that the Antipædobaptists have no Reason to separate on that Account. And yet in the same Book he does in several Places declare that he thinks the other Way more advisable for the ordinary Use. In one of the Chapters (q) which I mention'd, where he is vindicating the Words of Mr. Dan. Rogers from the Force which Mr. Danvers had put on 'em; and where he confesses of Mr. Rogers thus much; *Mr. Rogers was for retrieving the Use of Dipping, as witnessed to by Antiquity, approved by Scripture, required by the Church (as then it was except in Case of Weakness) and symbolical with the Things signified in Baptism:* He adds his own Opinion in these Words; *Which I could wish as well and as heartily as he, in order to making of Peace in the Church, if that would do it.* And in the next Paragraph; *If I may speak my Thoughts, I believe the Ministers of the Nation would be glad if the People would desire, or be but willing to have their Infants dip'd, after the ancient Manner both in this and in other Churches; and bring them to Baptism in such a Condition as that they might be totally dip'd, without Fear of being destroyed.* And in the Conclusion of that Book (r) he thus bespeaks the Antipædobaptists; *And as some learned Persons, who have defended the Lawfulness of Sprinkling, have yet in some Respects preferred Dipping before it: So tho' I blame your holding an indispensable Necessity of it, &c. Yet in order to the Peace of the Church by your Re-union with it, and the saving of your Souls by rescuing you from*

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under

(o) Annot. on 1 Pet. 3. 20. (p) Pt. 1. CH. XVII. §. 3. (q) Ch. 11 §. 52  
(r) Page 293.

Year after Year under the Guilt of Schism, I could wish the Practice of it retriev'd into use again: so far as possibly might be consistent with Decency of Baptizing and Safety to the Baptized. He speaks often to the same Purpose in his Modest Plea.

Dr. *Tower*son in his *Explication of the Catechism* (s) having recited the Arguments for Immersion, says, *How to take off the Force of these Arguments altogether, I mean not to consider: partly because our Church seems to perswade such an Immersion; and partly because I cannot but think the forementioned Arguments to be so far of Force, as to evince the Necessity thereof, where there is not some greater Necessity to occasion an Alteration of it.*

Dr. *Whitby* says (t), *It were to be wished that this Custom [of Immersion] might be again of general Use; and Asperision only permitted, as of Old, in Case of the Clinici, and in present Danger of Death.*

These (and possibly many more) have openly declar'd their Thoughts concerning the present Custom. And abundance of others have so largely and industriously proved that a total Immersion was, as Dr. *Cave* says (u), *the almost constant and universal Custom of the Primitive Times*, that they have sufficiently intimated their Inclinations to be for it now. So that no Man in this Nation, who is dissatisfied with the other Way, or does wish, or is but willing, that his Child should be baptized by Dipping, need in the least to doubt but that any Minister in this Church would, according to the present Direction of the Rubric, readily comply with his Desire, and as Mr. *Walker* says, be glad of it.

And as for the Danger of the Infants catching Cold by Dipping, Sr. *John Floyer* has in a late (w) Book endeavor'd to shew by Reasons taken from the Nature of our Bodies, from the Rules of Medicine, from modern Experiences, and from ancient History, that washing or dipping Infants in cold Water is, generally speaking, not only safe, but very useful: and that tho' no such religious Rite as Baptism had been instituted, yet Reason and Experience would have directed People to use cold Bathing both of themselves and their Children: and that it has in all former Ages so directed 'em. For (besides that the Jews by God's Law used it on many Occasions, and the Christians made it the far most usual Way of their Baptism) he shews that all civiliz'd Nations, the *Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, &c.* made frequent Use of it, and gave great Commendations of it: and that Nature it self has taught this Custom to many barbarous Nations; the old *Germans, Highlanders, Irish, Japanese, Tartars*, and even the *Samoieds* who live in the coldest Climate that is inhabited.

This learned Physician gives a Catalog of Diseases for which it is good:

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(s) Of Baptism, p. 20, 21, 22. (t) Comment on Rom. 6. (u) Primitive Christianity, Pt. 1. ch. 10. (w) Of cold Baths. •



good: Some of 'em, for which it is the best Remedy that is known. And he says, he cannot advise his Countrymen to any better Method for Preservation of Health than the cold Regimen: to dip all their Children in Baptism; to wash 'em often afterward till 3 Quarters of a Year old: to inure them to cold Air, drinking of Water, few Cloaths: to use 'em when Boys to bathing in Rivers; when Men, to cold Baths, &c.

He prognosticates that the old Modes in Physic and Religion will in Time prevail, when People have had more Experience in cold Baths: and that the Approbation of Physicians would bring in the old Use of Immersion in Baptism. If it do so, one Half of the Dispute (which has caused a Schism) between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists will be over. There are more of the first who are brought by the Arguments of the other to doubt of the Validity of their Baptism for that they were not dip'd at the receiving it, than there are for that they received it in Infancy. Neither was there ever an Antipædobaptist in *England*, as I shewed in the last Chapter, till this Custom of sprinkling Children, instead of dipping 'em, in the ordinary Baptisms had for some Time prevailed.

What has been said of this Custom of pouring or sprinkling Water in the ordinary Use of Baptism, is to be understood only in reference to these *Western* Parts of *Europ*: for it is us'd ordinarily nowhere else. The *Greck* Church, in all the Branches of it, does still use Immersion: and they hardly count a Child, except in Case of Sickness, well baptiz'd without it. And so do all other Christians in the World except the *Latins*. That which I hinted before, is a Rule that does not fail in any Particular that I know of, *viz.* All the Nations of Christians that do now, or formerly did, submit to the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, do ordinarily baptize their Infants by Pouring or Sprinkling. And tho' the *English* received not this Custom till after the Decay of Popery; yet they have since received it from such Neighbour Nations as had began it in the Times of the Pope's Power. But all other Christians in the World, who never owned the Pope's usurped Power, do, and ever did, dip their Infants in the ordinary Use.

And if we take the Division of the World from the three main Parts of it; All the Christians in *Asia*, all in *Africa*, and about one third Part of *Europ*, are of the last Sort: in which third Part of *Europ* are comprehended the Christians of *Græcia*, *Thracia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Rascia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Russia Nigra*, &c. and even the *Muscovites*, who, if Coldness of the Country will excuse, might plead for a Dispensation with the most Reason of any. Dr. *Crull* gives this Account of 'em (18); *The Priest takes the Child stark naked into his Arms,*  
and

(18) State of *Muscovy*, vol. I. c. 11.

Year af- and dips him three Times into the Water, &c. the Water is never warme.  
 ter the A. over the Fire, tho' the Cold be never so excessive: but they put it sometimes  
 posties in a warm Place to take off a little the Cold. If they warm'd it more,  
 I don't see where were the Hurt. The *Latins* that staid behind at  
 1339. the Council of Florence do determin (19) it to be indifferent whether  
 Baptism be administred in warm or in cold Water. And an Archbishop of  
 Samos, who has wrote the History of that Island, says at p. 45. that  
 they use hot [or warm] Water.

We have no Reason to think that the *Muscovites* do submit to this, as to a Hardship put upon 'em by the Christian Religion: for they commonly, when they come sweating out of a hot Stove, do suddenly throw themselves into cold Water, and think it medicinal so to do, as the said Doctor relates. And the Neighbour Nations thereabouts, even those that are not Christians, do ordinarily put their Infant Children into the coldest Water they can get, for Health's Sake, and to harden 'em. For so the same Author tells of the *Crim Tartars* (20), that the Mothers do use to bath their Infants, once a Day at least, in cold Water, wherein a little Salt is dissolv'd, to make 'em hardy. And the Success answers: for these are one of the healthiest, hardiest, and most vigorous Nations in the World.

But whereas the said Doctor says (21); that the *Muscovites* glory that they are the only true Christians now in the World; forasmuch as they are baptiz'd, whereas others have been only sprinkled: which is the Reason they allege for rebaptizing all such of what Perswasion soever, that embrace their Religion. This is neither consistent with the Account given by himself in the same Chapter of their Rebaptizations: that even *Muscovites* that having chang'd their Religion in another Country, are willing to return to their own Communion, must first be rebaptized: nor with the Account of the Practice of other *Greek* Christians, who do all baptize ordinarily by Immersion as well as the *Muscovites*: nor with the Account given by other Writers of the Practice of the *Muscovites* themselves. For tho' Mr. Daille (22) do say much the same of 'em as Dr. Crull does here (he does not say quite the same: he says, The *Muscovites* say, that the *Latines* are not duly and rightly baptized). Yet other Writers say, that the *Muscovites* themselves do in Case of the Weakness of the Child baptize by Affusion. *Joannes Faber* in an Epistle that he has written purposely of these People's Religion, says, If the Child be strong, he is thrice plunged all over. Otherwise he is wetted with the Water. But this last is seldom used: conspersio enim minus sufficiens judicatur, for they count Sprinkling not so well [or, not so sufficient]. And another Author quoted by Mr. Walker out of *Purchas Pilgrim*,

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(19) Cap. de unione Jacobinorum & Armenorum. (20) Ch. 7. p. 112. (21) Ch. 21. at the Beginning. (22) L. 2. de usu Patrum pag. 148.



*Pilgrim*, Pt. 3. p. 229. says, that in such a Case a Pot of warm Water is pour'd on the Child's Head. And another, *The Priest pours a whole Gallon of Water upon the Child*, &c. Yearaf. ter the Apostles.

Since the Writing of this, I find that Mr. *Russen*, ch. 5. (quoting for it *Alvares* c. 5.) says, *The Abassens baptize in the Church-Porch, without Fonts, with a Pot full of Water only*. I know not what Credit is to be given to this. I know that *Brerewood* does often note *Alvares*, as an unfaithful Relater. And *Brerewood* himself, tho' he say nothing of the Manner of their baptizing Infants, (only that they do it on the 40th Day for a Male, and the 80th for a Female Child) yet speaking of their yearly Baptizing themselves on Twelfth-Day (not using it as a Sacrament, but as a customary Memorial of Christ's Baptism on that Day) says that they do it in *Lakes or Ponds*, ch. 23. which makes that which *Alvares* says very improbable.

§. 3. What was just now mention'd of the *Muscovites* baptizing stark naked, and dipping three Times, is perfectly agreeable to the ancient Practice in both the Usages. The ancient Christians, when they were baptized by Immersion, were all baptiz'd naked; whether they were Men, Women, or Children. *Vossius* (23) has collected several Proofs of this: which I shall omit because it is a clear Case. The *English* Antipædobaptists need not have made so great an Outcry against Mr. *Baxter* for his saying that they baptiz'd naked: for if they had, it had been no more than the primitive Christians did. They thought it better represented the putting off the Old-man, and also the Nakedness of Christ on the Cross: moreover as Baptism is a Washing, they judg'd it should be the Washing of the Body, not of the Cloaths.

They took great Care for preserving the Modesty of any Woman that was to be baptiz'd. There was none but Women came near or in Sight till she was undress'd, and her Body in the Water: then the Priest came, and putting her Head also under Water, us'd the Form of Baptism. Then he departed, and the Women took her out of the Water, and cloth'd her again in white Garments.

There is an Account given by *Sozomen* (24) of an Insult made by the Soldiers in the great Church at Constantinople against St. *Chrysostom* and his Adherents: and how on Easter-Eve they rush'd in armed: and he adds, *There was a great Tumult at the Font, the Women shrieking in a Fright, and the Children crying: the Priests and Deacons were beaten, and forc'd to run away with their Vestments on. What else must needs happen in such a Confusion, they that have been baptiz'd do apprehend; but I shall not express it, lest some that are not Christians do light upon my Book*.

303.

But St. *Chrysostom* himself in a Letter of Complaint of this Matter to *Innocent* then Bishop of Rome, describes the Foulness of the Outrage more

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more particularly : *The Women who had undrest themselves in order to be baptiz'd, were forc'd by the Fright of this Violence to run away naked ; not being permitted in that Amazement to provide for the Modesty and Credit of their Sex. And many of 'em were also wounded : the Font was stained with Blood, and the holy Waters of it died with a red Colour.*

§. 4. The Way of trine Immersion, or plunging the Head of the Person three times into the Water, was the general Practice of all Antiquity. *Tertullian* in a Dispute against *Praxeas*, who held but one Person in the Trinity, uses this among other Arguments (25) ; Our Savior commanded the Apostles, *that they should baptize unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Spirit ; not unto one Person, for we are not plunged once, but three Times ; once at the naming of each Name.* And the 50th [alias 42] of those Canons that are very ancient, tho' without Reason called *Apostolic*, orders any Bishop or Presbyter that does not use the trine Immersion in Baptism, to be deposed.

The Ancients do themselves own that there is no Command in Scripture for this : yet they speak of it as brought into use by the Apostles. And 'tis common with them to urge this Custom and some others, as Instances that some Rites or Orders are deriv'd from the Apostles Practice, and yet not set down in Scripture. *Tertullian* (26) arguing against some that pleaded that in all Pretence of Tradition one must produce some written Authority, gives an Answer which I shall here recite at large, because he instances in this and several other Customs then received.

100.

*Let us try then, whether no Tradition ought to be allowed that is not written : and I shall freely grant that this need not to be allowed, if the contrary be not evinced by the Examples of several other Customs, which without the Authority of any Scripture are approved, only on the Account that they were first deliver'd, and have ever since been us'd.*

Now to begin with Baptism. When we come to the Water, we do there (and we do the same also, a little before, in the Congregation) under the Hand of the Pastor make a Profession that we do renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and his Angels. Then we are three Times plunged into the Water : and we answer some few Words more than those which our Savior in the Gospel has enjoined. When we are taken up out of the Water, we tast a Mixture of Milk and Honey. And from that Day we abstain a whole Week from bathing our selves, which otherwise we use every Day.

The Sacrament of the Eucharist which our Lord celebrated at Meal-time, and ordered all to take ; we receive in our Assemblies before Day : and never but from the Hands of the Pastor.

We give Oblations every Year for [or in Commemoration of] the Dead on the Day of their Martyrdom. We count it an unfitting Thing to



keep any Fasts on the Lord's Day, or to kneel at our Prayers on that Day. Year after the Apostles  
The same Liberty we take all the Time from Easter to Pentecost.

We are troubled at it, if any of our Bread or Wine fall to the Ground.  
At every Setting out, or Entry on Business; whenever we come in or go out from any Place; when we dress for a Journey; when we go into a Bath; when we go to Meat; when the Candles are brought in; when we lie down, or sit down; and whatever Business we have, we make on our Foreheads the Sign of the Cross.

If you search in the Scriptures for any Command for these and such like Usages, you shall find none. Tradition will be urged to you as the Ground of 'em; Custom as the Confirmer of 'em; and our Religion teaches to observe 'em.

Of the Oblations and Prayers which they made for [or in Commemoration of] the Dead; as I said before in the first Part, CH. XX. §. 3. that they were nothing of the Nature of the popish Ones; so here it appears: for they us'd 'em for Martyrs themselves. And tho' we see here, that the Papists were not the first that used the Sign of the Cross; yet they are the first that ever taught that it is to be worshipp'd.

In an Epistle of St. Hierom in Form of a Dialog (27) one of the Parties makes the same Use of the same Instance of trine Immersion, as Tertullian does here: saying thus of the Custom of Confirmation after Baptism, which he there proves by Scripture, but adds; And if there were no Authority of Scripture for it; the Consent of the whole World in that Matter would obtain the Force of a Precept. For many other Things which are by Tradition observed in the Church, have got Authority as if they were written Laws: As, in the Font of Baptism, *ter mergitare caput*, to plunge the Head thrice under Water, &c. St. Basil speaks just after the same Manner of the same Thing (28). And St. Chrysostom (29) says, Our Lord has deliver'd to us one Baptism by three Immersions. 278. 260. 280.

The Eunomians had the oddest Way of Baptizing that ever was heard of. For besides that they differ'd from all other Christians in the Words used at Baptism, one Sect of 'em baptizing only in the Name of Christ, as I said (30); another Sect instead of saying, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*, expressed their own impious Opinions in these Words (31); *In the Name of the uncreated God, and in the Name of his created Son, and in the Name of the sanctifying Spirit created by the Son who is himself created*. Besides this, their Manner of Baptizing was to plunge the Person but once into the Water: and that not all his Body neither. For they said; all the Parts of the Body below the Waist are abominable, and must not touch the Water: so they used to uncover the Person to the Waist; and then

Q q q

holding

(27) Epist. contra Luciferianos. (28) Lib. de spiritu sancto, c. 27. (29) Hom. de Fide. (30) CH. VIII. §. 6. (31) Euph. hær. 76.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

holding his Heels upward and his Head downward, they dipp'd him into the Font as far as the Waist. They continued this Custom till a ridiculous Accident happen'd (32): A heavy and unweildy Man coming to be baptiz'd, they that were to hold him with his Head downward let him fall, and he broke his Head against the Bottom of the Font. To prevent which Mischance for the future, they invented another Way. It was much the same, as was one of the Devices with which the *Dutch* are said to have tortur'd the *English* at *Amboyna*: only the Muffler was larger. They tyed one End of it about his Waist, and turning the other open End upwards, they pour'd in Water till it cover'd the Head of the Person. So it pleases God to suffer Heretics to be infatuated that must have newfangl'd Ways.

490.

The Catholics, tho' they judg'd the trine Immersion to have been in use from the Beginning, yet since it is not found to be enjoined by Christ nor his Apostles, did not count it absolutely necessary to Baptism. For about the Year 590, some *Spanish* Bishops sent to *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* for his Advice. They told him their Custom was to put the Head of the Baptized but once under the Water: but that some *Arians* in that Country kept up the Custom of three Immersions: and that they made a wicked Advantage of it, by perswading the People that thereby was signified that there are three Substances in the Trinity, into which they were separately baptiz'd. *Gregory* makes 'em answer (33); that tho' the Custom of the Church of *Rome* and other Churches was three Immersions, yet he in that Case would advise them to keep to their present Custom: that in the same Faith different Usages of the Church do no Hurt: that whereas there is in the three Persons but one Substance, there could be no Blame in dipping the Infant either once or thrice. For that by three Immersions the three Persons, or by One, the Singularity of the Substance was represented. That if they should now on a sudden take up the other Custom, the Heretics would boast that they were come over to their Side, &c. So the *Spaniards* kept to the Use of one Immersion for some Time. For 40 Years after, it is confirm'd in one of their (34) Councils. But *Walafridus Strabo* says (35), that after a while the old Way prevailed.

530.

The Schoolmen among the Papists, tho' they say that either Way may do, yet speak of trine Immersion, where Immersion is used, as much the more fitting. And for the Protestants, *Vossius* says (36), What Son of the Church will not willingly hold to that Custom which the ancient Church practis'd all over the World, except Spain? &c. Besides, at present the trine Immersion is us'd in all Countries: so that the Custom cannot

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(32) Theodoret. hæret. Fab. l. 4. cap. de Eunomio. (33) Epist. ad Leandrum Reg. l. i. c. 41. (34) Conc. Tol. 4. Can. 5. (35) De increment. Eccl. c. 265. (36) De Baptismo Disp. 2. Thef. 4.



cannot be chang'd without an Affectation of Novelty, and Scandal given to the Weak. He means all Countries where Immersion is us'd.

Year after the Apostles

§. 5. Of the Circumstances that anciently attended Baptism, some are mention'd by *Tertullian* in the Place last recited. One is the Signing of the Forehead with the Sign of the Cross. This is spoken of by all the ancient Writers as used by Christians upon all Occasions. They that now a-Days are against the Use of it at Baptism, do observe, that tho' the Fathers do often mention this Custom, yet none of 'em do speak particularly of its being us'd at Baptism. I gave an Instance, I think, plain enough to the contrary, in the first Part CH. XIV. §. 5. And besides, when they say, as *Tertullian* here does, that it was us'd on every Occasion that was never so little solemn; they I think sufficiently intimate its Use at Baptism, which is the most solemn Act of a Christian's whole Life. Besides, that *Tertullian* speaking of Baptism, says, *Caro signatur ut anima muniatur.*

280.

*St. Basil* mentions this Custom of Christians at the same Place (36) where he mentions that of trine Immersion. And *St. Cyprian* (37) having Occasion to recite that Text, *Ezek. 9. 4, 5.* where the Executioners of God's Wrath are commanded to *slay all, Old and Young, Maids and Little Children that had not the Mark upon their Foreheads,* applies it to the Christians, and says, it signifies that none now can escape but those only that are *renati & signo Christi signati*: "baptized" and signed with Christ's Mark. And he frequently in other Places speaks of it as a Thing used by all Christians. And *Rufinus* says (38), It was the Custom for every one at the End of the Creed, *frontem signaculo contingere, to make the Sign on his Forehead*: and we know that every one repeated the Creed at his Baptism either by himself or his Sponsors, as *Rufinus* himself in his *Explication of the Creed* mentions, and calls it *the ancient Custom.*

260.

150.

290.

It was a noble Thing that they design'd by this Badge of the Cross. It was to declare that they would not be asham'd of the Cross of Christ: never be abash'd at the Flouts of the Heathens, who objected to 'em that the Person in whom they trusted as their God, had been executed for a Malefactor: never be scandaliz'd if it came to be their Fortune to suffer it themselves. On the contrary, they voluntarily own'd it as their Share and Allotment in this World. This was according to our Savior's Rule, *to deny themselves, take up their Cross, and follow him.* He that does this with a firm Resolution, is the Man that has overcome this World.

§. 6. Another Custom that *Tertullian* instances in, is, the giving to the new baptiz'd Person a Mixture of *Milk and Honey.* There is none of the ceremonial Circumstances that accompanied Baptism of

Q q q 2

which

(36) De spiritu sancto, c. 27. (37) Ad Demetr. prope finem. (38) Apol. i. statim ab initio.

Year af- which fo early Mention is made, as there is of this, if *Barnabas's E-*  
 ter the A- pistle be fo ancient as learned Men do think. For as *Tertullian* 100  
 postles Years after the Apostles here speaks of it as a Thing generally and  
 constantly us'd; so it is also plainly intimated in that Epistle. Which  
 because the Interpreters of it have not minded, nor have taken any  
 notice that the Place does at all refer to Baptism; I shall recite it  
 something at large: and it will appear that this Custom used at  
 the Christian Baptism gives some Light to it, which otherwise seems  
 to have none at all.

He had been shewing that many Sayings of the Old Testament do  
 in an allegorical Way refer to the Church of Christians that was to  
 be. He instances for one in that Description given by *Moses* of the  
 promised Land; where he calls it, *A Land flowing with Milk and Ho-*  
*ney.* To explain how this belongs to the Christians, he says, cap. 6.  
*Επὶ ἐν ἀναγκνίσουσ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον*  
*ὡς παιδὸν ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασσομένῃ* [i. *αναπλασσομένη*] *αὐτοῦ*  
*ἡμᾶς, &c.* Since God having at the Forgiveness of our Sins [i. e. at Ba-  
 ptism] renewed us, has caused us to have our Hearts in another Form  
 as the Heart of a Child, just as if he had formed us anew, &c. Therefore  
 the Prophet thus foretold it; Enter into the Land flowing with Milk  
 and Honey, and rule in it. *Ἰδοὺ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναπλασσομεθα, &c.* Behold then  
 we are formed anew: as also he speaks by another Prophet, Behold, says  
 the Lord, I will take from them, that is from those whom the Spirit of  
 the Lord foresaw, their Hearts of Stone, and I will put into them  
 Hearts of Flesh.—— Wherefore we are they whom he has brought into  
 that good Land. But what means the Milk and Honey? Because as a Child  
 is nourished first with Milk, and then with Honey; so we being kept alive  
 with the Belief of his Promises, and the Word of his Gospel, shall live, &c.  
 To the same Purpose he speaks of Baptism as a new Formation, ch.  
 16.

The Coherence which he seems to mean, is thus. The Christian  
 Baptism does put us into a new State: by God's forgiving us all that  
 is past, and giving us new Hearts, we are in the State of Children  
 new born. Milk and Honey (which are therefore given after Ba-  
 ptism) being Food proper for Children, and being the Things by  
 which *Moses* did characterize the promised Land; that Character of  
 it does typifie the true Land of Promise, to the Enjoyment whereof  
 the Christians are now by Baptism called.

280. The Custom of giving Milk and Honey to the new baptiz'd Per-  
 son, whether he were a grown Man or an Infant, continued down  
 to St. *Hierom's* Time: for he mentions it. (42). And how much lon-  
 ger I know not: for I remember no later Mention of it. It has how-  
 ever for a long Time been forborn. 'Tis natural to suppose, that this,  
 being



being only an Emblem to signifie that the new baptiz'd Person is as Year after a new-born Babe, was left off at such Time when, the World being enter the A- come into the Church, there were hardly any more Baptisms but of postles Babes in a proper Sense, who needed no such Representation to signifie their Infancy.

It was in those first Times of general Use among the Heretics, as well as Catholics. For *Tertullian* objecting to (43) *Marcion*, that his Christ how much soever he undervalued the God that made the World, yet was forc'd to make use of his Creatures even in his religious Offices, says, *He does not for all that reject the Water of the Creator, with which he washes his Disciples: Nor his Oyl, with which he anoints 'em: Nec mellis & lactis societatem, quâ infantat: nor the Mixture of Milk and Honey, with which he enters 'em as Infants: nor his Bread, &c. being forc'd in his own Sacraments to make use of the bæggerly Gifts of the Creator.* 100 60.

§. 7. The White Garment, in which the new baptized Persons were clothed, is not mention'd that I know of, by any of the earliest Writers. *Cyril* (44) mentions it; and in the After-times there is much said about it. By it they signified that they were now washed from their Sins in the Blood of the Lamb: had put on Christ: were become Children of the Light and of the Day: and resolved to keep themselves unspotted from the World. They wore this for a Week: and then it was laid up as an Evidence against 'em, if they ever revolted from that holy Faith and Profession. This was used in the Case of Infants as well as of grown Persons. I gave an Instance before (45). 250.

§. 8. There were in some Churches two Anointings us'd at Baptism. One, of the naked Body with Oyl just before the Immersion. Of this *St. Cyril* speaks *Catech. Mystag. 2.* and the Author of *Quæst. à Gentibus propos. Q. 137.* and *St. Chrysost. Hom. 6. in Epist. ad Coloss.* 250. 290.

The other, which was universally us'd, and is mention'd by the more ancient Writers, was after the Baptism, with a rich Ointment or Chrism. I observ'd before (46) that the first Mention we have of this Chrism, was the Use of it by the *Valentinian* Heretics, who as *Irenæus* tells us (47); anointed the baptized Person with Balsam: and said, this Oyntment is a Type of that Sweetness which surpasses all Things. But tho' this be something ancients than any Mention of it as used among the Catholics; yet it is plain that it was also us'd by them generally about the same Time: because Authors a little after this do speak of it as an unquestion'd Custom. *Tertullian* recites it thus (48); *Then when we come out of the Water, we are anointed with a blessed [or consecrated] Ointment according to that ancient Rite by which Men used to be anointed for the Priest's Office, with Oyl out of a Horn; ever* 100.

(43) *Cont. Marcion. l. 1. c. 14.* (44) *Catech. Mystagog. 4.* (45) *Pt. 1. CH. XVIII. §. 1.* (46) *CH. V. §. 1.* (47) *L. 3. c. 2.* (48) *De Bapt. c. 7.*

Year af- ever since the Time that Aaron was anointed by Moses: so that Christ him-  
 ter the self has his Name from Chrism, [or Unction], and a little after; Then  
 postles we have the Imposition of Hands on us, which calls down and invites the  
 150. holy Spirit. And St. Cyprian thus (49); The baptized Person must be  
 anointed also, that by having the Chrism, that is the Anointing, he may be  
 267. the anointed of God. And in the Council of Laodicea the 48 Canon  
 is: Baptized Persons must after their Baptism receive the holy Anointing,  
 &c. In a Word; there is nothing more frequently mention'd in An-  
 tiquity than this Anointing and Laying on of the Hands of the Bi-  
 shop in order to implore the Graces of the Holy Spirit on the Ba-  
 278. ptized. And yet St. Hierom, when he is in one of his Moods, says  
 (50); We find this done in many Places, more for the Credit of the Epis-  
 copal Office, than for any Necessity of the Precept.

The Parts of the Body that were anointed, were not in all Churches  
 the same. In the Church of Jerusalem it was the Forehead (which  
 was ever in all Churches one of the Places) and the Ears, the No-  
 280. strils, and the Breast: as appears by the third of St. Cyril's *Mystical*  
*Catechisms*.

The Chrism was used presently after the Baptism: And so was  
 the Laying on of Hands, if the Person were adult and the Baptizer  
 were a Bishop. But if the Person were an Infant; the Laying on  
 of Hands was defer'd till he were of Age with his own Mouth to ra-  
 tifie the Profession made at Baptism. And tho' the Person were a-  
 dult; yet if it was only a *Deacon* or a *Presbyter* that baptiz'd him,  
 the Laying on of Hands was *ordinarily* reserv'd for the Bishop to do:  
 according to that Example of the Church of Jerusalem, who having  
 heard that many People at Samaria had been converted and baptiz'd  
 by Philip, who was but a Deacon (51) sent unto them Peter and John.  
 Then they laid their Hands on 'em: And they received the Holy Ghost.

285. The Council of Eliberis do order (52), that if a *Layman* or a *Dea-*  
*con* have in time of Necessity given Baptism; the Person, if he live,  
 must be brought to the Bishop for Imposition of Hands. But they  
 seem to suppose, that if the Baptism was given by a *Presbyter*; he, in  
 such Case of Necessity, might give the Imposition too, rather than the  
 Party die without it.

It was the Custom of the Church of Rome, that if the Baptizer were  
 under the Degree of a Bishop, he should anoint the other Parts aforemen-  
 tioned, but not the Forehead: And the anointing of that was refer-  
 ved for the Bishop to do, when he laid on Hands, as I quoted be-  
 312. fore (53) out of Pope Innocent. But the first Council of Orange al-  
 341. lows of but one Anointing of the Baptized, and that to be used pre-  
 sently after the Baptism. But if any one, say they (54), by Reason of  
 any

(49) Epist. 70. ad Januar. (50) Adv. Luciferianos. (51) Acts 8. 14, 15, &c.  
 (52) Can. 38, & 77. (53) Pt. I. CH. XVII. §. 6. (54) Can. 1.



any Accident was not anointed at his Baptism; then the Bishop shall be advised of it when he comes to confirm him. For we have but one Benediction of Chrism. Not pretending to set a Rule to any, but that the Anointing may be esteemed necessary. Year after the Apostles

And in the Church of Rome, tho' the ordinary Rule were, that none but the Bishop should give the Chrism on the Forehead, as I said; yet in Case of Scarcity of Bishops, or of their Negligence in performing their Visitations to do this, it was allowed to Presbyters to do it. For Gregory the Great in the ninth Epistle of his third Book, says; that Presbyters may anoint the Breast; but none but the Bishop, the Forehead. But in Epist. 26. he revokes this Order in the Case of Want of Bishops, and in such a Case allows the Presbyters to anoint the Forehead too. And long before his Time, the same Liberty had been given to Presbyters, in the Absence of the Bishop, not else, in the first Council of Toledo (55). 490. 300.

Novatian, it seems, as he was not baptiz'd in the ordinary Way, but in his Bed; (which was one Objection against his being made a Bishop) so also he never had had this Anointing and Imposition of Hands: Upon which Cornelius founds this other Objection against him (56); Neither was he, after he recover'd, made Partaker of those other Things which a Christian ought by the Rule of the Church to have; i. e. to be confirmed [or sealed, σφραγισθαι] by the Bishop: which he not having, How was he made Partaker of the Holy Spirit? 120. 150.

If any one had been baptiz'd in a schismatical Congregation, and afterward desir'd to be admitted among the Catholics; he was by the Rule of some Churches to be baptiz'd anew: But in the Church of Rome (whose Example finally prevail'd) he was not baptiz'd anew (provided those from whom he came, believ'd the Trinity, and baptiz'd into it) but he had a new Imposition of Hands and Anointing. For they would never yield, that the Prayers of Schismatics could procure the Grace of the Holy Spirit.

Of these two Things, the Chrism or Anointing is not commanded in Scripture: Yet it is still practis'd by all the Christians of the East and West; except the Protestants. But the Laying on of Hands is plainly mention'd in the Scripture; Acts 8. 17. Heb. 6. 2. and is yet continued by all Christians, except some very absurd People. It is injoined in the Church of England; with an excellent Office drawn up on purpose for it. But I think there is never a Divine of that Church that has not express'd his Grief, that it is not more frequently offer'd, and more seriously and solemnly accepted and used. I hope so much of what St. Hierom says in the Place I last quoted from him (57), is true, That it is not necessary to Salvation: For else, as he there says, they are in a lamentable Condition; who in Villages and remote Places being baptiz'd

Year af- baptiz'd by Presbyters or Deacons, do die before the Bishop's Visitation.  
 ter the A. These were the most ancient Rites relating to Baptism. Many that  
 pofles came up in After-times, and are now used in the Church of Rome,  
 are not worth the reciting: And it would be tedious to do it.

It is to be noted here, that some learned Men who are skill'd in the Customs of the *Jews*, do assure us, that those three Ceremonies of anointing the Body at Baptism, and of the trine Immersion, and of the Milk and Honey, were all us'd by the *Jews* in their baptizing of a Profelyte, whether Infant, or Adult (as well as the requiring Undertakers in the Case of Infants). And this is indeed the most probable Account of the Way from whence it was that the first Christians had these Customs, of which there is no Mention in the Writings of the New Testament, viz. that they used them by Imitation of the Jewish Baptism. Which does still more confirm (what I discours'd of in the Introduction) that they reckon'd their Baptism to succeed (with some Alterations) in the Room of the Jewish Baptism of Profelytes of the Nations.

§. 9. But the most material Thing by far that was done at Baptism, was the *Professions*; the Sincerity whereof is more to be regarded than the external Baptism it self: As *St. Peter* testifies 1 *Ep.* 3. 21. They were constantly and universally requir'd: in the Case of grown Persons to be made with their own Mouth in the most serious Manner; and in the Case of Infants, by their Sponsors in their Name. That a Man may justly wonder at the Spirit of Contradiction in those People that pretend Baptism does better without 'em, and do practise accordingly: As if they had Authority to entitle Persons to the Kingdom of God, whether they do, when they come to Age, keep the Commandments or not.

These Professions were of two Sorts, relating to the two general Duties of a Christian; 1. Renouncing of Wickedness, and 2. Faith, with Obedience to God. Every one that would be enter'd into the holy Covenant of Christianity, must promise to renounce the Idolatry and false Worship then us'd in the World, and all other Wickedness. The Scripture Phrase is, *Repent and be baptiz'd*. *Pliny's* Letter to *Trajan* (58) concerning the Christians, is; that all the Ill that he (by examining some that had been of their Sect and were come off from it) could find in 'em, was; *That they would not sacrifice to the Gods: That they kept Assemblies before Day, in which they sang Hymns of Praise to Christ as their God: And bound themselves (not to any ill Thing, that he could hear of; but) in a Sacrament (that is Pliny's Word: It signified with them an Oath, or, solemn Obligation) not to be guilty of any Theft, Robbery, Adultery, Cheating, Treachery, &c.* It was probably the Obligation enter'd into at Baptism, to which he refers; as having  
 heard



heard some general Reports of their Usage in that Matter. *Justin Martyr* in the Passage which I recited in the *first Pt. CH. XI. §. 3.* speaking of such as they admitted into their Society, describes 'em thus ; *They who are perswaded and do believe that those Things which are taught by us are true, and do promise to live according to 'em, &c.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
40.

The Particular Words in which this Profession was made, were, by the Account of the eldest Authors that mention 'em, much the same as are used now : only shorter, and with some little Variety in the several Churches. *Tertullian* in the Place lately quoted (59) recites 'em thus ; *We do renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and his Angels.* And he has the said Words without any Alteration, in his Book *de Spectac. c. 4.* And in the Book *de Idololatriâ*, tho' at *c. 6.* he mention only *the Devil and his Angels* ; yet at *c. 18.* he adds ; *since you have abjur'd the Pomp of the Devil, &c.* So that 'tis probable those were the very Words of the Form of Renunciation in the Church of Carthage at that Time. *Origen* brings in (60) the Devil triumphing over a wicked Christian ; *Lo ! this Man was called a Christian, and was signed on the Forehead with Christ's Mark : But he had in his Heart my Precepts and Designs. This is the Man that at his Baptism Renounced me and my Works ; but afterward engag'd himself in all my Works, and obey'd my Laws.* But *Hom. 12. in Num.* He names 'em thus ; *his Pomp, his Works, his Services, and Pleasures.*

100.

110

In the Church of Jerusalem the Form, as we read in *St. Cyrill (61)*, was ; *I renounce thee, oh Satan, and all thy Works, all thy Pomp, and all thy Service.* And he explains the *Works of the Devil* thus ; *Under the Name of the Devil's Works is comprehended all Sin.* And he bids 'em mind, that *what they say at that solemn Time, is written down in God's Book ; so that what they shall practise afterward to the contrary, will bring 'em under the Judgment of Deserters.* *St. Chrysostom* gives us the Form of the Church of Antioch to the same Purpose (62) ; *I renounce thee, oh Satan, and thy Pomp, and thy Service, and thy Angels.*

240.

300

*St. Cyprian* in the Passage that I recited out of him in the *first Part CH. VI. §. 11.* styles it *Renouncing the Devil and the World*, and he mentions it in the same Words, *Lib. de bono patientia, §. 7.*

150.

When it was an Infant that was baptiz'd, these Professions were made in his Name and Stead by his Parents, or others that stood as Sponsors or Godfathers for him : as appears by the Words of *Tertullian* which I recited *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9.* where he objects that the Godfathers are by this Means brought into Danger : *Because they may either fail of their Promises by Death, or be deceiv'd by a Child's proving Wicked.* Mistaking the Design of the Thing so far, as to think that the Godfather stands to the Peril of that. And among other Fathers

100.

R r r

that

(59) *De Coronâ Militis, c. 2.* (60) *In Psalm. 38. Hom. 2.* (61) *C. 1. Myst. &c.*  
(62) *In Ep. ad Coloss. Hom. 6.*

Year after the Ap-  
 postles that liv'd a little after, the Mention of the Godfathers and of the  
 Answers made by them in the Name of the Infant is so frequent,  
 and I have cited so many Passages where it is occasionally mention'd,  
 that there is no need of more. Only in some of 'em it may be ob-  
 serv'd that there were, as I said, in several Churches several Varia-  
 tions of the Words of this Renunciation. St. *Austin*, l. 1. de pecc. mer.  
 c. 19. says; *that Infants do profess Repentance by the Words of those that*  
*bring 'em, when they do by them renounce the Devil and this World.* And  
*Epist. 23. he says; it was asked among other Things; Does this Child*  
*turn to God?*

The requiring these Obligations of the baptized Person, was called  
 the *Exorcizing* him, or putting him to his Oath. Which being be-  
 come the common Word, it was so called also in the Case of Infants.  
 St. *Austin* pleads against the *Pelagians* (63), that *it is in a real Meaning,*  
*and not in a Mockery, that the Power of the Devil is exorciz'd [or;*  
*abjur'd] in Infants, and they do renounce it by the Mouths of those that*  
*bring 'em, not being capable of doing it by their own; that being deliver'd*  
*from the Power of Darknes they may be translated into the Kingdom of*  
*their Lord.*

In the later Times of the Church of *Rome*, this *exorcizing* has been  
 accompanied with so many odd Tricks of their Invention, that the  
 Word now sounds ill in the Ears of Protestants: And they take the  
 Name *Exorcist* to signifie something like that of *Conjurer* in the vul-  
 gar Acceptation. But as both these Words in their original Signifi-  
 cation do import no more than *the requiring of an Oath or solemn Pro-*  
*mise:* So the Use of *Exorcizing* formerly was no more than I have  
 describ'd, and the Protestants do practise; save that they observ'd  
 some peculiar Gestures, Postures, and Actions in the Time of doing  
 it, which are not worth the particular naming.

§. 10. They were bound also to profess the Christian FAITH.  
 The Words in which this was done in every particular Church, were  
 the same which that Church us'd for a Form of the Christian Creed.  
 The Form of the Creed was not in all Churches the same in Words,  
 but in Substance it was. It is great Pity that there is not left any  
 Copy of any very ancient Creed. We know both by the Scripture,  
 and by their earliest Writings, what was the Substance of their Faith:  
 But we should be glad to have the very Form of Words which was  
 us'd in the Offices of each Church, and according to which they put  
 the Interrogatories to the Competents at Baptism. We have some  
 Clauses of these left: But no intire Form of a Creed, till that which  
 was agreed on at the first general Meeting of Christians from all Parts  
 of the World, at *Nice*, Anno Dom. 325. This is the eldest Copy of  
 any public Creed that is extant.

In



In the oldest Books of all that we have of the Fathers, it is as it is Year after Year as in the Books of Scripture: The Articles of our Faith are found scattered up and down, but not collected into any one short Draught, or Policies Summary. There is nothing more probable than the Opinion of those learned Men, who judge that at first there was no other Creed necessary for the Baptized to repeat, than that which is collected from our Savior's own Words, *Mat. 28. 19. viz. that they should say; I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the holy Spirit.* But the Heresies that arose, did not suffer the Church-Offices to continue in that Simplicity and Brevity.

I think there is nothing more edifying to a Christian, than to perceive that the Substance of the Faith once for all deliver'd to the Saints has continued the same in the Catholic Church from the Scripture Times till now. Therefore I will take the Pains to set down some of the most remarkable Places out of such Christian Writers as are elder than any Copies of Creeds now extant, which do in short contain the Sum of their Belief; and agreeable to which their Creed propos'd to the Catechumens must have been.

*Justin Martyr* apologizes for the Christians, that they were not Atheists (as they were by some traduc'd to be) for tho' they did not go to the Temples, nor worship the Gods; Yet, says he (64), *the true God and Father of Righteousness, &c. and his Son, that came forth from him, and has taught us and the Angels, &c. these Things; and the Prophetic Spirit me do worship and adore.* And having said (in the Passage of the same Apology which I quoted in the first Part, CH. XI. §. 3. about the Christian Manner of Baptism) that they were baptized in the Name of these Three; he adds this farther Explication. *There is named over the Person [or, by the Person] that has a Mind to be regenerated, the Name of the Father, God and Lord of all.* Then after a little Digression, of the Reason why the Christians do not affix any Name to their God, as it was customary for the Heathens; as *Jupiter, Bacchus, &c.* He goes on; *And also the enlightened Person [or, baptiz'd Person] is washed in the Name of Jesus Christ, that was crucified under Pontius Pilate: And in the Name of the Holy Spirit, who by the Prophets foretold the Things concerning Jesus.*

*Irenæus* having to do with the *Valentinians*, who taught that there was another God above the Creator of the World, and when they were confuted by Scripture, appealed to some secret Traditions; says (65), *'Tis easie for any one to know the Tradition of the Apostles declar'd in all the World: And we are able to reckon up those who were by the Apostles ordained Bishops in the Churches, and their Successors to this Time; who never taught any such Thing.* Then he recites the Succession of some Churches from the Apostles, *Peter, Paul, John, &c.* and says; *Suppose*

Year after the Apostles had left us no Writings, Ought we not to follow the Order of that Tradition which they deliver'd to those to whom they committed the Churches? And to that purpose, he instances in many Christians in the barbarous Nations, that had no Writings; and yet had the true Faith by Tradition, that is, says he;

*Believing in One God, who made Heaven and Earth, and all Things in them by Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who out of highest Love to his Creatures vouchsafed to be born of a Virgin, uniting in himself [or, in his own Person] Man to GOD, and suffer'd under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received up in great Glory, and will come a Savior of those that are saved, and a Judge of those that are judged; and will send into eternal Fire all that deprave his Truth, and despise his Father, and his coming.*

Also on much the like Occasion at another Place (66), having given a long Account how strange Things some Heretics held, he says; *Any one, that does but keep in his Mind unalter'd that Rule of Faith into which he was baptiz'd, will easily perceive their Falshood: And then a little after gives the Account of the Catholic Faith: Thus;*

*For the Church that is extended over all the World to the Ends of the Earth, having received from the Apostles and their Disciples the Faith, which is;*

*In one God the Father Almighty, that made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all Things in them: And in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was for our Salvation incarnated: And in the Holy Spirit, who foretold by the Prophets the Dispensations of God, and the Coming, the Birth from a Virgin, the Suffering, the Resurrection from the Dead, and the bodily Ascension into Heaven of Jesus Christ our beloved Lord: And his Coming from Heaven in the Glory of the Father to restore all Things, and to raise again all the Bodies of Mankind: That to Jesus Christ, our Lord and GOD, and Savior, and King, every Knee may, according to the good Pleasure of the invisible Father, bow; both of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And every Tongue may confess to him: And he may pass a righteous Sentence on all; and may send the spiritual Wickednesses, and the Angels that sinned and apostatiz'd, and all ungodly and unrighteous and unjust Men and Blasphemers into everlasting Fire: And give Life to the Righteous and Holy, and to such as have kept his Commandments, and have continued in his Love (some from the Beginning, and some by Repentance) and may bestow upon them Immortality and eternal Glory.*

This Faith, he says, the Church having received, keeps, as if they had all one Heart and one Soul: And that neither the Churches in Germany, nor those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Africa, or under the Middle of the World, had any other Belief: And that a learned Preacher would deliver no more than this; nor an ignorant Layman any less.

*Tertullian*



Tertullian writing against *Praxeas* (who not being able to believe three Persons in one numerical Essence, taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are but one Person: And consequently, that the Father was incarnated, and was that *Jesus Christ* that died) opposes to him the Faith of the Church as it had always been held, Thus (67;)

*We believe that there is but one God: But yet with this Dispensation or Oeconomy, that this one God has his Son, his WORD coming forth from him; By whom all Things were made, and without him was not any Thing made. That he was by the Father sent into the Virgin, and of her born, Man and GOD, Son of Man and Son of God, and named Jesus the Christ. That this is he that suffer'd, died, and was buried according to the Scriptures, and raised again by the Father, and taken up into Heaven, and sits at the Right-hand of the Father, and will come to judge the Living and the Dead. Who sent from thence, according to his Promise, from the Father the holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the Faith of those that believe in the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit.*

*This Rule has been deriv'd down from the Beginning of the Gospel, before even the eldest of the Heretics; much more before Praxeas, who is but of Yesterday.*

And then, reciting the Objection of *Praxeas*, viz. that the Unity of God can no otherwise be maintain'd but by holding Father, Son and Holy Spirit to be one Person. He answers;

*As if they were not in our Sense all One, inasmuch as all are of One, that is, as to Unity of the Substance: And yet the Mystery of the Oeconomy may be preserv'd, which dispenses the Unity into a Trinity: Ranking Three; Father, Son, and holy Spirit. Tres, non Statu sed Gradu; nec Substantiâ sed Formâ; nec Potestate sed Specie. Three, not in Condition but in Order [or, Rank]; not in Substance but in Form [or, Mode]; and not in Power; but in Species [which Word I know not how to translate, being on so awful a Subject] but in one Substance, and of one Condition, and of one Power: Because they are but one God; out of whom those Ranks, Forms, and Species are reckoned under the Names of Father, Son, and holy Spirit.*

The same Author in another Book (68) writing against Heretics in general, gives in Opposition to all of 'em, this Summary of the Christian Faith.

*That we may declare what we hold: The Rule of Faith is; To believe that there is but one God, and no other but the Maker of the World, who created all Things out of nothing by his WORD first of all sent forth: That that WORD, being called his Son, was in divers Manners seen by the Patriarchs under the Name of God, was in the Prophets always heard, and at last being by the Spirit and Power of God brought into the Virgin Mary, and made Flesh in her Womb, and born of her, was Jesus the Christ: And that*

*then*

Year af-then he preach'd the new Law and new Promise of the Kingdom of Heaven : ter the A. Did Miracles : Was Crucified : Rose again the third Day : Was carried into postles Heaven : Sate down at the Right-hand of God : Sent in his Stead the Power of the holy Spirit to lead them that believe : That he will come in Glory to receive the Saints into the Enjoyment of eternal Life and the heavenly Promises ; and to adjudge the Profane to eternal Fire ; having first raised both from the Dead, and restored to 'em their Flesh.

A shorter Abstract yet, drawn by the same Man upon another occasion (69), is this ;

*The Rule of Faith is but One, altogether unalterable, and not to be mended. That is ; of believing in one God Almighty, Maker of the World : And in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, who arose the third Day from the Dead, was taken up into Heaven ; sits now at the Right-hand of the Father, will come to judge the Living and the Dead, by raising the Flesh it self to Life again.*

NOTO. Origen being to write a Book of the Principles of Religion, makes a (70) Preface to this Purpose ; That because of the many heretical Opinions it was necessary to set down that which is the certain Line and manifest Rule ; and by it to inquire of the rest. This he calls the Ecclesiastical Doctrin deliver'd down from the Apostles in the Order of Succession, and continuing still in the Church. And whereas some Men that had better Gifts than ordinary, might study and know some other Things also ; that this was deliver'd by the Apostles for the use of all, even the duldest Christians. And he says ; *It is this ;*

*First, That there is one God, who has made and order'd all Things, creating them out of Nothing, the God of all holy Men from the Creation : Of Adam, Moses, &c.*

*That this God, who is both just and merciful, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both the Law and the Prophets, and also the Gospel ; the same being the God both of the Old and New Testament.*

*That Jesus Christ, who came, was begotten of the Father before all the Creation : That he ministred to [or, acted under] the Father in the Creation of all Things : For by him all Things were made. That he in the last Days humbled himself to be made Man : He was made Flesh when he was God, and continued to be Man while he was God. He took a Body like unto ours : differing only in this, that it was by the holy Spirit born of a Virgin. And that this Jesus the Christ was born and suffer'd truly, not in Appearance only, but died truly the common Death : And did truly rise from the Dead : And after his Resurrection convers'd with his Disciples : And was taken up.*

*Then they have also deliver'd, that the holy Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son, in Honor and Dignity.*

It may be here observ'd by the By, first, how Origen explains that Phrase of St. Paul, Phil. 2. 7. Being in the Form of God, &c. ἐν εἰματι θεοῦ,



πν, &c. *He in the last Days, seipsum exinanians homo factus est, humbled [or emptied] himself to be made Man.* He does not interpret it, that when he was a Human Soul, or Angel in Heaven, he humbled himself to take an earthly Body. 2ly, How *Rufinus* according to *Origen's* Sense translates, *πρῶτον & πρῶτος κτιστος*, Col. 15. He does not say, *The First-born of every Creature.* Much less does he say; *The First of God's Creation.* But *ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre.* Born [or Begotten] of the Father before all the Creation.

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These are some of the most ancient Passages, wherein the Authors undertake to give an Account in few Words of the Faith into which Christians were baptized. They do not say that these were the very Forms of the Creeds by which the Interrogatories were put: But they must have been to this Purpose. And whereas *Tertullian* says in the Place I quoted before, that the Custom was for the baptized Person to answer some few Words more than those which our Savior in the Gospel has enjoined; We may partly see here what they were. For whereas our Savior had enjoin'd only those Words, of believing in the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit: And whereas some Heretics in those first Ages, tho' keeping those Words, yet had introduc'd monstrous Opinions: Some, of the Father, that he was not the God of the Old Testament, but another: And some, of the Son; that he was not really a Man, nor did really die; as some taught: Or that he was not really God; as others: The Church did examin the Candidates, not only whether they believed in the Father, but whether they believed him to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth. And not only whether they believed in the Son; but whether they believed his Divinity, Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, &c. On these Occasions it was that the ordinary Forms of the Creed were augmented by some Words added for Explication sake. And these were not in every Church the same Words: But each Church added such Words as were necessary to obviate the Heresies that arose in their Country, and were in any Particular contrary to the Fundamentals of the Faith.

And besides such Explications concerning each Person of the Holy Trinity, they added also some other necessary Articles of Christian Faith to the Creed which the baptized Person must make Profession of. So we see in these Passages (beside the Doctrine of the Trinity) the Resurrection of the Dead, and the future Judgment, and eternal Life plainly deliver'd. And more positively than any of the rest, the Article of the Church is by *Tertullian* mention'd, as recited at Baptism, in his Book on that Subject (71): Where having said that *our Faith is sealed [i. e. we are baptiz'd] in the Father, Son, and holy Spirit*, he adds; *And when the Testimony of our Faith, and Promise of our Salvation, are assured by these Three, there is necessarily added a Mention of the Church.* For where the Three, that is, Father, Son, and holy Spirit are; there is the Church, which

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(71) Lib. de Baptismo, c. 6.

Year after the Apostles *which is the Body of the Three.* And also the same Man in another Treatise (72) mentioning occasionally the Church, calls it, *Sanctam Ecclesiam, in quam repromissimus*, 'The Holy Church; the Belief [or, owning] whereof we have vowed. So that 'tis plain, this Article of the Church was in some of the most ancient Creeds. The Meaning of the Profession of this Article, which they had, was; *I own the Catholic Church, i. e. I am of no Sect, or Schism; but do adhere to the Communion and Unity of the Body: In Explication of which Sense were afterward added these Words; the Communion of Saints: That is of Christians.* This was their Meaning of it: And they would baptize no Body without it. In what Sense the Sectaries, that do renounce this Communion, and yet still say those Words with their Mouth, do take 'em, I cannot imagin. As for Baptism, I think they do, many of 'em, administer it without any Creed at all.

350. About 50 Years after the Time of *Tertullian*, we have in *St. Cyprian* the Form in which the Baptized were interrogated in his Time concerning those other Articles, that followed the Confession of the Trinity; or at least a Part of it.

In his 69th Epistle (73) disputing against such as would have Baptism given by the *Novatian* Schismatics to be good Baptism, he says;

*If any one object, and say that Novatian holds the same Rule as the Catholic Church does, and baptizes by the same Creed that we do; that he owns the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, the same holy Spirit: And therefore that he may baptize, since he seems not to differ from us in the Interrogatories of Baptism. Let him that objects this, know; First, that the Schismatics have not the same Rule of the Creed with us, nor the same Interrogation. For when they say; 'Dost thou believe the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Life everlasting by the holy Church? They express a Lie in their Interrogation, since they have not [or own not] the Church.*

And in his next Epistle, to the same Purpose: *When we say; 'Dost thou believe the Life everlasting and the Forgiveness of Sins by the holy Church [or, by the Means used in the holy Church]? &c.*

§. 11. From these Traces we may perceive what was the Substance of the most ancient Creeds in the several Churches: But we come now nigh those Times, since which there are intire Copies of the public Creeds remaining. The eldest of which is, as I said, that which was at the Council of *Nice* agreed on, as a Form to be owned by all Churches. It was this (74);

*We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all Things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: Begotten of the Father: His only begotten; that is, of the Substance [or, Essence] of the Father: God of God: Light of Light: Very God of very God: Begotten, not made: Being co-essential [or, of one Substance] with the Father:*

By

(72) Lib. 5. contra Marcion. c. 4. (73) Juxta Edit. Oxon. (74) Eusebii Epist. apud Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8.



By whom all Things were made, both Things in Heaven, and Things in Year af-  
Earth. Who for us Men, and for our Salvation, came down and was incar-  
nate, and made Man. He suffer'd: And rose again the third Day. He  
went into Heaven, He will come to judge the Living and the Dead.

And in the Holy Spirit.

And those that say, that there ever was a Time when he [Christ] was not:  
Or, that before he was begotten, he was not: Or, that he was made out of  
Nothing: Or do say, that the Son of God is of any other Substance or Es-  
sence: Or, that he was created: Or, is changeable, or alterable: Such Men  
the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God does renounce, [or anathematize.]

When the Council of Constantinople, which was in the Year 382, af-  
firms this Creed to be the ancientest (as they do in a synodical Epi-  
stle (75) written to the Church of Rome) they mean, it is the ancient-  
est of any that had been establish'd at any general Meeting. But the  
several Churches must have had Forms for the Use of Baptism before.

But yet the Creeds used before in the several Churches must have  
been much to the same purpose: Only in this there are some Expres-  
sions added particularly against the Heresie of Arius. Eusebius's Creed,  
which he drew up and offer'd to the Council of Nice, as the Faith  
which he says (76), *He had received from the Bishops before him, and at  
his Catechizing, and when he was baptiz'd; and which he had held and taught,*  
*both while he was a Presbyter, and since he had been a Bishop, differ'd but*  
*little. He says, The Council accepted of his Words, making some Ad-*  
*ditions. The Form which he had offer'd, was this;*

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all Things visible  
and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the WORD of God, God of  
God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, born before every  
Creature, begotten of God the Father before all Worlds, by whom all Things  
were made, &c.*

This, some learned (77) Men do think was the very Form of the  
Creed that had been used Time out of Mind at *Casarea*. If so, then  
this is the oldest Copy extant of any public Creed. But I think *Eu-*  
*sebius's* Words do lead one to conceive that this was the Substance,  
but the Words his own: because he says; *they accepted of my Words*  
*with some Additions.*

At the Time when *Arius* first moved his Controversie, *Alexander*  
the Bishop of the Place oppos'd to his Novelty, that the steady Faith  
of Christians is, and always was, thus (78);

*We believe in one unbegotten Father, who has no Cause at all of his Es-*  
*sence, &c. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God:*  
*Begotten, not out of Nothing, but of the Father. We believe him, as well*  
*as the Father, to be unchangeable and unalterable, &c. And to differ No-*  
*thing from the Father, but only that the Father is unbegotten, &c. That the*

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(75) Theodoret. H. E. lib. 5. c. 9. (76) E. ult. apud Socrat. l. 1. c. 3. (77) De  
Cave Epi. Apologetica. (78) Theodoret. H. E. l. 1. c. 4.

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Son does ever exist from the Father. He took a Body, not in Skew only, but a real one, of the holy Virgin. In the End of the World he came among Men to expiate their Sins: He was crucified and died without any Diminution of his Divinity: He arose from the Dead: He ascended into Heaven, and sits at the Right-hand of the Majesty of God.

Also one holy Spirit, which inspir'd both the holy Men of the old Testament, and the Divine Teachers of the New.

Moreover one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. And the Resurrection of the Dead.

This it seems, was the Substance of What the Christians of *Alexandria* had ever held: But this could not be the very Form; because it is (with the Clauses that I have left out) too long for the Use of Baptism.

228. *Arius's* own Creed given in to the Emperor, was this (79).

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty. And in the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son: begotten of him before all Worlds: God the WORD: by whom all Things were made, both Things in Heaven, and Things on Earth. He came down, and was incarnated: he suffer'd and rose again, and ascended into Heaven: and will come again to judge the Living and the Dead. And in the holy Spirit. And in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life of the World to come, and the Kingdom of Heaven, and one Catholic Church of God from one End of the World to the other.

And he subjoins; that since he had this Faith, he intreated that he might by the Emperor's Means be admitted to the Unity of the Church, all Questions and needless Disputes being laid aside. But he conceals here his worst Opinions, viz. that there was a Time when God the Son was not: and that he was made out of Nothing, &c. and was not very or true God.

237. Twelve Years after the Council of *Nice*, *Constantin* dying, there succeeded in the *East* for forty Years together, except very short Intervals, Emperors that were *Arians*. During which Time the *Arians*, bearing the greatest Sway in those Parts, set up a great many new Forms of Creeds. Some of 'em in Words tolerably well agreeing with the Catholic Sense; others, very disagreeable. But the general Answer that the Christians of the *West* (which were free from the *Arian* Persecution) and the Catholic Party in the *East*, gave, when any of these were proposed to them for their Assent, was; that the *Nicen* Creed was enough, and they would not entertain any new ones. I will give for a Specimen, one of the best, and one of the worst of 'em.

241. 1. The Council of *Arians* met at *Antioch*, anno 341. agreed upon this Creed (80);

To believe in one God of All, the Creator of all Things, visible and invisible. And in one only begotten Son of God, who before all Worlds [or Ages] subsisted and was, together with the Father that begot him: by whom all Things, both visible and invisible, were made. He in the last Days came down by  
the



the good Will of the Father, and took Flesh of the holy Virgin : and having fulfilled all the Father's Counsel, suffer'd : and was raised again : and went back to Heaven, and sits at the Right-hand of the Father : and will come to judge the Living and the Dead : and continues to be King and God for ever. We believe also in the holy Spirit. And if we need say any more, we believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting.

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And three Years after, when the Heresie of Photinus had in the mean time burst out, meeting there again, they (to give as good Satisfaction as they could to the Western Bishops) declared their Sense of that Heresie, and of the Exorbitance of some Arians. After the Body of their Creed, much like the former, they add such Clauses as these (81): *All that say, that the Son of God was made out of Nothing, or of any other Substance, and not of that of God ; or, that there ever was a Time or Age in which he was not : such Men the holy Catholic Church renounces.* They prove it to be both impious and absurd, to imagin any Time before he was begotten ; since all Time and all Ages were made by him. They declare that neither when they profess three Persons, *τρία πρόσωπα*, they do make three Gods : nor when they say, there is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the only unbegotten ; do they therefore deny Christ to be *Θεὸν αἰώνιον*, the eternal God [or, God before all Ages]. They do also own there, that he is God by Nature, perfect and true God. They profess their Abhorrence of Photinus, who makes the WORD to be *ἀνίστατον* without a personal Subsistence. And say, As for our selves, we know him to be not merely as a Word spoken, or as Reason in God : but God the WORD, and subsisting by himself, and the Son of God and Christ. And that he was with his Father before the World, not by way of Prescience, &c. but the subsisting WORD of the Father, and GOD of GOD---like to the Father in all Things, &c. Moreover, say they, We, understanding in a cautious Sense that which is said of him ; The Lord possessed me in the Beginning of his Way (82) [This Text the Greek Translators had render'd ; *κτίει ἐκ ποτίου*. The Lord built or made me] do by no Means understand, that he was begotten in a Way like to the Creatures made by him : for it were impious and against the Faith of the Church, to liken the Creator to the Things by him made, &c.-----Thus we believe in the perfect and most holy Trinity, calling the Father, God ; and the Son, God ; we do not mean these to be two, but one God, &c. These Men were not very far from the Catholic Faith.

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2. But about sixteen Years afterward ; This Sect carried Matters to more extravagant Outrages. For the Emperor Constantius, a bigotted Arian, being then at Antioch, a Party met there, and determined that the Son is not at all like the Father, neither in Essence nor in Will : that he was made out of Nothing : as Arius had at first said.

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*Sozomen* relating this (83); says that there were among these (who were but few in all) several of the Party of *Actius*, who, he says, was the first that after *Arius* ventur'd to use openly such Expressions, and was therefore called, the Atheist. And about this Time *Eunomius*, the Partner of *Aerius*, publish'd his Creed to this Purpose;

*There is one God, unbegotten and without Beginning, &c. the Maker and Creator of all Things, and first of his only begotten Son, &c. For he begot, created, and made his Son before all Things, and before all the Creation, only by his Power and Operation: not communicating any Thing of his own Essence to him, &c. nor making him another like himself, &c. but he begot him of such a Nature as he thought fit, &c. And by him he made, first and the greatest of all, the holy Spirit, &c. And after him, all the Things in Heaven and Earth, &c. There is also one holy Spirit, the first and greatest of the Works of the Only-begotten, made by the Command of the Father, but by the Power and Operation of the Son.*

This Man had Reason to appoint among his Followers a new Form of Baptism: for the old one did not fit to such Opinions. So he laid it aside, and us'd that impious Form of Baptizing which I mention'd before at §. 4. *In the Name of the unbegotten Father, &c.*

The moderate and general Sort of *Arians* did all the while own all that the *Nicen* Creed had said of our Savior to be true, save that they thought not fit to determin that he is of one Substance with the Father: as neither on the contrary did they think fit to say, as *Arius* had done, that he was created, or was of any other Substance. They rejected both those Clauses, and said that the Substance or Essence of God is unsearchable, and nothing ought to be determined about it.

225. Yet *Eusebius* (84) and *Athanasius* (85) shew'd 'em that that very Word had been often us'd by the Christians both of the Greek and Latin Church above 100 Years before. Many of the Books out of which they could then prove this, are now lost: yet for the *Latins*, *Tertullian* does use that very Expression in the Passage of his that I quoted last. And *Pamphilus* the Martyr in his Apology for *Origen* (or be it *Eusebius* himself that was the Author of that Piece) makes it plain, 100. that it was a common Expression in the Books of *Origen* that were then extant. 110.

- However we see that this Sect of the *Arians*, even the Dregs of it among the *Eunomians*, had not nigh so derogatory Thoughts of the Nature of our blessed Savior, as our *Socinians* have; who take him to be a mere Man, and to have had no Being before his human Birth. 247. *Photinus* indeed did in those confused Times broach that Opinion which one Sort of the *Socinians* do now fall into; that the WORD, the  $\alpha\beta\gamma$ , of which St. *John* speaks, is eternal: But that this WORD is

(83) Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29. (84) Euseb. Epist. apud. Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. (85) Epist. ad Afros. apud Theodoret. l. 1. c. 8.



is not a Person, nor did take Man's Nature in *Jesus Christ*, was not *made Flesh* (as *St. John* says he was) but only inspir'd, directed, or dwelt in, the Man *Jesus*. But he did no sooner say this, but that all Sorts of Christians, *Catholics*, *Arians*, and *Eunomians*, join'd in an Abhorrence of him, as *Bishop Pearson* (86) shews at large by reciting the Condemnations of him particularly. And he concludes, *so suddenly was this Opinion rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but Julian the Heretic* [leg. Apostate] *who rail'd at St. John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for denying it: as appears by an Epistle written by Julian to him; as it is, tho' in a mean Translation, deliver'd by Facundus ad Justinian. l. 4. "Tu quidem, Oh Photine, &c. You, "Photinus, say something like, and come near to good Sense. You "do well not to bring him whom you think to be God, into a Woman's Womb.*

Year after the Apostles

261.

And from that Time till very lately, whoever embrac'd that Opinion has thought fit at the same Time to renounce the Scriptures, and the Name of a Christian.

What Creed the *Arians* used all this while for their Candidates to make their Professions by at Baptism, I know not; for their Creeds that are upon Record they alter'd almost every Day. The Catholics in the East made use of the *Nicen*, as appears by *Epiphanius in Ancorato*, where he gives Directions that every one of the Catechumens that would come to the holy Laver, must not only profess in general to believe; but must be taught to say expressly, as their and our Mother does, viz. "We believe in one God, &c. as it is in the *Nicen* Creed. Only in *Epiphanius's* Copy some Clauses are put in by a later Hand; or by himself afterward; out of the *Constantinopolitan* Creed, which was set forth four Years after the first writing of that Book. He dates his Book the 10th Year of *Valens*, and he says, *This is the Faith deliver'd by all the holy Bishops together, above 310 in Number.* Which must be the *Nicen* Bishops. So that 'tis certain he in the first Edition of his Book set down the *Nicen*: and it was interpolated afterwards with those few Additions which the Council of *Constantinople* made to it. And I indeed was of Opinion that the same thing had happened to the *Jerusalem* Creed explain'd in way of Catechism by *St. Cyril*. He wrote those Catechisms first in *Constantinus's* Time: and yet there are in 'em, as they are now, the very Clauses of the *Constantinopolitan* Creed. This, I reckon'd, could never have happen'd so exact, but that he in his old Age (for he lived to that Time) or some Body after him, had added those Clauses which the Council of *Constantinople* had put in. But I find that *Mr. Grabe* (87) is of another Opinion, and thinks that the *Jerusalem* Creed and several other ancient *Eastern* Creeds, had those Clauses before the Time of the *Constantinopolitan* Council. To whose great Learning I willingly subscribe.

281.

277.

259.

281.

There

(86) On the Creed, pag. 120. (87) Annot. in opera Doct. Bull.

Year after the Apostles 331. There is from this Time forward abundant Evidence that the *Eastern Churches* generally made use of the *Nicen Creed* to be repeated at Baptisms. The Council of *Ephesus* (88) orders that none do write or propose any other Faith [or Creed] but that which was agreed on by the holy Fathers assembled at *Nice*, &c.—And if any one do offer or propose any other to such as desire to be converted to the Knowledge of the Truth [i. e. to such as come to be baptiz'd] either from the Heathens, or from the Jews, or from any Heresie; if they be Bishops or Clergymen, they shall be depos'd; if Lay-men, excommunicated. The Council of *Chalcedon* confirms the same (89). And so does the Edict of *Justinian*. And several other Synods do mention it as the Faith into which they were baptized, and into which they do baptize. *Basiliscus* the Usurper of the *Greek Empire*, having in his Edict mention'd this Creed, adds, into which both we, and all our Ancestors that were Christians, have been baptiz'd (90). And 376. the Emperor *Zeno* enacts, that all Baptisms should be by that.

This shews that what I quoted before (91) out of *Greg. Nazianzen* (that he would not baptize any *Arian*) was not singular in him: since the Church in all those Parts used at Baptism that Creed which has the Expressions purposely levell'd against that Heresie.

§. 12. *Valens* the great Persecutor of the *Nicen Faith*, died in the 14 Year of his Reign. And then the Church had Liberty once again to come together from all Parts both of the *East* and *West*: which 281. they did at *Constantinople Anno* 381. They made no Doubt or Delay of establishing the *Nicen Creed* in opposition to all the Novelties that had disturb'd the World since it. Only inasmuch as some new Heresies had sprung up since, especially about our Belief in the *Holy Spirit*, they put in a few Clauses against them. *Eunomius*, *Macedonius*, and some others, had follow'd *Arius's* Pattern of innovating, so far, that as he had made the *Son of God* a Creature; so they would do the same by the *Spirit of God*. *Arius* had had a much better Handle to take hold of: for the Son did indeed take on him a created Nature: and because in that Nature he was born, died, &c. there were a great many plausible Things to say among vulgar People. But to make the Spirit of God, which *St. Paul* shews to be inward to God, as the Spirit of a Man is to a Man, saying, 1 Cor. 2. 11. *What Man knows the Things of a Man, save the Spirit of a Man which is in him? So the Things of God none knows save the Spirit of God.* To make him a Creature too, was, we should think, a bold Attempt, not only on the Honor of God, but also on the Reason and Sense of Men. But so it always happens. Whenever one Sort of Innovators break in upon any Article of Faith, there always arises behind their Backs a new Sect, that will refine upon the first, and carry the Superstructure farther than they ever intended, and to such Extravagancies as the principal Heretics are ashamed



sham'd of. Yet some of the *Arians*, that the Party might be the stronger against the Catholics, struck in with the *Macedonians* in this too. Year after the Apostles

The Bishops of this Council added therefore, as I said, some new Clauses, relating to our Belief concerning the Holy Spirit, and some other plain Things, to the Body of the *Nicen*. And the Creed by them publish'd is oftner call'd by the Name of the *Nicen* Creed, than of the *Constantinopolitan*: and so they themselves desir'd it should; it being only a second Edition of the *Nicen* with those Additions. *Nestorius* in his Sermons preach'd at *Constantinople* about 40 Years after this Time, does often quote the *Nicen* Creed in Defence of his Opinion: But the Clauses he produces, are the Words of this. And generally after this Time, when we have Mention of the *Nicen* Creed, or Faith; we are to understand this, unless where the Author does expressly make a Distinction.

328.

It is the same (except one Word) that is now a-days repeated in the Communion Service by almost all the establish'd Churches of Christians in the World. So general an Assent does that foul Mouth give, that says; *All that own it, must renounce the numerical Unity of God's Essence*. The Copy of it, with a Distinction of such Clauses as were then added, is this.

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible.

281.

'And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God: begotten of his Father before all Worlds: God of God: Light of Light: very God of very God: begotten, not made: being of one Substance with the Father: by whom all Things were made [in some Copies 'tis added; both Things in Heaven and Things in Earth] who for us Men and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffer'd: and was buried: and the third Day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascend-ed into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right-hand of the Father: And he shall come again to judge the Living and the Dead: whose Kingdom shall have no End.

'And we believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and Giver of Life: who proceedeth from the Father: who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified: who spake by the Prophets.

'And we believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. And we look for the Resurrection of the Dead: and the Life of the World to come.

Whereas in the Copies now a-days used in the *Western* Church, 'tis said, *The Holy Spirit, &c. who proceedeth from the Father and the Son*: those Words, and the *Son*, were added several hundred Years after the Making of the Creed, by the Church of *Rome*; and so pass'd into all the *Western* Copies: but the *Eastern* Churches have them not. And how true soever the Doctrine may be, it was not fair for any one Part

Year of the Church to add the Words to the old Copy. The *Greeks* say, *He proceeds from the Father by the Son.*

for the A-  
postles

The chief Thing that this Creed has more than the old *Nicen*, is; that the Holy Spirit is *Lord, and Giver of Life.* The *Macedonian* Heretics had taught that the Holy Spirit is one of the *ministring Spirits* mentioned *Heb. 1. 14.* only greater than the rest. 'Twas in opposition to this that the Catholics testified their Faith, that he is (not a ministring or serving Spirit, as the Angels that are Creatures, but) *τὸ κύριον Πνεῦμα, the Spirit that is the Lord:* referring to *2 Cor. 3. 17.* where *St. Paul* having at *v. 8.* called the Gospel the Ministration of the Spirit (because in it the Power and Grace of the Holy Spirit is especially manifested) and having in Profecution of that Discourse spoken to this Purpose; that as *Moses*, when he turn'd his Face to the People, put on a Veil; so the *Jews* reading the Law had still a Veil over their Understandings. But as *Moses* when he turn'd to the Lord, put off his Veil. So, when it [the Heart of the People] shall turn to the Lord, the Veil shall be taken away. Now, says he, *ὁ κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστίν, The Spirit is the Lord* (which our *English* has, *The Lord is that Spirit*) and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is *παρανομία Liberty* [or an open Face without a Veil]. And for the other Phrase, *ζωοποιῶν, a Quickener* [or Giver of Life] 'tis an Attribute of the Spirit, often mention'd in Scripture.

The Council of *Constantinople* was not the first that condemn'd the *Macedonian* Heresie. The Catholics had done it before, from the Time of the Rise of it, in several particular Councils, as they had Opportunities in those Times of Persecution to assemble together. As in that of *Alexandria* mention'd by *Socrates, l. 3. c. 7.* And the *Illyrican*, mention'd by *Theodoret, l. 4. c. 8.* And one at *Rome* under *Damasus*, mention'd by *Theodoret, l. 2. c. 22.* And one at *Antioch*, recited by *Holstenius, Collect. Rom. p. 166.* But this at *Constantinople* was the first General Council that met after the Rise of this Heresie.

Whether the *Greek Church* did after these Times in their Office of Baptism make use of this *Constantinopolitan* Copy of the Creed, instead of the *Nicen* properly called; or whether they still use the old one, I know not. But it seems that in the Year 476. they kept the old Copy; because *Basiliscus*, in the Edict I cited, after having declared that he will maintain the *Nicen* Faith, into which he and all his Predecessors were baptiz'd, adds; and all Things that were enacted in Confirmation of that holy Creed in this Royal City by the 150 Fathers against those that spoke ill of the Holy Spirit. This was the *Constantinopolitan*. Therefore what he said before must be understood of the *Nicen* properly so called.

§. 13. 'Tis wonder that during all the Contest about Creeds that was in these 50 Years of the *Arian* Times, we hear nothing said of the Creed used in the Church of *Rome*. Especially if they had at that Time procur'd their Creed to be called the *Apostolic* Creed, or the

*Apo-*



*Apostles Creed* (as they afterwards did) it could not have failed but that both the Parties would have referr'd themselves to that. But on the contrary, there is not a Word said of it. Nor can it be known what Form of a Creed they used in those times. They all along received and owned the *Nicen Creed*, and renounced all that would not own it: But they do not seem to have applied that to their ordinary Offices of Baptism; for that Use once began would not have been left off again: but to have had a Form of their own, as other Churches had, before the *Nicen*; and to have added to it from time to time such Clauses as appear'd most necessary against any Heresies that arose. But still it is a Wonder how they, and the other *Western Churches*, could reconcile their Practice (in baptizing by any other Creed than the *Nicen*) with those Canons of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, which as I shewed (92) did so positively injoin that no other should be us'd for that Purpose from that time forward. For these Councils being general ones, must have been ratified by themselves as well as by the *Eastern Bishops*: and their Popes do to this Day swear that they will own and adhere to 'em.

About the Year 400 we have some Light given us how the Words of the ordinary Creed in the Church of *Rome* stood at that time: but not by any Writer of that Church, which had but few; but by one whom they do not love. *Rufinus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Aquileia*, a City in *Italy*, wrote a Comment on the Creed as it was worded in his Church: and he notes by the Way some of the Differences or Agreements which their Church had with the Church of *Rome* and the *Eastern Churches* in wording the several Clauses. And by his Account the *Roman Creed* at that time must have stood thus.

*I believe in God the Father Almighty. And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord: who was conceived, by the Holy Spirit, of the Virgin Mary: crucified under Pontius Pilat: and buried. The third Day he rose again from the Dead: he ascended into Heaven: sitteth at the right Hand of the Father: from thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And in the Holy Spirit.*

*The Holy Church. The Forgiveness of Sins. The Resurrection of the Flesh.* The Clause, *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, was afterward added out of the *Constantinopolitan* or other *Eastern Creeds*.

*The Descent of Christ into Hades* (or Hell, as we style it in *English*) was not as yet in the *Roman Creed*, but was put in afterward. It is express'd in the oldest Rule or Breviat of Faith that is in the World, if there be any Credit to be given to those Records of the Church of *Edessa*, copied out of the *Syriac* by *Eusebius* (93) and translated by him: where 'tis said that *Thaddæus*, one of the 70, being sent by *Thomas* the Apostle to cure *Abgarus* the King, and to convert his People, preach'd to

T t t

em;

Year af- 'em; *How Christ came from the Father: and of the Power of his Works,*  
 ter the A- &c. and of the Meanness and Lowliness of his outward Appearance, &c.  
 postles and how he died, and lower'd his Divinity: how many things he suffer'd of  
 the Jews: and how he was crucified; *κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἅδην*, and descended  
 into Hades. And how he sits now on the right Hand of God, &c. and how  
 he will come to judge the Living and the Dead.

These things were done, as 'tis said in that Register, the 43d Year: or as other Copies have it, the 340th Year: which last, viz. the 340 Year of the Computation of Years used at *Edeffa*, is the same Year (94) on which our Savior ascended into Heaven.

200. But suppose these Records to be forged: yet they must have been a good while before *Eusebius's* time.

259. Excepting this Register, the eldest Creeds that have this Clause, are the *Arian* ones: viz. that drawn up at *Sirmium*, and rehearsed at the Council of *Ariminum*, mentioned by *Socrates*, l. 2. c. 37. That at *Nice* in *Thracia*, recited by *Theodoret*, l. 2. c. 21. And that at *Constantinople*, brought into Use by *Acacius* and his Party, reported by *Socrates* l. 2. c. 41.

260. *Rufinus* says (95); it was in his time in the Creed of *Aquileia*, but not in the *oriental* Creed, nor in that of *Rome*: into which last it seems to have been inserted about the Year 600; taken perhaps out of the Creed call'd *Athanasius's*, which about that time is pretended to have been found in some Archives at *Rome*, having never been heard of before.

500. As for the thing it self, of Christ's Descent into *Hades*; tho' it were not put in the ancient Creeds, yet it was ever believed by all Christians: nor could it be otherwise; since they us'd that Phrase in the Case of any Man that died. And so does the Scripture speak of any Man that dies, be he Good or Bad, as going to *Sheol* (which is the *Hebrew* Word) or *Hades* (which is the *Greek* for it), *Jacob*, Gen. 44. 29. *David*, Ps. 6. 5. the Wicked, Ps. 9. 10. all go to *Hades*. To go down to *Hades*, or *ad inferos*, was in their Way of speaking, no more than to go down to the Dead. And if we believe that Christ rose the third Day *καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν*, a mortuis, from the Dead; we must believe that three Days before, he descended to the Dead.

The Clause, *Everlasting Life*, is commonly judg'd not to have been in the Old Roman Creed. For *Rufinus* mentions it not in the *Aquileian*: And he notes no Difference between that and the *Roman* in this particular. And yet there is another Reason on the contrary, to think that it was express'd there; because *Marcellus*, who had made one at the Council of *Nice*, having several Enemies of the *Arian* Party in the *East* that accus'd him of *Sabellianism*, by Mistake of his Meaning as he pretended, appeal'd to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* and to that Church, as to Umpires of the Quarrel: and when his Adversaries would not agree to refer it to that Bishop, nor would come thi-

ther;



ther; he left there a Draught of his Belief for his perpetual Vindication. Which Draught is set down by *Epiphanius* (96), and is exactly the same with the Copy of the *Roman Creed*, given before out of *Rufinus*, save that it adds this Clause at last; *The Life Everlasting*. And except this Draught, there is no other in Antiquity that does very near resemble the *Roman Creed*. So that 'tis probable he took the *Roman Creed* it self for his Draught: as thinking that he could not better approve his Faith to the Church of *Rome* than by expressing it in the Words of their ordinary Creed. And 'tis possible that *Rufinus* might omit the collating the *Roman Creed* with the *Aquileian* in this Point. If this Conjecture be right, this is the eldest Copy of the *Roman Creed* by sixty Years; for this Transaction was so long before the time that *Rufinus* wrote. And not long after *Rufinus's* time this Clause appears in all the Copies.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
274.  
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But however it were with the *Roman Creed*; I shew'd before (97) out of *St. Cyprian*, that this Clause was in that of *Carthage* long before. And it was in several *Eastern* ones. Bishop *Pearson* thinks (98) it was not in the Creed used for Baptism at *Antioch* in *St. Chrysostom's* time, and he takes the Ground of that Opinion from *St. Chrysostom's Hom. 40. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth.* Bnt tho' he be the most exact Man that ever wrote, yet he is mistaken in that. *St. Chrysostom* is there explaining that difficult Place, *1 Cor. 15. 29.* of some Mens being baptized for the Dead. He thinks, for the Dead, is as much as to say, for their Bodies, i. e. for the Resurrection of 'em, or, in hopes of it. For, says he, after all the Rest, we add that which *St. Paul* here speaks of. After repeating those Holy Words, &c. (meaning the Creed) we say this at the last of all, when we are to baptize any one: We bid him say, I believe the Resurrection of the Dead: and in this Faith we baptize him. For after we have owned that together with the Rest, we are plunged down into the Fountain of those holy Waters. But tho' this would make one think that the Resurrection was the last Article of the Creed then us'd in that Church; yet before the End of that Homily (and Bishop *Pearson*, it seems, did not at that time read it out) *St. Chrysostom* adds, And then, since the Word Resurrection is not enough to signify the whole of our Faith in that Matter (because many that have risen have died again: as they in the old Testament, as *Lazarus*, as they at the time of the Crucifixion) therefore he [the Baptizer] bids him [the Baptized Person] say; and the Life Everlasting: that none may suspect he shall die again after that Resurrection.

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300.

This Creed of the Church of *Rome* has obtain'd the Name of the *Apostolic Creed*, for no greater or other Reason than this; It was a Custom to call those Churches in which any Apostle had personally taught, especially if he had resided there any long time, or had died there, *Apostolic Churches*. Of these there were a great many in the

T t t 2

*Eastern*

Year af- Eastern Parts; Jerusalem, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, &c. but in the We-  
ter the A- stern Parts none but Rome. In which St. Paul and St. Peter had liv'd a  
postles considerable time, and were there martyr'd. So that any one that in  
the Western Parts of the World spoke of the *Apostolic Church*, was suppo-  
sed to mean *Rome*: that being the only one in those Parts, and being  
call'd emphatically by all the *Western Christians*; *The Apostolic Church*.  
And so their Bishop came to be call'd the *Apostolic Bishop*; their See,  
the *Apostolic See*: their Faith, the *Apostolic Faith*: and among the  
rest; the Creed that they us'd, the *Apostolic Creed*.

This Name gave Handle enough to some People first to imagin, and  
then by Degrees to report a Tradition that this Creed was drawn up  
into this Form by the Apostles themselves: and so (by a light Altera-  
tion of the Word) to call it; *The Apostles Creed*.

There was a Fable trimm'd up, setting forth when and where the  
Apostles met and dictated it: and the Reasons why they did it. Which  
if any one do still believe, he may have ready Cure in a Treatise of  
*Vossius* (99); or in *English*, in a Treatise of a very learned *English* Gen-  
tleman (1), both written on that Subject. If the *Roman* Christians had  
believ'd it themselves, they had done very arrogantly to add from  
time to time new Clauses to the Apostles Words.

500. About the Year of Christ 600 it seems to have attained that whole  
Form of Words which it has now. And being us'd at *Rome* as the  
ordinary Creed for the Baptized or their Godfathers to repeat, it has  
been likewise received by all the *Western Churches* for the same Use.  
The *Greek Church* do, I think, catechize by the *Nicen Creed*, but they  
own this also. When the two great Branches of Christendom in the  
Eastern and Western Empire could not bring their People to use the  
same Form of Faith at Baptism; yet to shew their Unity in the Faith,  
they did each of 'em receive the other's Creed into their Liturgies;  
and both Churches do own and use and profess both Creeds. And so  
this is by all own'd to be an *Apostolic Creed* in one Sense, viz. drawn  
up according to the Doctrin of the Apostles. But whereas the Gentle-  
man I mention'd, says (2); *it has been for some hundred Years preferr'd*  
*before the Nicen*; that is, I think, only in the *Western Church*. And  
where he says (3), *that Irenæus repeats the Apostles Creed*; he means  
only the Substance of that Faith.

'Tis general, and 'tis natural, for every one to say as much as he  
can in Preference of those Forms that are in Use in his Church. But  
yet upon the whole, I cannot see but that the *Greek Church* have in  
this the Advantage of us, in baptizing by the *Nicen*. For (besides  
that theirs is the Elder, and acknowledg'd and injoin'd by the four  
first General Councils) the main Difference between these two Creeds  
being

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(99) De tribus Symbolis. (1) *Critical History of the Apostles Creed*. (2) *Critical Hist.* p. 47. (3) P. 7<sup>c</sup>.



being this, that the *Western* Creed (as it is now) has the Descent into Hell, which the other has not; but the other has the Articles of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit much more full and express; there is, I think, no Body that doubts but the later are a much more material Point of our Faith than the former. But yet in the *Roman* Creed (as it has always been understood) the Clause, *God's only Son*, does mean his *Son by Nature*, and so owns his Divinity, as Bishop *Pearson* has shewn. And since it is the settled and notorious Interpretation and Meaning; they that pronounce it, meaning otherwise, do but Equivocate with God and the Church. To believe in a Person, is in the Phrase of Scripture, and of the Church, to believe him to be God.

Of *Athanasius's* Creed there is no Occasion of speaking here, both because it was never by any Church used at Baptism, and also because the Composure of it is not so ancient as the times we speak of. Yet it contains the Sense of what *Athanasius* and the other Catholics maintain'd in their Disputations against the *Arians*: But it proceeds also to determin against other Heretics that arose long after *Athanasius's* time; as *Nestorius* that divided the Person of Christ into two: And *Eutyches* that confounded his two Natures into one. And it is penn'd in a more scholastical Style than the Ancients had arriv'd to. The Expressions most like it, that are found in any ancient Writing, are in that Declaration of the Faith made at the Council of *Chalcedon* (which Condemn'd all the said Heresies together) recited by *Evangrius*, l. 2. c. 4.

240.

330.

348.

351.

What Creed the Antipædobaptists do require of their Candidates to profess, I know not: I am afraid, none at all. I mean no settled Form, limited to certain Words: But that it is left to the several Elders to judg whether each Candidate do understand and believe the necessary Points of Faith: Which must be a very unsafe Way: For either the elder himself may be ignorant, or he may hold privately Heterodox Opinions in the Fundamentals of the Faith, as *Socinianism*, &c. For such an one to have the instructing of any young Person in his own Way, and then to baptize him, is (as *Gregory Nazianzen* (4) in a Case not so bad expresses it) not to dip him, but to drown him. The Experience of all Ages of the Church has shewn it necessary to have a *Form of sound Words* for such a Use; not to be alter'd, augmented, or curtail'd by the Caprices of every particular Pastor.

§. 14. These Professions of Christian Faith, and of renouncing the Devil and his Works, &c. were by adult Persons solemnly made two several times before they were baptiz'd. Once in the Congregation, sometime before the Day of Baptism: Where they, standing up and speaking in a continued Sentence, said; *I renounce the Devil and all his Works*, &c. going on thro' all the Clauses of Renunciation. And in like Manner repeated the whole Creed.

And

(4) Orat. in Sanct. baptism. prope finem.

Year af-  
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And again just when they were going into the Water, by Way of Answer to the Interrogatories of the Priest; who laying his Hand on the Parties Head, solemnly askt the Questions severally; *Do you renounce the Devil, &c?* He answered; *I do.* And so he ask'd the other Renunciations. And then the Belief. *Do you believe in God the Father Almighty? I do.* And so the several Articles of the Creed. And at last; *Do you believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life Everlasting?* He said; *I do.*

And therefore that Clause in *Tertullian* which I recited at §. 4. is to be pointed thus; *We do there (and we do the same also a little before in the Congregation) under the Hands of the Pastor make a Profession, &c.*

*St. Austin* mentions the former of these Times of Profession (5) in the Case of *Victorinus*: Who was a Man in such Dignity and Repute among the Heathen Party at *Rome*, that tho' he made a pretence of turning Christian, and came sometimes to their Assemblies; yet the Christians did not believe that he would really come over to their Religion (which was even then in Contempt among the great Men at *Rome*) till they saw and heard him, at a certain Time when he was at their Church, that *when the time came of professing the Faith, which is wont to be done at Rome in a Place a little raised in the Sight of the faithful People by those that would come to the Grace, [viz. of Baptism] he with an assur'd Voice pronounced the Faith, &c.*

And *St. Hieron* mentions the later (6) when he says; *Whereas it is customary at the Font, after the Confession of the Trinity to ask; 'Do you believe the Holy Church? Do you believe the Forgiveness of Sins? &c.*

But in the Case of Infants this could be done but once, *viz.* at the Time of their Baptism. The Baptizer ask'd the Questions, and the Sponsors answer'd in the Name of the Child. The Questions were put severally for each Article of the Creed and of the Renunciation, as in the Case of the Adult: As appears partly by what I quoted out of *St. Austin Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 4.* and out of the Author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy Pt. 1. CH. XXIII. §. 2.* And also by what *St. Austin* says at another Place (7), where speaking of an Infant going to be baptiz'd he says; *The Interrogation is put; 'Does he believe in Jesus Christ? Answer is made; He does.*

There is no Time or Age of the Church in which there is any Appearance that Infants were ordinarily baptiz'd without Sponsors or Godfathers. *Tertullian* mentions the Use of 'em in his time, as I shewed (8). And I have recited so many other Passages wherein they are occasionally mention'd, that there is no need of rehearsing any more on Purpose for that Matter. *St. Austin* calls the Professions, *Words of the Sacrament without which an Infant cannot be baptiz'd.* As I shewed, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 5.*

§. 15.

(5) Confess. l. 8. c. 2. (6) Adv. Luciferians. (7) Serm. 14. de verb. Apost. (8) Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9.



§. 15. The baptized Person was quickly after his Baptism admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper. This was always and in all Places used in the Case of adult Persons: And in some Ages and Places in the Case of Infants. Some have spoken of the Custom of giving Infants the Communion, as if it were anciently as general as the baptizing 'em: And the Antipædobaptists do confidently say it was so. But this has been by others shewn to be a Mistake.

Mr. *Daillé* in his Treatise call'd the *Right Use of the Fathers* bent himself with all his Might to find out Errors in the Fathers and ancient Church. Not indeed with so wicked a Purpose as some have done since, that have made Use of his Instances to take away all Credit from the Primitive Church in conveying down to us the Canonical Books, and the Fundamental Doctrins in them deliver'd: But yet he has made it hard for us to believe what he there says; that he *enters upon this Inquiry into their Errors unwillingly*; because a Man that does so, never makes the Faults more or worse than they are. He makes the giving the Eucharist to Infants one of their chief Errors: And to prove that this was their Practice, he quotes three Authors; *Cyprian, Austin, and Pope Innocent*. And adds; *All the rest of the Doctors in a Manner of the first Ages maintain'd that the Eucharist was necessary for Infants: If at least you dare take Maldonat's Word, who affirms that this Opinion was in great Request in the Church during the first 600 Years after our Savior Christ*. And after this he, several times without any farther Proof (9), says absolutely that so it was; *That the Fathers down as far as to the End of the sixth Century held that the Eucharist is as necessary to Salvation at Baptism; and consequently to be administred to Infants*, and concludes from that as from one of his two chief Instances, how little heed is to be given to the Practice of the Primitive Christians.

And yet all that he quotes from *Maldonat*: And all that I believe that Learned Man would say (for I have not the Book) is this (10); *I pass by the Opinion of Austin and Innocent the first, which was in Request in the Church for above 600 Years, that the Eucharist is necessary for Infants*.

No Man (but one that would fain have it so) would conclude from these Words, *Maldonat's* Meaning to be any more than this; that this Opinion began in the time of *Austin* and *Innocent Anno 400*. and continued from thence 600 Years to *Anno 1000* (as it did indeed in some Parts of the Church) not that it was in Request for all the first 500 Years.

Before the Year 412 there is no Author produc'd but *St. Cyprian*. And whereas Mr. *Daillé* speaks with the usual Artifice in such Cases, as if he singled this out of a great many Instances which he could have brought,

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(9) Lib. 2. c. 6. & passim. (10) Maldonat. in Joan. 6. 11. 116. apud Daleum. l. c. 8.

Year after the Apostles brought, and says (11); that *St. Cyprian was carried away with the Error of his time*: The Truth of the Matter, I believe, is; that neither he nor any Body else can find any more. And if we examine what it is that he produces from him, we shall perceive that he has, in his Case too, much mistaken the Matter; and that, so far from his Saying it was necessary, there is no good Proof from him that mere Infants ever did receive it; tho' of Children of four or five Years of Age, that then did sometimes in that Church receive, there is.

The first Proof that is brought, and the most material by far if it were not from a mistaken Edition, is out of the 59th Epistle of *St. Cyprian* (which is the 64th in the late Edition) from one Word of which Epistle he would prove that it was the Opinion of *Cyprian* and of the 66 Bishops then assembled with him, that the Eucharist must be given to Infants. But of that Epistle you have all that concerns Infants in my *Pt. 1. CH. VI.* where I have shewn at §. 10. that *Mr. Daillé's* Observation is a Mistake in the Reading of that one Word: And that there is in the correct Editions not one Syllable about it.

He produces another Passage of *St. Cyprian*, which is the same I quoted out of him in the forefaid *CH. VI. §. 13.* *St. Cyprian's* common Place-Book ran thus; *l. 3. ad Quirinum.*

*C. 25. If any one be not baptiz'd and born again, he cannot come to the Kingdom of God.*

For Proof of this he quotes, *John 3. 5, 6. it. John 6. 53.*

*C. 26. To be baptiz'd and receive the Eucharist is not available, unless one do good Works.*

For this he quotes *1 Cor. 9. 24. Mat. 3. 10. it. 7. 22. it. 5. 16.*

I did indeed bring this Place among the Proofs of his Opinion that Infants must be baptiz'd: But own'd at the same time, that since Infants are not expressly mention'd in it, it would be but a very weak one, were it not that he himself in other Places mentions Infants by Name as contain'd under the general Rule that requires Baptism; which he never does in the Case of the Eucharist. And any one sees that this Passage taken alone, has much less Force to prove their communicating, than it has to prove the Necessity of their Baptism. If I should among the Testimonies for Infants Baptism have set down all the Sayings of the Fathers, where they speak of Baptism as necessary for *all Persons*; those alone would have made a Collection larger than mine is: I confin'd my self to such as mention *Infants* particularly.

But for Youths, Boys or Girls younger than do now commonly receive, he does indeed quote a plain Proof out of the Book *de Lapsis*. It is this Story, which *St. Cyprian* tells on Purpose to make those that had



had revolted to Idolatry in the late Persecution at Carthage sensible Year after Year of their Guilt and of God's Wrath: And that they ought not without due Confession and Penitence approach the Holy Table (12). postles

I'll tell you what happen'd in my own Presence. The Parents of a certain little Girl, running out of Town in a Fright, had forgot to take any Care of their Child, whom they had left in the keeping of a Nurse. The Nurse had carried her to the Magistrates: They, because she was too little to eat the Flesh, gave her to eat before the Idol some of the Bread mixt with Wine, which had been left of the Sacrifice of those Wretches. Since that time, her Mother took her Home. But she was no more capable of declaring and telling the Crime committed, than she had been before of understanding or of hindering it. So it happen'd that once when I was administering, her Mother, ignorant of what had been done, brought her along with her. But the Girl being among the Saints could not with any Quietness hear the Prayers said; but sometimes fell into weeping, and sometimes into Convulsions, with the Uneasiness of her Mind: And her ignorant Soul as under a Wrack, declared by such Tokens as it could, the Conscience of the Fact in those tender Years. And when the Service was ended; and the Deacon went to give the Cup to those that were present, and the others receiv'd it, and her turn came; the Girl by a Divine Instinct turn'd away her Face, shut her Mouth, and refus'd the Cup. But yet the Deacon persisted: and put into her Mouth, though she refus'd it, some of the Sacrament of the Cup. Then follow'd Reachings and Vomiting. The Eucharist could not stay in her polluted Mouth and Body: The Drink consecrated in our Lord's Blood burst out again from her defiled Bowels. Such is the Power, such the Majesty of our Lord: The Secrets of Darkness were discover'd by its Light: Even unknown Sins could not deceive the Priest of God. This happen'd in the Case of an Infant who was by Reason of her Age incapable of declaring the Crime which another had acted on her. He goes on to tell how some grown People at the same Table, guilty of the same Crime, but thinking to conceal it, had been more severely handled; possess'd with evil Spirits, &c.

This Child was probably 4 or 5 Years old. For the Heat of the Persecution was about 2 Years before this administering of the Sacrament could be, if we reckon the soonest: For St. Cyprian had been almost all that while retir'd out of the City, as appears by Bishop Pearson's Annals of that time (13). And the Child may be guessed by the Story to have been 2 or 3 Years old, when she was carried to the Idol Feast. And so the *Mazdeburgenses*, relating this Story (14), conclude from it, *puellas ephebas*, that young Girls did at this time sometimes receive. And so *Salmasius*, or else *Suicerus* himself. *Suiceri Thesaur.*

v. Σύναξις.

This Passage might have been added to the other Quotations that I brought of St. Cyprian for Infants Baptism; for no Church ever gave the

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Year after the Communion to any Persons before they were baptiz'd: But I reserve the Apostles Birth.

317. *Innocent* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, does indeed *Anno* 417. plainly and positively say, that Infants cannot be saved without receiving the Eucharist: And that in a Synodical Epistle (15) written to the Fathers of the *Milevitan* Council. The Council had represented to him the Mischief of that Tenet of the *Pelagians*, that unbaptiz'd Infants, tho' they cannot go to Heaven, yet may have Eternal Life; which the *Pelagians* maintain'd on this Pretence, that our Savior, tho' he had said; *He that is not born of Water, cannot enter the Kingdom*, yet had not said; *he cannot have an Eternal Life*. To this, *Innocent's* Words are; *That which your Brotherhood says that they teach*, 'That Infants may 'without the Grace of Baptism have Eternal Life, is very absurd: Since 'Except they eat the Flesh of the Son of Man (16), and drink 'his Blood, they have no Life in them, &c. His Meaning is plainly this; they can have no Eternal Life without receiving the Communion: And they can't do that, till they be baptiz'd. And 'tis true, what Mr. *Daille* urges. (17); *That St. Austin says the same thing 8 or 10 times over in several Places of his Books*. And some of these Books are dated a little before this Letter of *Innocent*. But tho' he wrote a great Part of his Works before this *Innocent* was made Bishop of *Rome*, and in them speaks often of Infant Baptism; yet it is observable, that
302. he never speaks of Infants communicating till after *Innocent* had been Bishop some time: Which makes me think it probable that *Innocent* did first bring up this Doctrin of the Necessity of this Sacrament to Infants: For after *Innocent* had so determined, *St. Austin* oftner quotes him (a) for it; than he does any Place of Scripture. P.S. I am glad to find so learned a Man as *John Frith* is of the same Mind. *Ans. to More.*

Among all the Passages of *St. Austin* to this Purpose, there is need of mentioning but one: and that because some People have said that he at that Place does affirm it to be an Apostolical Tradition; from whence they conclude how little heed is to be given to him, when he says Infant Baptism was so. The Place is, *de peccat. Meritis, lib. 1. c. 24.* He is arguing against the *Pelagians*, who said, Eternal Life (tho' not the Kingdom of God) might be had without Baptism: And says thus; *The Christians of Africa do well call Baptism it self, one's Salvation: And the Sacrament of Christ's Body, one's Life. From whence is this, but as I suppose from that ancient and Apostolical Tradition, by which the Churches of Christ do naturally hold that without Baptism and partaking of the Lord's Table none can come either to the Kingdom of God, or to Salvation*

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(15) Apud Augustin, Ep. 93. (16) John. 6. 53. (17) L. 1. c. 8. (a) Epist. 106. & alibi.



vation and Eternal Life? For the Scripture, as I shewed before, says the same. For what other thing do they hold, that call Baptism, Salvation, than that which is said; he saved us by the Washing of Regeneration: And that which Peter says; The like Figure whereunto, even Baptism, does now save us? And what other thing do they hold, that call the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, Life, than that which is said, I am the Bread of Life, &c. and, The Bread which I will give, is my Flesh, which I will give for the Life of the World: And, except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you have no Life in You? If then, as so many Divine Testimonies do agree, neither Salvation, nor Eternal Life is to be hoped for by any without Baptism and the Body and Blood of our Lord; it is in vain promised to Infants without them.

There is (as I observ'd a little before) a great Difference between saying; There is a Tradition or Order of the Apostles for Infants to receive the Eucharist, as a thing without which they cannot be saved: And saying, There is a Tradition for all to receive it, as a thing without which they cannot be saved. For a Rule given in general Words may be understood with an Exception of Infants, or without such Exception, according as the Nature of the thing or other Sayings of the Law-giver do direct. All the Israelites that do not keep the Passover, shall be cut off. There Infants must be excepted. They must all be Circumcised. That includes Infants, as well as others, Now in the Case of Baptism, St. Austin and those others whom we have quoted, do say; There is a Tradition from the Apostles for baptizing Infants. But all that St. Austin says here in the Case of the Eucharist is in general; that there is an Apostolical Tradition that none that do not receive it can have Salvation. And that this Rule should include Infants, is not said as from the Apostles, but is only his own Consequence drawn from the general Rule; neither do his Words import any more: In which Consequence there may easily be a Mistake.

§. 16. After these times of St. Austin and Innocent, there is ever now and then some Mention found in the Latin Church of Infants receiving, Mercator Sub not. 8. in the Year 435. Gregory the first, Sacramentar. Anno 590. and so forward till about the Year 1000. But toward the later End of this Term, as we learn by the Relation of Hugo de Sancto Victore (18), who lived Anno 1100, they gave to Infants only the Wine, and that only by the Priest's dipping his Finger in the Chalice, and then putting it into the Child's Mouth for him to suck. And after some time, this also was left off: And instead of it, they gave the new baptiz'd Infant some Drops of Wine not Consecrated; which Hugo dislikes.

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Year after the Apostles This Custom of giving common Wine to Infants seems by some Words of St. *Hierom* (19) to be older in the Church of *Rome* than the Custom of giving any Consecrated Wine. For instead of Milk and Honey he speaks there (if there be no Mistake in the Print) of Wine and Milk given to the new baptized. *In the Churches of the West*, says he, *the Custom and Type still continues of giving to those that are regenerated in Christ Wine and Milk.*

290. It is to be observ'd that about the Year 1000 the Doctrin of Transubstantiation sprung up in the *Latin Church*, which created an excessive and superstitious Regard to the outward Elements of the Eucharist; and had among others this Effect, that as the Wine was kept from the Laymen for Fear of stabbing, so the whole Sacrament was from Infants. And at last the Council of *Trent* (20) determin'd, 900. that it is not at all necessary for them: Since being regenerated by the *Liver of Baptism*, and incorporated into Christ, they cannot in that Age lose the Grace of being Children of God, which they have now obtained. And yet say they, *Antiquity is not to be condemn'd*, if it did sometimes and in some Places observe that Custom: For as those *Holy Fathers* had a probable Reason of their so doing on Account of that time [here they should have added; Which did not believe Transubstantiation] So it is for certain and without Controversie to be believ'd, that they did it not on any Opinion of its Necessity to their Salvation. And then they pass (21) this *Anathema*. If any one shall say, that partaking of the Eucharist is necessary for Infants before they come to Years of Discretion; let him be *Anathema*.

'Tis a brave thing to be infallible. Such Men may say what they will, and it shall be true. What is a Contradiction in other Mens Mouths, is none in theirs. Pope *Innocent* in a Synodical Letter sent 317. to the Council of *Milevis*, says; *If Infants do not eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood* [meaning in the Sacrament] *they have no Life in 'em.* Pope *Pius* in confirming the Council of *Trent*, says; *If* 1463. *any Man say so; let him be Anathema.*

To deny that those ancient Fathers did it with any Opinion of its necessity to the Infant's Salvation, makes the Contradiction yet more palpable; Because that is the very thing which they say. The Truth, I believe, is; that the *Trent Fathers* knew that some ancient Doctors had commended Infants receiving: But not that one of their own infallible Bishops had so absolutely determin'd it to be necessary for their Salvation.

How soon, or how late, the Custom of Infants receiving came in, in the *Greek Church*, I know not. I do not remember any one ancient Writer of that Part of the World, that speaks of it: I mean of any genuin Book: for I know that a Mention of it is got into *Clem.*

*Const.*

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(19) Comment. in *Esaïam*, l. 15. Vide *Magdeburgenses Cent.* 4. c. 6. (20) *Seff.* 21. cap. 4. (21) Canon 4.



*Constitutions.* But it is a known thing that they use it now; and have done for several Centuries: at least most of the Branches of that Church. Year after the Apostles

That which I conceive most probable on the whole Matter (referring my self to such as have minded this Piece of History more) is;

1. That in *Cyprian's* time, the People of the Church of *Carthage* did oftentimes bring their Children younger than ordinary, to the Communion. 150...

2. That in *St. Austin* and *Innocent's* time, it was in the *West* Parts given to mere Infants. And that this continued from that time for about 600 Years. 300...

3. That sometime during this Space of 600 Years, the *Greek* Church, which was then low in the World, took this Custom from the *Latin* Church, which was more flourishing. 900... 500...

4. That the *Roman* Church about the Year 1000, entertaining the Doctrin of Transubstantiation, let Fall the Custom of giving the Holy Elements to Infants. And the other *Western* Churches, mostly following their Example, did the like upon the same Account. But that the *Greeks*, not having the said Doctrin, continued, and do still continue the Custom of communicating Infants. They think, that Command of *St. Paul*, *Let a Man examin himself and so let him eat, &c.* so to be understood, as not to exclude such as are by their Age incapable of examining themselves, from partaking: but only to oblige all that are capable. As that like Command of his; *If any one will not work, let him have nothing given him to eat,* must be so limited to such as are able to work; as that Infants, and such as are not capable to work, must have Victuals given 'em, tho' they do not work.

The most usual Way of giving it to Infants in the Churches where it is now us'd, is to mix the Bread with the Wine, and to put to the Child's Lips a Drop or two of that Mixture quickly after his Baptism: after which he receives no more till the Age of Discretion.

§. 17. From this Custom of the Ancients giving the Eucharist to Infants the Antipædobaptists do draw an Argument (and it is the most considerable that they have for that Purpose) that there is no great Stress to be laid on the Practice of Antiquity in baptizing Infants. For they say; since the Ancients gave 'em the Eucharist as well as Baptism; and yet all Christians are now satisfied that the first was an Error in them, what Reason have we to regard their Opinion or Practice in the other?

But 1. That is not true, that all Christians are satisfied that the Ancients did ill in giving Infants the Eucharist: for very near half the Christians in the World do still continue that Practice. The *Greek* Church, the *Armenians*, the *Maronites*, the *Copti*, the *Abassens*, and the *Muscovites*: as is related by the late Authors, *Jeremias*, *Brerewood*, *Alvarez*, *Ricaut*, *Heylin*, &c. And so, for ought I know, do all the

Year after the rest of the Eastern Christians. And it is probable that the Western  
 ter the Apostles had done the same, had it not been for the Doctrin of Transubstan-  
 tiation coming up in the Church of *Rome*.

2. It is not true that this Custom of giving Infants the Eucharist was in the ancient Church received either so early, or so generally, as Baptism of 'em was. I have thro' all the first Part shewn the Evidences of their Baptism: but for their receiving the Eucharist, I know of no other Evidences within our Period of Antiquity, than what I have just now recited. Of which *St. Cyprian* does not speak of mere Infants: and the other two are dated after the Year of Christ 412: and that only in the *Latin* Church. It is a strong Presumption that there was no Use of it, not even in the Church of *Carthage*, in *Tertullian's* time; because he who liv'd there, and pleaded to have the Custom of baptizing Infants to be set aside (except in Danger of Death) could not have fail'd to have given his Opinion much rather against the admitting 'em to that other Sacrament, if it had then been us'd.

3. The Grounds of these two Practices are nothing of equal Force. The Words of our Savior to the Jews, *John* 6. 53. by which *Innocent* proves the one, do no Way appear to belong to the sacramental eating, which was not then instituted. But his Words *Joh.* 3. 5. do plainly belong to the other. The Passover, which answers to the Eucharist, tho' injoin'd in general Words to all, yet was not understood to belong to Infants. Circumcision and *Jewish* Baptism, which answer to Christian Baptism, were given to Infants as well as Adult. Baptism has in Scripture the Notion and Character of an initiating or entering Sacrament. The Eucharist not so. Now Infants are by the exprefs Words of Scripture to be initiated, or entred into Covenant, *Deut.* 29. 10, 11, 12.

4. However it be, the Antipædobaptists cannot make any Use of this Argument, till they have granted that the ancient Christians did baptize Infants. So long as many of 'em endeavor to keep their People in an Opinion that Infants Baptism is a new thing; so long they will forbear to tell 'em that Infants did in ancient time receive the Eucharist: since among all the Absurdities that ever were held; none ever maintain'd that, that any Person should partake of the Communion before he was baptiz'd. And if the People among 'em shall ever be encourag'd to search into the History of the Church to find some Proofs of the one, they will at the same time find much fuller Proofs of the other: as attested by much ancients Authors, and practis'd more universally: and that when one was left off by the Churches that began it, the other has been still continued in all the National Churches in the World.



## C H A P. X.

*A Summing up of the Evidence that has here been given on both sides.*

**T**H O' I pretend to manage the Part of a Relater of the Passages for and against Infant Baptism, rather than of a Judge of the Force and Consequence of 'em: yet it may be proper, now that I have produc'd all that I know concerning that Matter in the eldest times, to sum up in short, for the Use of the Reader, the Evidence that has been given on both sides.

It appears on one side,

§. 1. 1. That as *Abraham* was taken into Covenant by Circumcision, an Ordinance appointed for him and all the male Infants of his Race, to enter them into Covenant: So when God did 430 Years after, establish anew that Covenant with that Nation under the Conduct of *Moses*, he appointed *Washing* (1), which is in the *Greek* Tongue called *Baptism*, to be another Ordinance of entering into it. And that the Jews, as they reckon'd it one of the Ceremonies whereby their whole Nation, Infants as well as grown Persons, was then enter'd into Covenant; So when they profelyted or discipl'd any Person of the Nations, they did use to wash or baptize him: because the Law had said (2); *One Law and one Manner shall be for you and for the Stranger [or, Profelyte] that sojourns among you.* And if that Profelyte had any Infant Children, Male or Female, they baptized them, as well as the Parents: and they counted and called them *Profelytes*, or *discipl'd* Persons; as well as they did the Parents. Also, that if they bought, or found, or took in War any Infants whom they intended to make Profelytes or Disciples in their Religion, they did it by baptizing 'em. For this see *Introduc't.* §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

This gives Light for the Understanding of our Savior's Commission (3); *Go and disciple all the Nations, baptizing 'em.* Whereas before, only now and then one out of the Neighbour Nations had been made a Disciple or Profelyte; they were now all to be discipl'd: and (since nothing is said to the contrary) in the same Manner as those before had been.

2. That

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(1) Exod. 19. 10. (2) Numb. 15. 16. (3) Mat. 28. 19.

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2. That the Jews did use to call that their Baptism by the Name of *Regeneration*, or a *new Birth*. They told the Proselyte, that how unclean, sinful, or accursed soever, he or his Children were before; they were now by this Baptism dedicated to the true God, enter'd into a new Covenant with him, put into a new State, and were in all Respects as if they had been new born. Also that the Heathens before Christ's time had a Custom of baptizing: and that they also call'd it, *Regeneration*. See *Introduct. §. 6. Book Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 11.*

This gives Light to our Savior's Expression, where he, after the Christian Baptism now brought into Use by *John Baptist* and himself, tells *Nicodemus* (+), that to be *regenerated* or *born again of Water and the Spirit* was absolutely necessary for any one's coming to the Kingdom of God: And to St. Paul's styling Baptism, the *Washing of Regeneration* (5).

3. That accordingly all the ancient Christians, not one Man excepted, do take the Word *Regeneration* or *new Birth* to signifie Baptism: and *regenerate*, baptized. And that our Savior's said Words to *Nicodemus* do so stand in the Original, and are so understood by all the Ancients, as to include all Persons, Men, Women, or Children, *Pt. 1. CH. II. §. 4, 5, 6. CH. III. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. CH. IV. §. 3, 6. CH. VI. 6. 13. CH. XI. §. 2. CH. XII. §. 8. CH. XIII. §. 2.* and all the other Chapters. *Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1, 7.* And that by the *Kingdom of God* there, is meant the *Kingdom of Glory*, is prov'd from the plain Words of the Context, and from the Sense of all ancient Interpreters, *Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1.*

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4. The Necessity of Baptism to entrance into God's Kingdom was a declared Christian Doctrin before St. John had recorded those Words of our Savior. *Pt. 1. CH. I. §. 2, 3, 7.*

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5. *Clement* in the Apostles time, and *Justin Martyr* about 40 Years after, do speak of original Sin as affecting Infants, *Pt. 1. CH. I. §. 1. CH. II. §. 1.* And *Justin Martyr* does speak of Baptism as being to us instead of Circumcision, *Pt. 1. CH. II. §. 2.* So also does St. *Cyprian*, *Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 1.* and *Nazianzen*, *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 7.* and St. *Basil*, *CH. XII. §. 5.* and St. *Chrysostom*, *CH. XIV. §. 1.* and St. *Austin*, *ibid.* the three last expressly calling it in St. Paul's Phrase, the *Circumcision done without Hands*: and St. *Cyprian*, the *Spiritual Circumcision*. *Origen* also says that Christ gives us Circumcision by Baptism. *Hom. 5. in Jos.*

6. *Irenaeus* born about the time of St. John's Death, and probably of Christian Parents, is proved particularly to use the Word *regenerating* for baptizing: and he mentions Infants as being ordinarily regenerated, *CH. III. §. 2, 3, 4, 5.* And *Justin Martyr* before him speaks of Infants as being made Disciples to Christ, *Pt. 1. CH. II. §. 7.*

7. *Origen*,



7. *Origen*, *Ambrose*, and *Austin* do each of 'em expressly affirm that baptizing Infants was order'd by the Apostles and practis'd in their time, *Pt. 1. CH. V. §. 3. CH. XIII. §. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4 §. 3. it. Sect. 6. §. 2.* And *Ambrose* ipeaks of it as a thing taken for granted that *John the Baptist* baptized Infants, *Pt. 1. CH. XIII. §. 1.* Of these *Origen* had both his Father and Grandfather, Christians: and he himself was born but 86 Years after the Apostles: So that probably his Grandfather was born within the Apostles time; or at least very nigh it, *Pt. 1. CH. V. §. 9.*

8. *Tertullian*, tho' he give his Opinion unconstantly, and do at one Place advise the Delay of Infants Baptism, yet at the same Place speaks of it as a thing customarily received, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3, 4, 5, 9.* where he also makes Baptism absolutely necessary to Salvation.

9. That Place of Scripture, *1 Cor. 7. 14. Else were your Children unclean, but now they are Holy* [or, sanctified] is interpreted of their Baptism as then given, or to be given before they can actually be reckoned Holy, by *Tertullian*, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 12.* *St. Hierom*, *Pt. 1. CH. XVIII. §. 4.* *Paulinus*, *ibid.* *St. Austin*, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 2.* *Pelagius*, *CH. XIX. §. 19.* And that Ἅγιοι Holy [or, Saints, or Sanctified, or Christians] is as much as to say, baptized, *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 11. CH. VI. §. .*

10. In *St. Cyprian's* time, a Question being put among 66 Bishops whether an Infant must be kept till 8 Days old, before he be baptized; not one was of that Opinion, *Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 1.* And to put the rest together, the Words of the Council of *Eliberis*, *Pt. 1. CH. VII.* Of *Optatus*, *CH. IX. §. 2.* Of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *CH. XI. §. 2, 4, 6, 7.* Of *St. Ambrose*, *CH. XIII. §. 1, 2.* Of *St. Chrysostom*, *CH. XIV. §. 1, 3, 5.* Of *St. Hierom*, *CH. XV. §. 1. CH. XIX. §. 26.* Of *St. Austin*, *CH. XV. per totum.* Of *Bonifacius*, *ibid. Sect. 5. §. 4.* More of *St. Austin*, *CH. XIX, & XX. per totum.* Of a Council of *Carthage*, *CH. XVI. §. 3, 4, 5, 6.* Of a Council of *Hippo*, *ibid. §. 5.* Of *Siricius*, *CH. XVII. §. 3, 6.* Of *Innocentius*, *CH. XVII. §. 7, 8. CH. XIX. §. 28.* Of *Paulinus*, *CH. XVIII. §. 1, 3.* Of another *Paulinus*, *ibid. §. 6.* Of *Celestius*, *CH. XIX. §. 5, 31, 35, 36.* Of *Pelagius*, *CH. XIX. §. 29, 30.* Of *Zosimus*, *ibid. §. 33.* Of the Council of *Alilevis*, *ibid. §. 28.* Of another Council of *Carthage*, *ibid.* And of another, *CH. XIX. §. 37.* Of *Vincentius Victor*, *CH. XX. §. 2, 3, 4, 5.* Of *Julian*, *CH. XIX. §. 38.* Of *Theodorus*, *ibid. §. 39.* Of *Pseudo-Clement*, *CH. XXIII. §. 1.* Of *Pseudo-Dionysius*, *ibid. §. 2.* Of the Author of the *Questions ad Orthodoxos*, *ibid. §. 3.* Of the Author of the *Questions ad Antiochum*, *ibid.* The Words of these and of all the rest here cited, do shew that Infants were baptized in their times: And that without Controversie. There is not one Man of 'em that pleads for it, or goes about to prove it, as a thing denied by any one: save that the *Pseudo-Dionysius* answers the Objections

Year af- that the Heathens made against it; which are much the same that the  
ter the A- Antipædobaptists have made since.  
postles

11. St. *Austin* mentions it among the things that have not been instituted by any Council, but have been ever in Use. And says, *The whole Church of Christ has constantly held that Infants are baptized for Forgiveness of Sin. And, That, he never read or heard of any Christian, Catholic or Sectary, that held otherwise. And expressly says; That no Christian Man of any sort [nullus Christianorum] ever denied it to be useful or necessary.* Meaning of those that allow any Baptism at all, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. Sect. 6. §. 2. CH. XIX. §. 7. it. 17.*

12. The *Pelagians*, who denied that Infants have any need of Forgiveness of Sin, and were most of all press'd with that Argument; 315. *Why are they then baptized?* did never offer to deny that they are to be baptiz'd: but do expressly grant that they have ever been wont to be baptized; and that no Christian, no not even any Sectary, did ever deny it, *Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, &c. ad 40. Pt. 2. CH. IV. §. 1, 3.*

13. And for the other Heretics of these times; there appears not from 60, (by examining the many Varieties of Opinions that they held) any to 300. Sign that any of 'em that used any Baptism at all, denied it to Infants, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 4. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. CH. XXI. §. 1, 4.*

14. It is held by all these ancient Christians, that no Children dying unbaptiz'd can come to the Kingdom of Heaven, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3, 6, 7, 8. CH. VI. §. 9, 13, 14. CH. XI. §. 6, 7. CH. XII. §. 5. CH. XIII. §. 2. CH. XIV. §. 2. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 2. CH. XVI. §. 3, 4, 5, 6. CH. XVIII. §. 4, 5. CH. XIX. §. 24, 28. CH. XX. §. 6. CH. XXIII. §. 3. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 4, 5, 6.* St. *Austin* in the last of these Places, says; there was in this Matter 'Christianorum Populorum concordissima fidei' 'conspiratio, *The most uniform Consent of all Christian People [or Nations].* And that the *Pelagians* themselves were *overswayed* by it, and own'd it to be true.

18. *Vincentius Victor* was the only Man that is known to affirm the contrary. He maintain'd once, that by God's extraordinary Mercy and the Prayers of the Church this might be obtained: but he also recanted, *CH. XX. §. 3, 4, 5.* yet they all grant that Infants so dying have little or (as some say) no Punishment.

But they hold, *nemine contradicente*, that all baptized Infants, dying in Infancy, are glorified, *Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 9. CH. XI. §. 6, 7. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 2. It. Sect. 5. §. 6. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 9.*

15. They do accordingly speak of it as a great Sin in Parents, or others that have Opportunity, to suffer any Child under their Care, or any other Person, to die unbaptiz'd, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 4. CH. VI. §. 1, 9. CH. XV. Sect. 1. CH. XVII. §. 3. Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 6. §. 7.* And they represent it as great Piety and Compassion in those that procure an Infant that has been expos'd in the Streets by an unnatural



Mother, to be baptiz'd, *Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 9.* And when for the more orderly Administration of Baptism they enact that none shall be baptized but at certain times of the Year, they always except Infants and sickly Persons, *Pt. 1. CH. XVII. §. 3.* for which Reason also, many of 'em allow a Layman to baptize in Case of Necessity, *Pt. 1. CH. IV.*

§. 4.

16. They shew that they have consider'd those Reasons which the Antipædobaptists do now make Use of, as Objections against the baptizing of Infants: as that they have no Sense, no Faith, no actual Sin, &c. and yet do not count 'em sufficient Reasons to forbear the baptizing 'em, *Pt. 1. CH. XIV. §. 3. CH. XV. Sect. 3. It. Sect. 5. §. 1, 4, 9. CH. XIX. §. 18.*

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17. The Use of Godfathers in Infants Baptism is prov'd to have been the Custom of the Jews in baptizing the Infants of Profelytes, *Introduet. §. 3, 4.* and of Christians afterwards, by Quotations from the Year after the Apostles 100, and all along this Period, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. It. Sect. 5. §. 3, 4, 5. CH. XIX. §. 7. CH. XXII. CH. XXIII. §. 2. Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 9, 14.*

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18. This also makes one Evidence; that the Proofs which some of the Antipædobaptists have, after their best search, pretended to bring of any Church or any Sect of Christians in these elder times, that did not baptize Infants, are found to be fallly recited, or mistaken, or not to the Purpose, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3, 4. Pt. 2. CH. I. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. CH. II. §. 15. CH. IV. §. 1, 2, 3.*

And even the Instances of particular Men, whom they would prove to have been born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd in Infancy, do all (or at least all but one) fail of any tolerable Proof, *Pt. 2. CH. III. per totum.*

19. The Sense of all modern learned Men that do read these ancient Books, except those few specified, is; that these Books do give clear Proof that Infant Baptism was customary in the times of those Authors, and from the Apostles time, *Pt. 2. CH. II. §. 1, 16.* There are but three or four that think otherwise. And *Menno* himself, the Father of the present Antipædobaptists, granted this to be true, *Pt. 2. CH. VIII. §. 5.*

20. Lastly, As these Evidences are for the first 400 Years, in which there appears only one Man, *Tertullian*, that advis'd the Delay of Infant Baptism in some Cases, and one *Gregory* that did perhaps practise such Delay in the Case of his Children; but no Society of Men so thinking, or so practising: Nor no one Man saying it was *unlawful* to baptize Infants: So in the next 700 Years, there is not so much as to one Man to be found that either spoke for, or practised any such Delay. But all the contrary, *Pt. 1. CH. XXII. per tot. Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 1.*

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And when about the Year 1130, one Sect among the *Waldenses* declar'd against the baptizing of Infants, as being incapable of Salvati-

Year after the Apostles; the main Body of that People rejected that their Opinion: And they of 'em that held that Opinion quickly dwindled away, and disappeared; there being no more heard of holding that Tenet, till the rising of the *German Antipædobaptists*, *Anno 1522. Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 2, 3, 4, &c.*

And that all the National Churches now in the World do profess and practise Infant Baptism. *Pt. 2. CH. VIII. §. 1, 2, 3.*

§. 2. The Reasons and Evidences for the other Side ought to be divided into two sorts. For there are some of 'em, which really have all the Force that they seem to have: but some others of 'em, must indeed pass for Reasons, or for good Evidence, to one that understands only the vulgar Translation of the Scripture, and only the present State of the Nations of the World, and of Religion: But do lose their Force, when one searches into the Originals of the Scripture, or when one comprehends the History of the State of Religion in the World, at that time when the Books of the New Testament, or the Books of the ancient Christians were written.

I will first sum up that Evidence which I take to be of the first sort.

1. It does not appear that the *Jewish* Baptism of Infants in our Savior's time (according to which the Pædobaptists suppose the Apostles were to regulate theirs, in all things not otherwise directed by our Savior) was in all Respects like to that which the Christian Pædobaptists do practise. For the Jews seem to have baptiz'd the Infants of such only as were Profelyted, or made Disciples out of the Heathen Nations, and Infants taken in War, found, bought, &c. But not their own Infants. They thought their own Infants to be clean without it; clean by their Birth, being of a Nation which had been once universally sanctified by Baptism: *Introduët. §. 3.*

This, supposing it to have some Weight against Infant Baptism, as the Christians do practise it; yet does not make for the Antipædobaptists Practice neither. For they (as well as the Pædobaptists) do hold that all Persons are now to be baptiz'd at some Age or other (Persons born of Christian Parents as well as those that are born of Heathens). Which being granted, the Example of the Jewish Baptism directs it to be done in Infancy: For all whom the Jews baptiz'd at all, they baptiz'd in Infancy, if they had then the Power of 'em. And besides: The Exception of Jews or Jews Children from the Obligation to Baptism was understood by themselves to be a thing that was to continue only till the Coming of the *Christ*, or of the *Elias*, *Introduët. §. 3, 5, & ult.* Since which time the Jews are, as to Matter of Baptism, brought to the same State as Gentiles. Which do's take off all the Force of this Reason or Evidence.



2. As to the Argument taken from the Practice of the ancient Christians, consider'd in general; it is some weakning of the Force of it, that some of those Ancients who baptiz'd Infants did also give 'em the Communion: Some, I say; but not very many: And those, none of the most Ancient, *Pt. 2. CH. IX. §. 15, 16, 17.* Now tho' a Man's Error in one thing does not necessarily prove that he errs in another; yet when it is in Relation to the same Subject, it gives some Abatement to his Authority. And tho' it be to this Day Controverted between the *Eastern* and *Western* Christians, whether this be an Error, or not; yet the Pædobaptists of these Parts of the World must, in their Pleas against the Antipædobaptists, yield it to be an Error: Because they themselves do not use it. And so it is (for as far as its Force reaches) *argumentum ad hominem* at least.

Year after the Apostles

3. As to particular Men among the Ancients; *Tertullian* advises the Delay of Infant Baptism (in ordinary Cases where there is no apparent Danger of Death) till they come to the Age of Understanding: And then farther, till they are married, or else by their Age are past the Danger of Lust, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.*

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As for any Value that is to be put upon *Tertullian's* Judgment or Opinion, as a single Man; I ought to have put this among the second sort of Evidence, which is of little or no Force with such as do understand the History of that time: Because all that do so, do know that he was accounted (both in his own time, and also by those who after his Death spoke of him, or his Works) a Man of odd, rash, singular and heterodox Tenets in many other things: And that in the latter Part of his Life he turn'd (as Men of that Temper commonly do) a downright Heretic in some fundamental Points of the Faith, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 1, 13.* So that his Opinion or Judgment was never esteem'd of any Value.

And for his Testimony as a Witness of the then Practice; his speaking against Infant Baptism is as good Evidence that it was then customary, as theirs that mention it with Approbation.

But this I think has some Weight: that if *Tertullian* had known of any such Tradition or Order left by the Apostles, as *Origen* who liv'd at the same time speaks of, to baptize Infants; he, as heady as he was, would not then have spoken against the Doing of it: Especially if the Book where he does this, was written (as Dr. *Allix* judges it was) while he continued in the Catholic Church.

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This therefore may be concluded, that either there was no good Account of such a Tradition, or else that *Tertullian* had never heard of it. Which last is not at all improbable: for *Origen*, living most of his time in *Palestin*, where the Apostles had much and long conversed, and being born of Christian Ancestors in *Egypt* not far off, might very well have good Proof of an Order left by the Apostles, and sure Footsteps of their Practice; of which *Tertullian*, born of Heathen

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Year after the Apostles Parents, and living at *Carthage* (a Place where no Apostle ever came, nor nigh it by a great Distance) might at that Time have heard nothing.

However it be, the Antipædobaptists must make much of this Man. For he is the only one of all the Ancients that had this Opinion. So says Mr. *du Pin* (6) who has with the greatest Accuracy search'd their Works, and with the greatest Fidelity reported 'em: He in reciting this Passage of *Tertullian* observes; *One finds no other Writer in all Antiquity that speaks at this Rate.* And so the *Magdeburgenses* (7); *Tertullian by a strange Opinion holds, &c.*

225. 4. But tho' there be never another that advises such a Delay of Baptism, yet there was one that liv'd about 130 Years after that time in another Part of the World, that practis'd such a Delay: *viz. Gregory the Father of Gregory Nazianzen.* He seems to have suffer'd all his Children, even those that were born to him after his Baptism, to grow up to a full Age without baptizing 'em. This Matter of Fact is discuss'd with the Evidence *pro* and *contra*, Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 6. §. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And the Verdict upon it (as I for my Part have yielded it) is that he did do so.

As *Tertullian's* Character was, that he was Learned and Ingenious, but hot and heady: So this Man seems on the other side to have been ignorant and of mean Capacities. Only his Son indeed does, as Duty requir'd, speak honorably of him.

If he had been a Man much spoken of; it would have made a better Argument (than his Practice now does) that leaving Children unbaptiz'd was no unusual thing, because his doing so is not mention'd with any Censure or Wonder by any Author of that time. But as he was a Man little regarded, and placed in an obscure and remote Corner, and never mention'd but only by the Writers of his Son's Life (who liv'd 600 Years after) this cannot be expected. There is in elder times no Mention of his Name at all, but what we have from his Son: And had it not been for him, it would not have been known that such a Place as *Nazianzum*, or such a Bishop of it as this elder *Gregory*, had ever been. And it was not for the Son to reflect on any Faults or Neglects of his Father. He does do that, as far as could be seemly for him, when he admonishes his People against any such Neglect. Of which Admonitions of his I give several Instances in Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 2, 4, 6, 7. In one of 'em indeed he does (perhaps out of some Compliance to his Father's Practice) advise, that if there appear no Danger of the Child's Death, the Baptism should be delay'd till he be about three Years old. But that helps this Cause but little: Both because a Child at 3 Years old is as incapable of receiving Baptism upon his personal Profession as a mere Infant; and also because he

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(6) Bibl. nov. Vol. 1. de Tertulliano. (7) Cent. 3. c. 4. *Inclinatio Doctrinæ de baptismo.*



he at other Places urges the speedy administring of it in general: And so he does at this Place, if any Danger of Death do appear. Year after the Apostles.

This Evidence therefore of *Gregory's* Father, as I would not omit it (let it have what Weight it will bear) so I cannot reckon it to have any great Force, being but one Man's Practice, and that of a Man of little Judgment or Credit.

5. That Argument for the Universal Consent of Antiquity in baptizing Infants, which is taken from the Declaration of *St. Austin* [that he never read or heard of any Christian, Catholic or Sectary, that denied that Infants are baptized for Forgiveness of Sin] and from the Grant of *Pelagius* [that he also never heard of any that denied that they are to be baptiz'd]. That Argument, I say, is something weakned by this; that *Tertullian* 200 Years before their Time is found to have spoken against it: At least as ordinarily practis'd.

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What must be concluded from hence is, that neither *St. Austin* nor *Pelagius* had ever seen *Tertullian's* Book *de Baptismo*. As I have observed, *Pr. 1. CH. IV. §. 13.* And that from hence forward that Rule must proceed with an Exception of one Man, viz. *Tertullian*.

6. The *Petrobrusians*, one of those Societies of Men that have been since called *Waldenses*, withdrawing themselves about the Year 1100 from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, which was then very corrupt, did reckon Infant Baptism as one of the Corruptions; and accordingly renounc'd it, and practis'd only adult Baptism, *Pr. 2. CH. VII. §. 5, 6, 7.*

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An Exception that abates in great Measure the Force of the Evidence from these Mens Practice, is this; That (besides that they were very late and very few) they did what they did on this Principle; that no Infant, baptized or not, can come to Heaven: Which is by both the Parties now acknowledged to be a great and an uncharitable Error.

These Evidences, how much or how little soever they weigh, or avail toward the determining the Point, are however to be reckon'd among true ones: That is, they are true, and not mistaken Matters of Fact.

§. 3. But there is, as I said, another sort of Evidences and Reasons against Infant Baptism, which are apt to weigh much with one that understands not the State of the Times spoken of, and can read only the vulgar Translation of the Scripture; and such a Man cannot much be blam'd for taking them as good Reason or Evidence: but they lose their Force with any one that is not under those Disadvantages. And such I reckon these following.

1. There are several ancient Books that say nothing at all about Infant Baptism, neither for it, nor against it. And 'tis wonder, say some Antipædobaptists, if it were common in those Times, that these as well as others should not mention it.

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A pompous Recital of the Names of these makes an unlearned Antipædobaptist think that they are so many Authors on his Side. But any one that understands how the ancient Christian Writers were mostly employ'd, *viz.* in defending the Truth and Innocence of their Religion against the Objections and Slanders of Heathens and Jews; in encouraging the persecuted People to bear with Faith and Patience the Obloquy and Sufferings they lay under, &c. Such a Man, instead of wondering that there are no more, will wonder there are so many, that do happen in such their Writings to mention so particular a thing as the Baptizing of Children. Especially since in the Primitive Times there was no Controversie started about that Point. Now that it is become a Controversie; yet let any Man go into a Bookseller's Shop and take down ten Books at all Adventures: And he will find above half of 'em to be such as have no Mention *pro* nor *contra* about Infant Baptism; because they are written on such Subjects as give no Occasion for it. 'Tis the Nature of a Man whose Head is hot with any Controversie, to wonder he does not find something about that in every Book and Chapter he reads.

Mr. *Tombs* made a Plea of this. But he was too candid a Disputant to lay much Stress on it. He takes Notice of five Authors that have nothing about it. Mr. *Stennet* takes two of his, and (10) reckons up six more, who, he says, have nothing of it. I gave Reasons, I hope, satisfactory enough why in Mr. *Tombs*'s Authors no Mention of such a thing could be expected, *Pt. 1. CH. XXI. §. 4, 5.* And the same are applicable to those produc'd by Mr. *Stennet*: save that he reckons *Irenæus* for one; who, as I shew *Pt. 1. CH. III.* speaks plainly enough of it. And also I have shewn, *Pt. 1. CH. I, and II.* that three more of 'em, *Clemens Romanus*, *Hermas*, and *Justin Martyr*, tho' not speaking directly of it, do mention things from whence Inferences may be drawn for the Proof of it.

The very same Remark, I think, ought to be made upon that Objection against Infant Baptism which the Antipædobaptists do much insist on; *viz.* that St. *Luke* in reciting the Lives and *Acts of the Apostles*, does not mention any Infants baptiz'd by them. Whoever observes the Tenor of that History, and considers the State of those Times, will perceive that St. *Luke*'s Aim is to give a Summary Account of the main and principal Passages of their Lives; and of those Passages especially, in which they found the greatest Opposition. And in such a History (which is but short in all) who can look for an Account of what Children they baptiz'd? Suppose that the Life and Actions of some renowned and laborious modern Bishop or Doctor were to be written (say of Bishop *Usher*, *Stillfleet*, &c.) and that, in a Volum ten times as long as the Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*:  
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Who will expect to find there any Account of what Children they Christned? And yet there is no doubt but they did Christen hundreds, or (if we take in what was done by Ministers deputed by them) thousands. The main Business of an Apostle was to preach, convert, attest the Truth of Christ's Resurrection, Miracles, &c. and *not to baptize*, as *St. Paul* says (11). The Baptizing of such as the Apostles had convinc'd, and especially of their Children, would of Course be left to Deputies. Yet of the six Baptisms (which are all that *St. Paul* is mention'd to have been concern'd in) three were the Baptisms of whole House-holds (12): Such a one *and all his*. And that is as much as can reasonably be expected of so minute a Circumstance.

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2. *Irenæus*, who is the eldest of the Fathers in whom the Pædobaptists have as yet found any positive Mention of Infants as baptiz'd, does not at that Place use the Word it self [baptiz'd] but the Word [regenerated] or [born again] *Pt. 1. CH. III. §. 2.*

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This may invalidate his Testimony with one that knows of no other Sense of that Word than what is common in modern *English* Books. But any Man that has been at all conversant in the Fathers, or that has read but those Passages of 'em that are in this my *Collection*, or but even those to which I refer'd just now at *n. 3.* and at *n. 5.* of the Evidences for Infant Baptism; will be satisfied that they as constantly meant, *baptized*, by the Word, [regenerated, or, born again] as we do mean the same by the Word [christned].

To be satisfied of this (and I do assure any one that will search, that he shall not miss of Satisfaction) is very well worth a Pædobaptist's while. For the Testimonies of *Irenæus* and of *Justin Martyr* so near the Times of the Apostles are preferable for their Antiquity to the Testimony of any three or four others.

3. *St. Basil* in a certain Sermon speaks so as plainly to suppose that a great Part of his Auditory was made up of such as had been instructed in Christian Religion from their Infancy, and yet not baptiz'd, *Pt. 1. CH. XII. §. 2, 3.*

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I have Reason to reckon this among the Evidences that may appear to People of little Reading, and to such as have but a shallow and superficial Knowledge of the State of the ancient times, to have a great Weight against the Belief of any general Practice of Infants Baptism at that Time: because it had such an Effect upon my self. I thought, upon the first reading of this Place, nothing could be a plainer Proof that the Christians then did not commonly baptize their Children in Infancy, than this Evidence of a Church full of People; a considerable Part of whom had been catechiz'd from their Infancy, and were not yet baptiz'd. Such a Number of heathen Converts had

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Year after the Apostles.

been easily to be accounted for: but these seemed born of Christian Parents, because he says, *From a Child catechized in the Word.*

But all this Argument lost its Force with me, when by farther reading I perceiv'd (and wondred at my self afterward, as is common, why I had not perceiv'd before) that which I shew in the same Chapter, and also *Pr. 2. CH. III. Sect. 1.* to have been the State of the World as to Religion at that Time, viz. that beside those that were Heathens on one Side, and those that were profess'd or baptized Christians on the other, there was a vast Number of a middle sort: half Converts, heathen Men converted thus far, that they were convinc'd that Christianity was the true Religion, and that they must be baptiz'd into it some Time or other: but not being willing as yet to abandon their Lusts, they put it off from Time to Time. These Men did, as many wicked Men do now, instruct their Children in the godly Precepts of Religion: but they could not offer 'em to Baptism till they were baptiz'd themselves. And those that *St. Basil* speaks to, had been the Children of such Men.

We see a woful Example in our Churches of a much like Nature. Many wicked Men do at Times resolve to become serious some Time or other: and then they think they will come to the Holy Communion, and engage themselves to a godly Life. They put off this from Time to Time, many times till Death seizes 'em. These Men, if they had been born of Heathens and not yet baptiz'd, but yet had come to the Knowledg of Christianity, would put off their Baptism as they now do the other Sacrament; much at the Rate as the Fathers of those to whom *St. Basil* preaches had done their Baptism, and as he complains the Sons also, to whom he preaches, did. And as we see now, that nigh half the World of nominal Christians are such Procrastinators; so there seems to have been not a much less Proportion among the Catechumens then. And as the Fathers do speak of those who were during this dilatory Course seized with Death, as lost Men; so I doubt it is but poor Comfort that we can give to Men so seized, that have for like Reasons all their Life long put off the receiving the Communion: viz. because they would not yet repent.

But still this State of Religion in *St. Basil's* Time does not prove, that any who were once baptiz'd themselves, did delay or put off the Baptizing of their Children.

4. Some Arguments against Infants Baptism have all their Strength from that imperfect Conception of things, which arises from one's reading only the vulgar Translations of Scripture; and do vanish, when one consults the Originals. That Commission of our Savior to the Apostles, *Mat. 28. 19.* which is in the *English; Go and teach all Nations; baptizing them, &c. teaching them to observe, &c.* as it affords on one Side this Argument for Pædobaptism; *Infants are part of the Nations: and so to be baptized by this Commission:* So on the other Side it gives



gives Occasion to the Antipædobaptists to retort, and say; *Infants are such a Part of the Nation as are not capable of being taught: And so not to be baptized.* Year after the Apostles

But the Word which is translated, *teach*, in the first of those Clauses, has a peculiar Signification in the Original, and is not the same Word as that which is translated, *teaching*, in the second: But signifies much like what we say in *English*; to *enter any one's Name* as a Scholar, Disciple, or Profelyte to such a Master, School or Profession. Now the common Language of the Jews (in which Language it was that St. *Matthew* wrote this Gospel) as it does not admit of this Phrase; *An Infant is taught*, or, *instructed*: so it very well allows of this other; *Such or such an Infant is enter'd a Disciple*, or, *made a Profelyte* to such a Profession, or Religion. And the Jews did commonly call a Heathen Man's Infant, whom they had taken and circumcised and baptized; *a young Profelyte*: As I shew'd in the *Introduction*. And St. *Peter* speaking against the Imposing of Circumcision on the Heathen Converts and their Children, words it thus; 'To put a Yoke upon the Neck of the Disciples: Whereas it was Infants especially, on whom this Yoke was attempted to be put, *Acts* 15. 10. And St. *Justin* expressly mentions Infants as made Disciples in the very same Word that is used by St. *Matthew* in that Place.

Another thing that causes in vulgar People a Prejudice in understanding those Words of our Savior, is this; A Man that can't read Books, is apt to form all his Notions of things by what he sees in his own Time and Country. So an illiterate Man (in *England* for Example) hearing of the Apostles being sent into the Nations to Disciple and Baptize 'em, he imagines it like some Preacher's Coming into *England* as it is now, to Preach and Baptize the People. Now this Notion naturally creates in his Mind a Supposal that Christians did not baptize their Children in Infancy, because they are now to be baptized after they are taught. He does not animadvert to that Difference which appears by conceiving all those Nations to which the Apostles were sent, as Heathens; who must be baptiz'd after they were taught, having had no Fathers to baptize 'em before. This indeed looks gross: but one may perceive plain Footsteps and Traces of such Conceptions among ignorant People in the Tenor and Chain of their Discourse.

5. There has been an Argument rais'd against Infants Baptism, even from that Text by which (among others) the Fathers did never fail to prove it. I mean, from those Words of our Savior, *John* 3. 5. which are in the *English*; *Except a Man be born again of Water, &c.* They catch hold of the Word, *Man*, there; and say, 'tis declar'd necessary for every one after he is a *Man* grown. I would not have any Antipædobaptist, that keeps a more refined Conversation, think, that I feign or impose this on 'em. 'Tis certainly true, that some ignorant

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I shall not stand to shew the Mistake of this, having said more than so palpable a Misunderstanding of the Words as they are in the Original, can deserve. *Pt. 1. CH. 6. §. 13. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1.*

6. To enervate an Argument taken out of Scripture for Infant Baptism, is equivalent to the forming of one against it: and does as much tend to the excusing of any illiterate Man, if the Proofs which should have convinc'd him that Children are to be baptiz'd, be eluded either by Translations that give an imperfect Sense, or by false Interpretations, the Falshood whereof he cannot perceive. I shall give three Instances.

1. In that Text, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* which is rendred in *English*; *Now are your Children Holy.* The Word here translated [Holy] is far more often in *St. Paul's* Epistles translated *Saints*: and so almost all (not quite all) the Ancients do understand *St. Paul* here: as if he had said in *English*; *Now are your Children Saints.* They observe moreover, that with *St. Paul* this Term, *Saints*, is generally used as another Word for *Christians*. As, *To the Saints at Ephesus*, at *Rome*, &c. is as much as to say, *To the Christians* there. Therefore they take *St. Paul* to mean; *Now are your Children Christians*; that is to say, *baptized*. He perswades the believing Wife not to go away, but to stay in Hopes that she may convert, or *save*, as he words it, her unbelieving Husband: and that the rather, because it appeared that the Grace of God did generally so far prevail against the Infidelity of the other, that the Children of such Matches were baptized for the most Part. This Interpretation, or such as amounts to the like Effect, I have shewn to be the most current among the Primitive Christians, in those Places of the Collection which are referred to before, at *N. 9.* of the Evidences for Infant Baptism. And if it be allowed, there needs no more Evidence for it from Scripture.

But what shall an unlearned Man do, that meets with this Text expounded by new Interpretations that do totally set aside that Meaning: as *Holy*, that is, *not Bastards*, &c.

Methinks this should be plain; that since the Word *ἅγιος*, is sometimes translated, *Saints*; and sometimes *Holy*; there should even at those Places where 'tis translated, *Holy*, be understood such a Holiness as is something agreeable to the Signification of the Word, *Saints*: and not a new-made Signification, in which neither *St. Paul*, nor any other Apostle, did ever use the Word.

2. The Words of that other Text, *John 3. 5.* were always taken in one fix'd and undoubted Sense and Meaning, *viz.* to signifie Baptism. And that so known and supposed, that not only the Words at length, [born again of Water, &c.] but the Word [born again] or [regenerate] alone was used as another Word for *baptiz'd*; and

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*Regeneration* for *Baptism*; not only by all the Fathers of the first 400 Years, but I think for above 1000 Years following. So here was a plain Place of Scripture for baptizing of all Persons that should enter the Kingdom of God. Year after the Apostles

But even this has been in great Measure defeated by a new Interpretation, much of the Nature of that by which the *Quakers* do elude all those Places that speak of the other Sacrament. For as they, by the Words, *Bread, Wine, Eating, Drinking, &c.* do force themselves to mean some mystical or metaphorical thing: as for Bread, something else (internal Bread, I think) and so of the rest. So the new Interpreters of this Place do by the Word, *Water*, here. In short, they have brought it to this; that the Text does not signify Baptism at all, nor any thing about it. And the Notion and Signification of the Words, *regenerate*, and *Regeneration*, is by Degrees so alter'd in common Speech, that he that reads 'em in any modern Book does not know nor understand 'em again when he meets with 'em in any ancient one. From whence proceeds the Wondring that some have made at St. *Austin*, when reading occasionally some Chapter of him, they have found that he takes all that are *baptized* to be *regenerate*: thinking he means by *regenerate* the same that they do, viz. converted in Heart, &c.

But at this Rate of altering the Sense of Words, any Text of Scripture whatever may be eluded. The most fundamental Article of the new Testament; *I believe in Jesus Christ*. 'Tis but to take the Words *Jesus Christ* in a new Sense for the *Light within a Man's self*: and then if he believe in himself, he holds the Article. Therefore the Words of Scripture or of any old Book, must be taken in that Sense in which they were current at that Time. Which because it is a thing that vulgar People, of whom I speak, cannot inquire into; therefore I put this Way of evading the Force of this Text, among the Answers to it that may pass with them; but it appears vain to those that are acquainted with the old Use of the Word.

3. There is another Interpretation yet, by which the Force of that Text is evaded. And that is by such as do grant indeed that the Words [born again of Water, &c.] are to be understood of Baptism; but they say that by the *Kingdom of God* there, is to be understood, not the *Kingdom of Glory hereafter in Heaven*; but the *Church here*, or the Dispensation of the *Messiah*. So that 'tis as much as to say; except any one be baptized, he cannot enter into, or be a Member of, the Church. I shew *Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1. n. 2.* that this Interpretation is plainly inconsistent with the Context: and also that it avails not this Cause if it were allowed.

These last mention'd Reasons, Evidences, and Arguments, tho' I think them not justly pleadable against Infant Baptism, yet I thought it fair to set 'em down. Let every one pass his Judgment. And if they

Year after Year of it which they carry, does serve to make People pass the more favorable Censure on those of the Antipædobaptists, who have no Means of understanding the History of the ancient Times, and can read only the vulgar Translations of Scripture, and do light only on such Expositors as I have mentioned.

But this I must say; that any Antipædobaptist who having better Means of Knowledge is convinc'd that any of these Arguments have really no Force; and yet does urge 'em upon the more ignorant People, acts very dilingenuously toward 'em, and is a Prevaricator in the things of God. For to use any Argument with an Intent to deceive, hath in it (tho' there be no Proposition utter'd that is false *in terminis*) the Nature of a Lie: which as it is base and unmanly in human Affairs, so it is impious when it is pretended to be for God; as Job says, Ch. 13. 7.

## C H A P. XI.

### *A Disswative from Separation on Account of the Difference of Opinion about the Age or Time of receiving Baptism.*

§. 1. **W**HAT I have to say in this last Chapter, I have kept as a Reserve: that in Case People cannot be brought to be of one Opinion in this Question; yet they may avoid that which is now a-days made a common Consequence of the Difference in Sentiments about it, and is far more dangerous to their Soul's Health, than the Mistake it self is; I mean, the Renouncing of one another's Communion in all other Parts of the Christian Worship. Whosoever could prevail on 'em to relinquish this Humor of dividing, would do a most acceptable Piece of Service to the Christian Religion and the Salvation of their Souls.

For our blessed Savior, who does easily pardon involuntary Errors and Mistakes, and forbids his Members to despise or reject one another for them, does impute a heavy Guilt to those that go about to break or divide the Unity of his Body.

I had thought once to insert here a Discourse of the great Sin and Mischief of Schism: But having been too long already; and that being a Subject which requires, and has had, just Tracts written on it; I shall content my self with reciting briefly a few plain Proofs of the Stress which God in Scripture lays upon our endeavoring to keep the U-

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unity of the Spirit (*i. e.* a spiritual or religious Unity, and not only living quietly near one another) in the Bond of Peace, notwithstanding Differences in Opinions. Year after the Apostles

1. There is no one Thing that is oftner, nor so often, commanded, inculcated, intreated, and pray'd for, by our Savior and his Apostles, than that all Christians should be one, and as Members of the same Body. And on the other Side, no Sin that is more severely forbidden, represented as more mischievous, nor more terribly threatned, than Divisions, Schisms, Separations, and whatsoever breaks the said Unity. St. Paul does not only reckon such things as undoubted Signs of a carnal Mind, 1 Cor. 3. 3, 4. but also when he gives a Roll or Catalog of the Sins which are certainly damning, *which they that practise, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*, Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. such as Adultery, Drunkenness, &c. he reckons among the rest *seditiones, & dissensiones*, which we render *Seditious, Heresies*, which are the Names which he commonly gives to Divisions. Since his Time indeed the later of those Words has been used to denote false Doctrins in the Fundamentals of Faith: But he never means any thing else by it, but Parties, Factions, Sects, or Divisions. One plain Instance in what Sense he takes it, is in 1 Cor. 11. 18, 19. where what are call'd *Divisions* in one Verse, are call'd *Heresies* in the other. Let any one read this Text for the Meaning of the Word: and then let him turn back again to Gal. 5. 19. where Adultery, Murder, and Heresies are declar'd subject to the same Condemnation, of Exclusion from God's Kingdom.

The Sinfulness of Schism is so plainly, fully and frequently set forth by our Savior and his Apostles; that there are no Christian Writers or Teachers of any Church whatever, but what do if they are requir'd to speak, own that it is in its Nature a mortal Sin; Even the Leaders of Schismatical Congregations dare not deny it. If they did, they would be convicted of denying plain Scripture. But as Bishop Tillotson does somewhere observe of the Popish Preachers, that tho' they do own in their Writings and Disputes with the Protestants, that Repentance and Amendment of Life is necessary to the Forgiveness of Sins; yet in their Discourses to their People they say so much of Confession to a Priest, &c. and so little of Amendment of Life, that the People think all of the one, and little of the other: So there are several Teachers who among all the Sins that they forewarn their People of, do so seldom preach against Schism and Division, so seldom quote those Places of Scripture that set forth the Guilt of it; and when they do, do touch that Point so tenderly; that the People, if they do not trust their own Eyes in reading God's Word and taking it all together, are apt to forget that Schism is any Sin at all: or at most, they conceive of it as of a little one. All the Christians near our Savior's Time had a quite contrary Sentiment. They, when they gather'd up into one short Draught or Creed the most fundamental and

Year after Year necessary Truths that they were to hold, put in this for one; *I believe* the *Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints*, i. e. I own the Universal Church, and that all *Christians* in it ought to hold Communion one with another. For the Word, *Saints*, is in Scripture and all other old Christian Books used as another Word for *Christians*: and the *Communion of Saints* means nothing else in the Creed but the Communion of Christians. He then that believes other things to be Duties, and this to be none, ought, when he repeats the Creed, to say; I believe all the rest of it, but I do not own the *Communion of Saints* as any Article of Christian Faith.

§. 2. 2. Whereas the Sinfulness of Schism in general will not bear a Dispute; but all People that separate, do, if they be forc'd to speak, own, as I said, Schism to be a great Sin; but do say withal that their Separation is not Schism in the Scripture Sense, because the Church from which they have separated is such as from which one ought to separate: And whereas the Reason that is usually given of the Necessity of a Separation of one from another, is; that one Party holds Tenets and Opinions which the other cannot assent to, or administers some of the Divine Offices in such Ways as the other does not approve; but takes the Opinions to be Errors, and the said Administrations to be grounded on those Errors: The thing to be inquir'd is, whether these Opinions which are judg'd to be Errors, be such as do overthrow the Foundation of Christian Faith. For if they be such, the Plea must be allowed. False Doctrins in the Fundamentals of Religion do put a Bar to our Communion with those that teach 'em.

But if they be not such; we have a plain Direction and Order from *St. Paul* to bear with one another, to receive one another to Communion notwithstanding Differences in them, and not to judge or despise one another for them. He has a Discourse purposely on this Subject. It begins *Rom. 14. 1.* He continues it thro' all that Chapter, and to *Ver. 8.* of the next. He instances in Men holding contrary Sides in the Disputes which troubled the Church at that time. He both begins and ends that Discourse with a positive Command that they *receive one another* notwithstanding them: and he plainly means (as whoever reads the whole Place will observe) to Communion as Brethren; and not only to live in Peace and Quietness with one another: which last they were to do with the Heathens their Neighbours.

He orders those of 'em that were positive, and sure that their Opinion was the right, to content themselves with that *full Perswasion of their own Mind*, and to take it for granted that they are not bound to bring all the rest over to their Opinion; nor yet to forsake their Communion if they will not so be brought, *Ver. 22. Hast thou Faith* (Faith here signifies that *full Perswasion of Mind* mention'd before at *Ver. 5.*) *have it to thy self before God.* He would have 'em be so modest



as to think at the same time that others as good as they might yet continue of the other Opinion. Year after the Apostles

He shews *Ch. 15. Ver. 5, 6.* that they may notwithstanding these Differences with one Mind and one Mouth glorify God. And whereas he prays there that they may be (as we translate it in *English*) *like-minded one toward another*; those Phrases of *like-minded*, and *one Mind*, do not import that they that thus join in glorifying God, must of Necessity be all of one Opinion in disputable Matters: for it has been all along his Scope to shew that they might well enough do that, tho' each did keep his several Opinion in those things. But those Phrases denote only that they should do it *unanimously* (which is the proper rendering of the Word *ἁποθυμαδόν*, and that which *St. Paul* generally means by the Word, *ἀντὶ ὁμοθυμῶν*, as *Bp. Stillingfleet* has shewn (1) by Instances). And they might be unanimous in glorifying God, tho' they were not all of a Mind as to Meats, Days, &c. Since in the main Matters they were all of a Mind.

And tho' *St. Paul* there do instance only in the Disputes about Meats and Drinks, and Days, &c. yet the Tenor of his Discourse and the Reasons he gives against separating for them, do reach to all Differences that are not fundamental. For that which he says; *The Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness, &c.* is applicable to any Opinions that are not of the Foundation: The Kingdom of God, or Substance of Religion, does not consist in such things. And as he says; *For Meat destroy not the Work of God*; we may say of such Opinions; Do not for such things destroy that Unity which Christ has made so essential to his Church. But it is otherwise of the fundamental Articles of our Faith: for in them the Kingdom of God does consist. If any one do hold or practise Idolatry or the Worship of any but the true God; or do deny the Divinity of Christ or his Death for our Sins, or the Necessity of Repentance and a good Life, or the Belief of the Resurrection and Judgment to come; the Apostle would never have bid us receive such, or hold Communion with them.

But there are, besides those that hold such Doctrines pernicious to the Foundation, abundance of Christians that hold the same Faith in all fundamental Points, who do yet live in Divisions and Separation, disowning and renouncing one another's Communion. 'Tis pity but these should be reduc'd to the Unity which Christ's Body requires.

Now there is no other Way in the World to effect this, but only that which the Apostle here prescribes, *viz.* that they receive one another notwithstanding the different Opinions they may hold about lesser Matters. There have other Ways been tryed, Ways of human Policy: but all with wretched Success. They have been tryed with so much Obstinacy, as almost to ruin the Church.

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(1) Unreasonableness of Separation, Pt. 2. Sect. 19.

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The Church of *Rome* has tryed to reduce all Men to Unity by forcing them to be all of one Opinion, and to submit their Judgments to her Dictates; some of which are things which the Scripture teaches not, and some directly contrary to it. They use to this Purpose, first, Disputations; and when that will not do; then Fire and Fagot, or other Cruelties. We have liv'd to see what tyrannous, unchristian, and bloody Work a Neighbour Prince has made to bring all his Subjects to be of one Religion (as he calls it) that is, all of one Opinion in all things deliver'd by that Church; which has been far from limiting her self to fundamental Articles. And we have seen the Event: he has made some Hypocrites and Apostates, who do upon all Occasions shew the Regret of their Conscience; some Refugees, and some Martyrs. This Way therefore of bringing People to glorifying God unanimously, by drawing up a Set of particular Opinions, and forcing all Men to subscribe to them, is no successful Way. It requires of Men what God in Scripture never requires. It has filled the World with Blood and Enmity, and has made Christendom a Shambles. *St. Paul* with all his Apostolical Authority does not, we see, require it; but says, in such things let each be fully perswaded in his own Mind (meaning, till one by Reason do convince the other, or be convinc'd by him) and in the mean time receive and own one another as Brethren.

Another Way that has been tried, is quite on the contrary, and runs to the other Extreme. It is this. They that are of different Opinions in these lesser Matters, say thus; We will not receive each other at all, *i. e.* not to any Christian Communion: and yet we will obtain the End that *St. Paul* would have, *viz.* the setting forth the *Glory of God* by another Way as good. Since we are of this Opinion, and you of that; do you make one Church of Christ, and we will make another: We will own no Church Communion with you, nor you with us: We will neither receive you, nor desire to be received by you. And yet we will live in Peace, and try which shall come to Heaven soonest.

Now this is on the other Side the most contrary to the Nature and Design of Christianity of any thing that could be devised. For Christ, as he is but one Head, never design'd to have any more but one Body. Here we see already two, totally distinct: for they receive not one another. And observe the Consequence of such a Principle. They continue but a very little while before that in each of these Churches some Members differing from the rest in Opinion about some new-started Matter, make a Subdivision, as necessary as the first Division was. Then the Church which out of one became two, out of two is propagated to four: and by the same Reason, and by following on the same Principle, there will quickly be forty. Nay it is certain, and will be plain to any one that considers, that by driving that Principle home of making separate Churches of all different Opinions, it will  
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come to pass at last that there will not be any two Men of one Church. Year after the Apostles  
 For if all things relating to Religion were to be canvast, there are not any two Men in the World of the same Mind in all things.

The Fault therefore of this Way is evident. They are in the right in supposing that there will always be Variety of Opinions; and that 'tis in vain to think by any Force to prevent it. But to think that the Number of Churches must hold Pace with the Number of Opinions, is a Mistake of wretched Consequence. It makes Christ's Church, which should be a compacted Body, a Rope of Sand. It perpetuates for ever those Strifes and Janglings about Opinions, which in one Communion would quickly cease: for each Party when they have thus taken Sides, will always strive to justify their own Side. It is that which the ancient Christians call, *the setting up Altar against Altar*. It gives so advantageous a Handle to the common Enemy, that he desires no other, to ruin any Church that is so divided into Parties. St. Paul well apprehended the Consequence of such Dividings, when he (2) besought the *Corinthians* by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they would not admit of any such Method: and when he intreated the Christians at *Rome* (3), that if any one among them did go about such a Practice, the Effect should be, that every one of 'em should avoid him. In a Word, where Christianity is in this State, it is in the next Degree to Dissolution.

And whereas the Proposers or Defenders of this Course do say; We may live in Peace, tho' we do renounce one another's Communion in Religion. This is neither practicable for any long time, nor is it sufficient for a Christian's Purpose. Not practicable: for as our Savior has said, a House so divided cannot stand; so we see by Experience the Heart-burnings and Hatred, and Emulations, and bitter Zeal which the separate Parties do always shew one against another. Not sufficient; because Christ requires that all his Disciples should be as Brethren, and as Limbs of the same Body, which is more than outward Peace and Quietness. The Heathen Neighbour Cities that worshipp'd several Gods, would sometimes make a League of Peace and say, Do you worship your God and we will worship ours, without meddling with one another's Religion: but 'tis horrible so to divide Christ.

It remains therefore, that there is no other Way to answer the Design of Christ, than that Christians of the same Faith do hold Communion and receive one another, notwithstanding their various Opinions. And if any one object against his joining with the establish'd Church where he lives; That he is of one Opinion, and they of another in many things: He needs only to mind, that this is the very Case that St. Paul was here speaking of, when he bids 'em receive one

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(2) 1 Cor. I. 10. (3) Rom. 16. 17.

Year after another. They that he speaks to, were likewise of different Opinions: ter the A- and 'twas on Occasion of such Difference that he gives 'em this Com-  
pettles mand of not separating for 'em.

Before I go any farther, I shall observe two Corollaries that do naturally follow from what has been said.

One is, that in far the greatest Number of the divided Churches and Parties that are in Christendom; the Sin, the Mischief, and the Danger to their Souls does not consist so much in the Tenets and Opinions for which they differ; as in the Divisions which they make for them, the Separations, the mutual Excommunications or renouncing of one another's Communion. This I conceive to be so clear a Truth, that whereas, if I had a Friend or Brother, or any one for whose Eternal Good I were most concerned, that differ'd in some such Opinions from the Church where he liv'd, and as I thought, from the Truth; and yet did resolve and declare (as the old *English* Puritans did) that he would make no Disturbance or Separation; I should think it a Thing of no great Consequence whether ever his Opinion were rectified or not: yet if I found that he were inclin'd to separate; I should think Labor ought to be taken, as for his Life, to hinder that.

The other is; that those Churches which do impose, as Terms of Communion, (I mean of Lay-Communion) the fewest Subscriptions, or indeed none at all, to any Doctrins, beside the fundamental Doctrins of Christian Faith; have in that Respect the best and most excellent Constitution. It is fitted for the Fulfilling of this Command of the Apostle. To do otherwise, is to refuse what he here prescribes, of *receiving one that is weak in the Faith*. For supposing those Doctrins to be true, yet he may think otherwise: and then he cannot be received without affirming what is in his Conscience a Falshood. He is therefore rejected: and as far as that Church can go, lost. Whereas if he had been receiv'd without such a Condition, he might either have learned better in Time; or if he had not, that Error would not finally have much hurt him: for it is suppos'd to be no fundamental one. Nor would it have hurt the Church: for he is suppos'd to be one that desir'd to be receiv'd, and that would not have made any Schism for it. I do not pretend to know the History of the Constitutions of the many Churches that now are: but of all that I do know, the Church of *England* is in this Respect the best constituted. That Church requires of a Layman no Declaration, Subscription, or Profession, but only of the Baptismal Covenant. Any Person when he is baptiz'd, must by himself if he be of Age, by his Sponsors if an Infant, profess to renounce the Devil and all Wickedness, to believe the Creed, and to keep God's Commandments. There is nothing requir'd after this to his full Communion, save that he learn, and Answer to the Questions of, a very short Catechism; of one Clause whereof I must by and by say something. No Body can in other Matters compel  
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him to subscribe the Opinions which the Church thinks truest, nor to recant those which he thinks truest. Year after the Ap-  
ostles.

§. 3. 3. The same that has been said of different Opinions in doctrinal Points not fundamental, may be applied to the several Ways of ordering the public Worship, Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c. Of which Ways it does as naturally fall out that some do like one best, and some another; as it does of the foresaid different Opinions, that some think one true, and some the other. The same Rule for avoiding of Schism must therefore be applied here, as there: only with this Difference; Of those Opinions, there was no Necessity that the Man I spoke of should be requir'd to assent to such as the Generality thought the truest: but here the Nature of the thing requires that if he hold Communion, he must join in the Prayers and other Service. I must divide the Difficulties that may arise upon this, into two Cases.

One Man does not apprehend any thing sinful, unlawful, or erroneous in any of the Prayers or Service: but yet he likes some other Ceremonies, Orders, and Ways of Worship that are used in some other Nations or Churches, better than he does those of his own. And therefore he holds it lawful, and useful for spiritual Advancement, to gather together a Number of Men of a like Taste and Relish with himself, and make a separate Body by themselves.

This Man has but a very little and slight Sense of the Sin of Schism: scandalously little. Either he has not read what the Scripture says of it: or else Dulness or Prejudice has taken off the Edge of his Apprehension, so as that he felt nothing at the Reading of those earnest and moving Passages of our Savior and the Apostles on that Subject. To confess the Orders and Service of a Church to be lawful, and to join in 'em perhaps some times; and yet to foment the Mischief of Schism, under which all Christendom, especially the Protestant Religion, and particularly the State of Religion in *England* and *Holland*, does now groan and gasp! and all this for a Gust, a Flavor, a Humor, an itching Ear pleas'd with this or that Mode of Preaching, Praying, &c. To divide the Body of Christ out of mere Wantonness! What Answer will such an one make at the last Day for having made so light of that on which the Word of God has laid such a Stress? *St. Paul* (4) intreats by the Consolation in Christ, by the Comfort of Love, by the Fellowship of the Spirit, by all Bowels and Mercies, that Christians should be unanimous: Is it then a Matter of small Moment to divide 'em into Sides, Parties, and several Bodies?

That among various Ceremonies, Forms and Methods of ordering Church Matters one should like one best, and one another, is no new or strange thing at all: but ever was and ever will be. But yet in the

(4) Phil. 2. 1.

Year after the Primitive Times, if any Man or Number of Men went about upon  
 ter the A- that Pretence to set up a separate Party from the establish'd Church of  
 postles that Place; it made the Christians tremble to hear of such a thing.  
 And all the neighbouring Churches (for they then all kept a Correspondence and Communion with one another) did use to send Notice of their Abhorrence of such Separatists, and renounce any Communion with 'em during their Schism; and never were at ease till they had restored Unity. They had indeed various Usages in the Churches of several Countries: but a Christian of *Africa*, if he came to *Greece*, complied with the *Grecian* Ceremonies, tho' he might like his own better. Or if it happened otherwise that he liked those of *Greece* better than his own; yet upon his Return home he submitted to the Rules and Customs of his own Church, and did not set up a new Sect out of a Pride that he had learn'd a better Way. If he thought it was better, or if it really were so; yet to make a Separation for it, did ten Times more Mischief than that Amendment could recompense. If there be any Usage or Order in a Church which may be alter'd for the better; for any Man in his Station to do his Endeavor that this may be done by common Vote and Consent, was ever accounted laudable. And where the Corruption is got into the Vitals of Religion, 'tis true that it must be done by a Separation, rather than not at all. But in other Cases, where it is not a Gangrene, he that goes about to cure the Body by tearing it Limb from Limb, is himself the most dangerously infected Member, and ought to be first cut off, by *St. Paul's* Direction (5), if he had any Skill. As we say of Sermons; That must be an excellent one indeed, in which there is nothing that might have been said better; and yet that must be a sorry one indeed, out of which one may not receive some wholesome Direction: Or of Cities; there is hardly any, whose Laws and Government are not capable of Amendment in some things; and yet very few so ill govern'd, where an industrious and Peaceable Man may not enjoy so much Quiet as to get a Livelihood by his Diligence: So that must be a pure Church indeed, whose Orders and Rules have no Fault or Imperfection at all: and yet that must be a woful Church, with which a good Christian may not communicate; or under whose Doctrin and Disciplin he may not by a godly Diligence work out his Salvation. Of the first sort there is none in the World. And, as I hope, no Protestant national Church of the later sort: none I mean, with which a good Christian may not communicate, provided they will admit him without requiring his declared Assent to all their Tenets. For Errors they may have, and some of 'em hold some Opinions contrary to what others do. Yet since none of these do overthrow the Foundation of Christian Faith, neither do they mix any Idolatry in their Worship; if  
 any



any Party of the Members of any of these Churches (the Church of Denmark for Example) should in Opposition to the general Body of the Church there, say, "We like the Ways and Methods of some other Church (the Church of England for Example) better: and should thereupon make a Schism from their Fellow-Members: it would be a sinful one. And it is no other in ours here that do the like. The Church of England do declare thus (6) concerning the Rules and Ceremonies which they have order'd; *In these our Doings we condemn no other Nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own People only. For we think it convenient, that every Country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's Honor and Glory, and to the reducing the People to godly living, &c. and that they should put away other things which from time to time they perceive to be most abused; as in Mens Ordinances it often chances diversly in divers Countries.* They say moreover; *The keeping or omitting of a Ceremony, in it self consider'd, is but a small thing: but the wilful and contemptuous Transgression and breaking of a common Order and Disciplin is no small Offence before God.* This plainly shews that they would not approve of a Schism that should be set up in any other Church, tho' it were for the introducing of those Ways of Worship which they have prescribed. And many of the chiefest Men of other Protestant Churches have made the like Declaration on their Side. This is the ancient Way of a Catholic Correspondence and Unity between the Churches. They do all judge thus; that in those various Ways of managing the public Worship, tho' one may think one the best, and another another; yet that the worst of 'em with Unity is better than the best without it.

This may be explain'd by a Comparison taken from temporal Affairs. There are in several Nations several Forms of State Government: One is rul'd by Monarchy, another by a Senate, others by more popular Ways. It is common for Men of Reading, or Travel, or Conversation, to discourse of these Ways. One likes one best, and another another. And so far there is no Harm done: because each of 'em resolves as yet, that which soever he likes best, he will live quietly under that where he is plac'd. But if one of these who lives under either of these Forms, do go about to draw a Party after him; and says; "We will live no longer under this Form of Government: "We know a better Way, and we will set up that"; he is now turn'd a Traytor, and must be suppress'd by the Policy of any Government whatsoever.

Or in an Army; If the Question be, whether it be best to march this Way against the Enemy, or that Way, or ly still: Each one in the Council is free to give his Opinion. And it may be, that he whose Counsel is not approved by the Majority, gives Advice which

is

Year after Year the Apostles is really the better. Yet if the Resolution be once taken; and the General lead out accordingly one Way: if any Officers go about to draw a Part of the Army after 'em, and say; "We will march the other Way: They are now Mutineers and public Enemies, how good soever their Advice were. Because either of the Ways with the Union of the Army is better than the dividing of it. That brings certain Ruin and Confusion.

The Scripture and Experience too do shew, that the Case is the same in Reference to a Church. Only as in the Army, if the Soldiers do understand by any plain and certain Discovery that the General Officers are Traytors, and have agreed to betray their Prince's Cause; a Revolt from them is in such Case Fidelity to their Sovereign: So if a Church do bring into their Worship plain Idolatry, or into their Doctrins such Positions as destroy the Foundation of Christian Faith or Godliness; this is Treason against our chief Lord, and justifies Separation from such a Church. But in the Case now put, of a Man that allows the establish'd Way of Worship to be lawful, but pretends to set up a better, and thinks a Separation justifiable on that Account: such a Man is so far from being fit to be a Leader or Amender of a Church, that he needs a Catechism to teach him the first Christian Principles of Humility and Modesty. Modesty would teach him to think, that if he judge one Way the best, another as wise as he will be for another Way, and a third Party for another, &c. But God is a God of Order, and not of such Confusions.

What I quoted just now of the Declaration of the Church of *England* in Respect to foreign Churches, does visibly shew the Mistake of those that argue, that we cannot count those among us that separate, Schismatics; but that we shall by so doing condemn those Foreign Protestant Churches, which differ from us in some of the same Ceremonies as the Dissenters at home do, of Schism likewise. God forbid we should do that. It is not the Use or Disuse of this or that Ceremony, Order, &c. but it is the renouncing of Communion for such Use or Disuse, that constitutes a Schismatic. Now we and the Foreign Protestant Churches do not do that. For one of us, whom Providence should bring into their Nation, would communicate with them, tho' their Ceremonies and Ways of Worship are not altogether the same as ours: And they, when they come hither, do the same with us. And such Churches, or such Christians, that are always ready to do so, have always a Communion one with another, in Heart, in Purpose, in Inclination and Acknowledgment; which they are ready to bring into Act by corporal Presence and Joining, when Providence makes it practicable. And this is, or ought to be, the Temper between all Churches that differ not in Essentials. Now this is the only Sense in which that Saying is true; *That there is no Schism, where the Differences are not in the Fundamentals of Religion*, i. e. Any two Churches of different Nations are



are always supposed to be in Communion, and not in a Schism, so long as they differ not in Fundamentals: because it is supposed that the Members of one of these would (in Case they were to travel into the other Nation) for Unity's Sake communicate with those other. Year after the Apostles

But when People of the same Place, City, Parish, &c. do *actually* separate; and renounce Communion with the Church when they are on the Spot: this Plea cannot be us'd in their Case. To say; these are not *Schismatics*, because they differ not in Fundamentals; is to put a new Meaning on the Word, *Schism*. They are not *Heretics* indeed (as the Church-Use has now distinguish'd the Use of those Words). But the *Donatists*, *Novatians*, &c. have been always counted *Schismatics*, tho' they differ'd not in Essentials.

Those that differ from any true Church in Essentials, and do separate or are excommunicated for such Difference; are in Respect of their Opinions, more faulty than those we have been speaking of. But those that separate for smaller Matters; are, in Respect of the mere Schism or Separation, (if we could abstract that from the Fault of the Opinion) the more faulty of the two. For the smaller the Difference is, the greater Fault and Shame it is to make a Breach for it: and tho' the other be, in the main, the greater Sin; yet these are more plainly Self-condemned.

§. 4. The other Difficulty that I propos'd to speak of, is something greater. There is a Man that thinks the Church holds some Errors: not fundamental ones indeed; but she has brought these Errors into her public Service in which he should join. He would not renounce a Church for holding those Errors in disputable Points: but he cannot join in Prayers to God which are grounded on, and do suppose, a Doctrine which he judges to be a false or mistaken one.

But 1. The Man acknowledges that this is not in Matters fundamental.

2. He acknowledges that the main Body of the Prayers and Service is such as all Christians agree to be necessary, and in which he may join with his Mouth and Understanding also.

Suppose then that there be some particular Collects or Prayers, or Clauses of Prayers, which he thinks to contain a Mistake in 'em. May he not join with his Brethren in the main, and omit the adding of his *Amen* to those particular Clauses? Especially since no Man requires of him to declare his Approbation of the whole and every Part? Is not this more Christian-like, than to fly to that dreadful Extremity of Separation and total Disowning, for a disputable Point which may possibly be his own Mistake? And if the Truth of the Matter be, that it is his own Mistake; Is there any likelier Way to come to the Knowledge of the Truth, than by continuing in the Body of the Church, where the Members, the faithful Christians, do by mutual Edification help one another? Is not this the very Counsel

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of St. Paul, Phil. 3. 15, 16. *And if in any thing you be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, [or, however that be] whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us mind the same thing.* This last Clause [let us mind the same thing] is in the Sense of the Original, *let us be unanimous*: as Bishop Stillingfleet has shewn (7); and he has at the same Place largely shewn, that this Advice of the Apostle is intended for this very Purpose to which I have here applied it: namely, that such a Man as we are here speaking of, should continue in Communion, and conform to all that he can, and omit the Saying *Amen* to what he judges a Mistake. He confirms this Interpretation with so good Reasons; and his Antagonist there opposes it with so weak ones, that it tempts one to think that he would not have oppos'd it at all, had it not been for Fear that by this Course the World would in a short Time have lost the Happiness of having any separate Sects. If the Reader will please to consult that Book, he will have no farther need of any Arguments against Separation.

Some learned Protestants (*Melancthon, Calvin, Bucer, Pet. Martyr*, and others of the first Reformers) have thought that in Cases of Necessity a Protestant might join even in Popish Assemblies in those Prayers that are sound; provided he did, to avoid Scandal, protest against their superstitious ones. But I will not meddle with that.

The Argument that some make for Separation, because there are many ill Men in the Church, has been so plainly answer'd, that nothing more need be said. Whoever reads St. Paul's Epistles, will find there were many scandalous Members in all those Churches; especially at *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 12. 20, 21. and yet he will find that St. Paul, so far from advising the purer sort to separate from the Church, does earnestly forbid any such Practice, 1 Cor. 1. 10. *it. 11. 18, &c.*

§. 5. 4. When a Lawgiver names some particular Exceptions of Cases in which the Law shall not oblige; that Law binds the stronger in all other Cases not excepted. For 'tis suppos'd if there had been any more, he would have named them too. The Scripture gives a very positive Law against Separations. It excepts some Cases. It is a very presumptuous thing to add any more to 'em of our own Heads. They are these.

1. If a Church do practise Idolatry. St. Paul warning the *Corinthians* of the heathen Idolaters, says; *Come out from among them, and be ye separate*, 2 Cor. 6. 17. Tho' the Popish Idolatry be not so rank as that of those Heathens, yet the general Words do seem to reach their Case. But the ignorant People among many Sects of Separatists, finding here the Word, *Separate*, do indiscriminately apply it to justify Separation from Christians against whom they do not in the least pretend any Accusation of Idolatry.

2. If



2. If a Church teach Doctrines encouraging any Wickedness, as Fornication, &c. or destructive of the Fundamentals of Christian Faith. *St. Paul* mentions some, *2 Tim. 2. 18.* that denied the Resurrection and Judgment to come. He commands *Timothy* to shun 'em: for their Word will eat as a Canker. Year after the Apostles

3. The Scripture commands that no Sin be committed to obtain any Purpose never so good. Therefore a Church that will not admit us without our doing a thing that is wicked, or declaring and subscribing something that is false, does thereby thrust us out of her Communion. And the Guilt of the Sin of Separation lies at her Door.

4. If a Church be Schismatical, *i. e.* in a State of unjustifiable Division or Separation from another Church from which she has withdrawn her self. *St. Paul* commands, *Rom. 16. 17.* Mark those that cause Divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine you have learned, and avoid 'em.

These Exceptions I find in Scripture: and I know of no more that reach to Churches (particular Men that live wickedly are to be avoided in our Conversation, we know). He that separates from any Church upon any Ground except one of these four, ought to take heed and be well assur'd that he find his Ground in the Scripture.

§. 6. Now to apply what has been said to the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists; the main Inquiry is, whether the Point in Debate between them be a fundamental Article of the Christian Faith. For if it be; they must indeed separate in their Communion: and the Guilt will lie on those that are in the Error. But if it be not; there is not by the Rules laid down any sufficient Reason for their separating or renouncing one another, which Party soever be in the wrong.

Now I think, that such a Question about the Age or Time of one's receiving Baptism does not look like a Fundamental, nor is so reputed in the general Sense of Christians. And there are these Reasons why it should not be so accounted.

1. It is a general Rule that all fundamental Points are in Scripture so plainly and clearly deliver'd, that any Man of tolerable Sincerity cannot but perceive the Meaning of the Holy Writers to be, that we should believe 'em. Now Baptism it self, *viz.* that all that enter into Christ's Church should be baptized; is indeed plainly deliver'd in Scripture: so that we are amaz'd at the *Quakers* and *Socinians*; the one for refusing it, the other for counting it indifferent. But at what Age the Children of Christians should be baptiz'd; whether in Infancy, or to stay till the Age of Reason; is not so clearly deliver'd, but that it admits of a Dispute that has considerable Perplexities in it: I mean with those that know not the History of the Scripture Times, nor the Force of some of the original Words in Scripture used. There is, as I have said, no plain Example or Instance of the Baptism of

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any one that had been born of Christian Parents set down at all either as receiv'd by him at full Age, or received in Infancy: which would have been the surest Guide to us. None I mean, that is plain to vulgar Readers of the *English* Translation of Scripture: for that many of the Fathers did take *1 Cor. 7. 14.* for a plain Instance, I shewed before. And for the Communion, *Mat. 28. 19.* and our Savior's Rule, *John 3. 5.* whether they are to be understood to include Infants and all, or only adult Persons, is not so plain to the said Readers as fundamental Points use to be. God's Providence does not suffice, that the Understanding of those Places, upon the Belief of which the Salvation of all, even the meanest and most ignorant Christian does depend, (and such are the Fundamental Articles) should require much Skill, Learning, or Sagacity: but only an honest Purpose and Desire to learn. This therefore being not set down so very plain does not seem by Scripture to be such a Fundamental, as that we should be bound to renounce Communion with every one that is not of the same Opinion as we are about it.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *Ch. 6. v. 1, 2.* speaking of some things which are styled *Principles of the Oracles of God*, reckons amongst 'em the *Doctrin of Baptisms, and of laying on of Hands.* Now whether the Meaning of that place be to reckon both these, as things that must be believed and owned by all that shall be saved; is a Question that needs not be discuss'd here. For suppose it be; both these Parties do own Baptism: They differ only about the Time or Manner of receiving it.

2. The ancient and Primitive Christians for certain did not reckon this Point among the fundamental ones. For they drew up short Draughts and Summaries of the Faith, which we call *Creeds*: and into these they put all those Articles which they thought fundamental or absolutely necessary. Now tho' some Churches had their Creeds a little larger than others; and some Councils or Meetings of Christians did overdo, in putting some Opinions, which they valued more than need was, into their Creeds; yet there never was any Creed at all that had this Article in it; either *that Infants are to be baptiz'd*: or, *that only adult Persons are to be baptiz'd.*

281. Baptism it'self does indeed make an Article in several old Creeds. As for Example, in the *Constantinopolitan*, which is now received in all Christendom; *I acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins.* But the Determination of the Age or Manner of receiving it, was never thought fit to make an Article of Faith.

100. 3. As for particular Men among the Ancients, there is, I know, none whom the Antipædobaptists would so willingly hear speak as *Tertullian*. He has a Book about Baptism, wherein he first speaks of the Matter, Water: and of the Form of Baptism: and then says, *c. 10. Having now discours'd of all things that make up the Religion [or, Essence]*

of



of Baptism, I will proceed to speak de quæstiunculis quibusdam, of some Questions of small Moment, and 'tis among those quæstiuncula that he treats concerning the Age of receiving it. I recited the Place at large, Pt. I. postles

CH. IV. §. 2, &c.

4. As *Tertullian* thought it a Question of lesser Moment, so it seems the Christians of that Time and Place, did not reckon it of so great Moment as to break Communion. For when he express'd his Opinion to be against the Practice then used of baptizing Infants ordinarily; yet we do not find that he was excommunicated for that: Nor at all, till he excommunicated himself by running away to the Sect of the *Montanists*, who were indeed for their impious Opinions abhorred of all Christians. Whereas if it had been accounted a fundamental Article of Faith, he could not have been born with in his Denial of it.

5. This is yet more clear in the Case of *Gregory* the Father of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who, if I compute right at Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 6. had some Children born to him after he was in Priest's Orders, whom he brought up with him in the House without baptizing 'em: And they were not baptiz'd till their adult Age. And yet the Man continued Priest, and afterward Bishop of that Place till he died, being nigh 100 Years old. This for the Sense of the ancient Church.

6. For the Sense of modern Christians: First the Papists of late Times do confidently maintain, that there is no Proof at all (direct or consequential) from the Scripture for Infant Baptism. And 'tis certain, they do not pretend that there is any against it; for their Church as well as others does practise it: And tho' their Church can do well enough without Scripture; yet they would not have her convicted of going contrary to it. It follows then from their Pretence, that the Scripture is silent in the Case. If so, then 'tis a thing that no Protestant will account a Fundamental: and consequently will not divide for it. So these Mens Arguments will make us all Friends; at least so far as to live in Communion with one another. The worst would be; that if we did so, we should lose all those fine Arguments against Infant Baptism that come out in Popish Books every Year. For they seeing us united, would not count it worth their while; and they would then be as well content that there should be Proof in Scripture for Infant Baptism, as not.

But to leave these Men; and to speak of such as are serious in Religion: The most serious and judicious, both of the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists (even those of 'em that have been most engag'd against each other in Polemical Writings, which do commonly abate Peoples Charity) do agree that this Difference is not in the Essentials of Religion. Here I might (if I had not been too long already) recite the Words of Bishop *Taylor*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Wills*, &c. on the one Side; and of Mr. *Tombs*, Mr. *Stennet*, &c. on the other.

Mr.

\*Year af- Mr. Stennet in a Book come out but the other Day (8) says; *If he*  
 ter the A- [Mr. Ruffen] mean— ——— that they [the Antipædobaptists] can't  
 postles look upon those that differ from them, as Christians——the contrary is well  
 known. And again, *Enough has been said before, to take off the second Re-*  
*proach which he [Mr. Ruffen] casts on them [the Antipædobaptists] viz.*  
*that they judge none of the true Church, but those of their own Way.* But 'tis  
 better to quote their *Confessions*. In the first Year of King William, one  
 Party of the Antipædobaptists [the Particular Men] publish'd a *Con-*  
*fession of their Faiths*: They say, it is the same for Substance with that  
 publish'd 1643 in the Name of *seven Churches*, which I suppose were  
 the first in *England*. Now they say, they are concern'd for *above a*  
*hundred*. They declare in the Preface the Design both of that and  
 this Confession to be, *to manifest their Consent with both [the Presbyteri-*  
*ans and Independents] in all the fundamental Articles of Christian Religi-*  
*on*: And, as they add afterwards, with other Protestants. 'Tis plain  
 then, that they count not the Age or Manner of receiving Baptism to  
 be a Fundamental.

And here, forasmuch as this Confession is but lately come to my  
 Hands, I ought to do that Justice to these Men, as to own that they do  
 for their Part disclaim several of those Opinions which I at *CH. VIII.*  
*§. 6.* said were held by some of the *English* Antipædobaptists. For  
 besides that they give a full and Catholic Confession of the Doctrin of  
 the Holy Trinity, *c. 2.* of Christ's Divinity and Consubstantiality, *c. 8.*  
 and of his Satisfaction, *c. 8. it. 11.* the Denial of which Points is not  
 charged on any Church of Antipædobaptists: but only that some  
*Socinians* intrude among 'em, as they do every where. Besides these,  
 they own Original Sin, *c. 6.* Oaths impos'd by Authority to be lawful,  
*c. 23.* The Lord's Day to be the Day for Christian Worship, and the  
*Saturday Sabbath* to be abolish'd, *c. 22.* That every Church has from  
 Christ all that Power that is needful for carrying on Order in Wor-  
 ship and Disciplin, *c. 26.* All Bishops or Elders, and Deacons to be or-  
 dain'd by Imposition of Hands, *ibid.* All Pastors to have a comfortable  
 Supply from the Church, so as they need not be entangled in secular  
 Affairs; but may live of the Gospel, the People communicating to  
 them of all their good things, *ibid.* No Member of a Church ought  
 to separate upon Account of any Offence [or Scandal] taken at any  
 of their fellow Members, but to wait upon Christ in the farther pro-  
 ceeding of the Church, *ibid.* In the Lord's Supper the Minister to give  
 the Bread and Wine to the Communicants, *c. 30.* So it seems these do  
 not hand it about among themselves, as is said of some of 'em. Wor-  
 thy Receivers do by Faith *really and indeed*, yet not carnally and cor-  
 porally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified, *ibid.*  
 Souls do not die nor sleep: But at a Man's Death are either received  
 into



into Glory, or cast into Hell, reserved to the Judgment, c. 31. Civil Magistrates to be obey'd for Conscience sake, c. 24. But I can't see how they reconcile this with what they say, c. 21. that to obey out of Conscience any human Commands not contained in God's Word, is to betray true Liberty of Conscience. This needs a little Explication.

Moreover, what is to our present Purpose, they say; *That all Persons throughout the World, professing the Faith of the Gospel, and Obedience to God by Christ according unto it, not destroying their own Profession by any Errors everting the Foundation, or Unholiness of Conversation, are and may be called, visible Saints, c. 26.* And they say afterward, c. 27. *That all these Saints are bound to maintain an holy Fellowship and Communion in the Worship of God.* Of which Communion they say a little after, that as God offers Opportunity, it is to be extended to all the Household of Faith; even all those who in every Place call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus.

This laid together makes full to the Purpose I am speaking of: Every one ought to continue in the Communion of a Church that has no Errors which do evert the Foundation. And an Error, or supposed Error, about the Age or Manner of receiving Baptism does not do that, by their own Confession.

And now in the first Year of her present Majesty, is publish'd a Draught of Articles by some Antipædobaptists, (the same I guess) to manifest their nearness in Union with other of her Majesty's Protestant Subjects. There are 36 of 'em. They are *verbatim* (except 2 or 3 Clauses of no Moment) the same with 36 of the 39 Articles of the Church of England: save that in the Article of Baptism they leave out the last Clause about Infants Baptism. They come near to that Subscription that is requir'd to capacitate one for Orders in that Church: One would think then it should not be difficult to accommodate the Matter of Lay-Communion.

What has been said does in the whole amount to this; that putting the Case that there were in any Nation a Number of Believers in Christ, who were not yet settled in any Form of Church-Government, and did besides differ in some Opinions not Fundamental; and among the rest, in this Question about Infants Baptism; their Duty would be to unite themselves into one Body or Church, and not separate into Parties and several Churches for that Difference. And if it be asked, how they should regulate the Order for public Worship in which they were all to join; and particularly whether they should allow an Infant brought by his Parents to the Church for Baptism, to be there baptiz'd, or not allow it: There is no other Way in such a Case, than after a Debate by Arguments from Scripture and Reason, to suffer themselves to be all determin'd by the major Vote; which major Vote must fix the Rules of the National Church there to be settled: and the minor Part who would have had some things to have been otherwise order'd, must comply with their Brethren, and join in all things that they

Year af- they can, and by no Means make a Division. If the Premises that have  
 ter the A- been laid down, be look'd upon as proved; they do certainly inforce  
 postles this Conclusion.

For any Man to say in this Case; the Scripture, and not the major Vote, should determin: is frivolous. Because 'tis presuppos'd in the Case, that 'tis about the Meaning of Scripture, and about the Force of the Consequences and Arguments drawn from Scripture, that they differ: and the Scripture it self directs 'em, that in such Differences not Fundamental, they should close and unite as well as they can, and bear with one another.

Now to apply this to the State of Religion as it is now, when there are in all Places National Churches already settled, one ought, in Order to lay the Balance even between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists, to suppose or imagin a thing that is not, but may easily be suppos'd: and that is, that there were some National Church or Churches of Antipædobaptists in the World. And suppose a Number of Christians, Pædobaptists in their Opinion, were by Providence brought to live in one of those Places. The Question is, whether they ought to join in Communion with the Church of Antipædobaptists there establish'd, or make a separate Body renouncing Communion with them. I think it follows from the Rules of Scripture that have been laid down, that they ought to join with 'em. And I do not stick to declare; that if I were one of those new-Comers, I would do it for one. So that I advise 'em to nothing in Respect to their joining the Church here, but what I think were to be done by us if we were in their Case. I mean, I would do thus; since my Opinion is, that Infants ought to be baptiz'd, I would get my own Children baptiz'd by all Means possible: But when that were done, I would nevertheless continue to join in public Prayers, Hearing, receiving the Communion, &c. with them, if they would admit me: If they rejected me for my Opinion, the Guilt of that Breach would lie on them, and not on me. 'Tis not an Antipædobaptist or other Dissenter in Opinion that one is not to communicate with: 'Tis a Schismatic or Divider that one is not to communicate with. And whereas some Pædobaptist will say to me; *You seem by this putting of the Case to make the Opinions equal: theirs to be as good as ours: and that 'tis only by the Majority that we have the Advantage.* I do not so: but this I say; the Difference is not in Fundamentals. And therefore, if thou be strong, and they be weak; thou wise, and they foolish; thy Opinion rational, theirs silly; yet we are still (or ought to be for all the Difference of Opinions) Members of the same Body, and Brethren. Men are not to be cut off for mistaken Opinions that are consistent with true Faith. Indeed if they will cut off themselves, there is no Help for that. When a Church loses its Members, and they part from her as Limbs from a Body; there is that to be said which is commonly said of a Husband



band and Wife parting: There is certainly a great Fault some where; but there is commonly some Fault on both Sides.

Now to lay aside Supposals, and to take the State of Religion as it is now in the World; there is no National Church in the World (and I think never was) but what are Pædobaptists. All that are of the other Way, are such as have within the two last Centuries made a Separation from the Establish'd Churches of the Places where they are: as I made appear *CH. VIII.* The Reasons that I have laid down from Scripture, do require that they should return to Unity of Communion in those things wherein all Christians are agreed: and they may continue to argue in a Charitable Way about the Opinion till one Side be satisfied, or till they are weary. This is the best Way to save their Souls, whatever become of the Opinion.

To speak of the Case of *England* in particular. They know themselves, that it is a Separation begun less than 80 Years ago; as I shew at *CH. VIII. §. 6.* Any very ancient Man may remember when there was no *Englishmen*, or at least no Society or Church of 'em, of that Perswasion. They at first held the Opinion without separating for it. Their eldest separate Churches are not yet of the Age of a Man, *viz.* 70 Years. I mean the ancient Men or Men of Reading among 'em know this; the Young and Vulgar, who will talk right or wrong for a Side, do not own it: but the others own it, and they justify it by pleading that their Opinion is the truest: which Plea, supposing it to be true, will not in a Conscience that is guided by God's Word, justify a Separation.

Let us put the Case of an Antipædobaptist, or other Dissenter, that is never so sure that he is in the Right; and that the Churches Opinion is absurd, inconvenient, foolish, &c. or any thing that he pleases to call it, so he do not call it Idolatry, or Heresie, or *an Error which does evert the Foundation.* And yet by their own Principles before laid down, Communion is to be continued. Let the Man, when he is got into one of his severest Fits of judging his Brethren of the Church, imagin them speaking to him, in the Words of St. Paul to some Christians at *Corinth (9)* who were the most conceited and dividing People that he ever had to do with; *You are full, you are Rich. We are Fools for Christ's Sake, but you are wise in Christ: We are weak, but you are strong: You are honorable, but we are despised. Yet receive us; do not reject our Communion in all things, because we Err in some things. Or, as he says in another Place; If you think me a Fool, yet as a Fool receive me.*

There are several good Books written purposely on this Subject, and directed to the Antipædobaptists, to shew, that supposing their Opinion be true, yet their Schism is a Sin: and that, by Men of both the Opinions. One that is not rash, but desires to guide his Conscience

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Year after Year, will at least read and weigh what they say. Mr. Tombs, who continued an Antipædobaptist to his dying Day, yet as I am told (10), wrote against Separation for it; and for Communion with the Parish Churches. I have not seen that Book: But this I have seen (11), that where he defends his Opinion against *Marshal*, and where *Marshal* had said; *The Teachers of this Opinion, wherever they prevail, take their Proselytes wholly off from the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and all other Acts of Christian Communion both public and private, with any but those of their own Opinion.* To this Tombs answers; *This is indeed a wicked Practice, justly to be abhorred. The making of Sects upon Difference of Opinions, reviling, separating from their Teachers and Brethren otherwise Faithful, because there is not the same Opinion in disputable Points; or in clear Truths not Fundamental; is a thing too frequent in all sorts of Dogmatists, &c.* I look upon it as one of the greatest Plagues of Christianity. You shall have me join with you in shewing my Detestation of it. Yet nevertheless, it is to be consider'd that this is not the Evil of Antipædobaptism (you confess some are otherwise minded) and therefore must be charg'd on the Persons, not on the Assertion it self. And about this, what they hold, you may have now the best Satisfaction from the Confession of Faith in the Name of Seven Churches of 'em. Art. 33, &c. And accordingly Mr. Tombs himself continued in Communion with the Church till he died.

Mr. Baxter, who has wrote more Books than any Man in England against the Opinion, yet has also wrote more against the dividing for it; and has made many Wishes and Proposals for Accommodations of both Sides joining in public Communion; especially in his latter Books, and in the History of his own Life, when he had liv'd to see the great Mischiefs that Schisms do to Religion and all Piety. I will mention only one Passage, wherein he recommends to the Antipædobaptists two Books useful to give 'em a true state of the Question about the Unlawfulness of Separation. I am, says he (12), not half so zealous to turn Men from the Opinion of Anabaptistry, as I am to persuade both them and others, that it is a Duty to live together with mutual Forbearance, in Love and Church-Communion, notwithstanding such Differences: For which they may see more Reasons given, by one that was once of their Mind and Way (Mr. William Allen in his Retraction of Separation, and his Perswasive to Unity) than any of 'em can soundly refuse, tho' they may too easily reject 'em. But then Mr. Baxter gives there a Marginal Note, telling the Antipædobaptists; *Satan will not consent that you should soberly read the Books.* Now methinks an Antipædobaptist that is desirous to direct his Conscience aright in so weighty a Matter as Separation is, should not let Satan have his Will altogether;

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(10) Baxter Reply to Hutchinson p. 30. (11) Tombs against Marshal, p. 31. (12) Confutation of Forgeries of H. D. Sect. 2. ch. 2. §. 13.



gether; but should read such Books, and consider 'em at least, whether Satan will consent or not.

This I will own, in Excuse of the *English* Antipædobaptists that do so divide; that it is a harder thing to repent of the Sin of Schism in *England*, than 'tis any where else. For the Commonness of any Sin does in unthinking Minds wonderfully abate the Sense of the Guilt of it. When Drunkenness is grown common and almost universal, one can hardly perswade an ordinary Man that it is a thing that will bring Damnation on his Soul; because he sees almost all the Neighbourhood, and among them such a Gentleman, or such a Lord, as much concern'd in that as he. So an Antipædobaptist thinks; whatever my Opinion be, the Separation for it can be no great Fault: for the Presbyterians, and other Parties of Men, do that as well as we; and for lesser Differences. If we have taken those Opinions which our Ancestors held without separating, and have made a separate Religion out of 'em; 'tis but what the others did before us: for they have taken the Opinions which the old *Puritans* had; and (tho' the *Puritans* could not) yet they have made good *Brownism* out of 'em. And so for other Parties. Now this Humor of dividing is no where in the World so common, as it is in *England* (at least if we except the Country I spoke of before) nor the Sin of Schism so little feared, I mean of late Years. The Reason why the same Texts of Scripture against Schism, Division, Heresie, &c. being read by the Protestants of other Nations do create in their Minds a Horror of it, but being read by an *Englishman* do lose their Force with him, is; because he has been born and bred in a Nation where that is so common, and practis'd by Men that are in other things so conscientious; that he is apt to put any forced Sense on the Words, rather than think that that Text of *St. Paul*, for Example, *Rom. 16. 17.* is to be taken as the Words found: tho' there is (if a Man desire plain Scripture) not a plainer Text in the whole Bible. But the Word of God and his Law is not like human Laws, that it should lose its Edge by the Multitude of Offenders. God will not punish any Sin less, I doubt he will punish it more, for having been a common or reigning one.

Some People also have so slightly consider'd the Commands of God, that they think nothing to be a Sin, but what they see punished by the secular Laws. And so because some Christian Nations (whereof *England* does of late make one) have thought fit to grant an Impunity to Schismatics for some Reasons of State, and to tolerate (tho' not approve of) Churches or Societies renouncing Communion with the establish'd Church of the Place; they are apt to think that God also does allow of the same: which will be true when God in his Judgment will think fit to regulate himself by *Statute* Laws. But till that be, 'tis certain by God's Word that either such a Church, or else those that renounce her Communion, are Schismatics: either the one

Year af- for giving juſt Cauſes to the others to ſeparate from her; or elſe the  
ter the A- others for ſeparating without juſt Cauſe. 'Tis certain alſo, that if  
poſtles any Church ſhould ſo far comply with Reaſons of State or human  
Laws, as to teach, that Schiſm (however by them tolerated) is not  
Sin before God; this very Doctrin would indeed be a good Reaſon  
for any pious Chriſtian to ſeparate from her: and that, by the ſecond  
of the Exceptions I gave juſt now. So groſs is that Notion, to think  
that Separation is therefore no Sin, becauſe Mens Laws may at ſome-  
times forbear to inflict any temporal Punishment on it. But yet as  
groſs as it is, it is made to ſerve for an Excuse to the Conſciences of  
many ignorant People. Partly this Reaſon, and partly the Com-  
monneſs of the Sin, have made, that many Mens Conſciences do no  
longer accuſe 'em for it.

§. 7. There may need a few Words alſo concerning the Difficul-  
ties that do ly in the Way of the Union that I have here propos'd.  
They are none of 'em ſuch, but what may, I hope, be accomodated,  
if the Parties be willing. Some of 'em do lie on the Part of the  
Church in receiving theſe Men: and ſome on the Part of the Men  
themſelves in Reſpect of their Acceptance of the Communion offer'd  
them. I know of but two on each Part.

On the Churches Part, one concerns the Biſhop of the Dioceſs chief-  
ly: the other, both the Biſhop, and the Curate of the Pariſh. In  
ſpeaking of which, the Nature of the thing ſhews, that I ought to ſub-  
mit what I ſhall ſay, to the Judgment of the Parties concern'd: which  
I declare that I do unfeignedly. I will only propoſe the Queſtion,  
leaving the Determination to them.

1. Suppoſe a Man do underſtand the Nature and Neceſſity of the  
Church-Union I have been ſpeaking of; and accordingly does deſire  
to continue, or to be, a Member of the eſtabliſh'd Church: but he is  
not ſatisfied of the Validity or Sufficiency of Baptiſm given in Infancy  
or of Baptiſm given by ſprinkling or pouring of Water on the Face  
only; and therefore he (tho' perhaps baptiz'd in Infancy, yet) has  
procur'd himſelf to be baptiz'd anew: and beſides he cannot conſent  
to bring his Children, if he have any, to be baptiz'd in Infancy; but  
reſerves them to adult Baptiſm: but in other things he is willing to  
be conformable to the Rules of the Church, and very deſirous of the  
Communion thereof. This Man is, I ſuppoſe, by the Rules of the  
Church of *England*, liable to be preſented for his Fault, both in re-  
ceiving a ſecond Baptiſm (for ſo it is in the Eſteem of the Church)  
and in not bringing his Children to Baptiſm.

Here is one Eviſion or Salvo, which I ſcorn to make Uſe of, as be-  
ing not ſatisfactory to my ſelf: *viz.* that the Churches Hands are ty-  
ed up from any Proceedings in any Caſes of that Nature by the Act  
of Toleration. Becauſe I think there is nothing more certain than  
what:



what Bishop Stillingfleet says (13), *However the Church in some Respects, Year after the Apostles be incorporated with the Common-Wealth in a Christian State, yet its fundamental Rights remain distinct from it: of which this is one of the chief, to receive into and exclude out of the Church such Persons which, according to the Laws of a Christian Society, are fit to be taken in or shut out.* 'Tis temporal Punishments only which those temporal Laws design to set aside. Yet this I will say; that by the general Forbearance that is now used, 'tis ten to one whether such a Person would be presented. But we will put the hardest of the Case, and suppose him to be presented.

He is then warned to appear before the Bishop at the Church-Court. He pleads, we'll suppose, Conscience for his doing or refusing the things mention'd. The Bishop exhorts him, shews him Reasons, endeavors to satisfy his Doubts, &c. or perhaps deputes some Persons to discourse at Leisure more largely with him concerning them. If by these Means the Man be satisfied all is well. But we must put the Case that he be not. Here the Question is, whether the Bishop in such a Case will proceed to Excommunication, or use a Forbearance. I suppose he will make a Difference of the Tempers of Men. If such a Man do shew a Temper heady, fierce, obstinate, self-opiniated, and self-willed; and a Contempt of the Court, and of all that is said to him; he is hardly a fit Member of any Church. But if there appear the Signs of a meek, humble, and Christian Disposition, willing to hear and consider the Reasons and Advices given; such a Case deserves the greater Forbearance. And tho' the Law requires three several Admonitions, yet it does not, I suppose, limit the Bishop to three, nor to any Number. And if this Forbearance continue long; the Man's Children will be grown up, so as to be baptiz'd, as he would have 'em, upon their own Profession. And if he desire, or be but willing, that it be done by dipping; the Church does comply with his Desire, and does advise it in the first Place. And so the Dispute will be over. If the Bishop do excommunicate him before he be convinc'd, or this be done, then indeed I have no more to say on this Head: there is a full Stop put to the Proposal. But there are these Reasons to think that it would not be so.

First, I never heard of that done: but several Times the contrary. All the Antipædobaptists, or indeed other Dissenters, that I have known excommunicated, have been excommunicated, not for their Opinion; but their Refusal of Communion, or for Contempt in refusing to come at all to the Bishop's Court.

2. Mr. *Tombs* (and several others, but I will name only him, because his Case is generally known,) continued in Communion in the Church of *Salisbury* all the latter Part of his Life. And tho' he during that

Time

Yearaf- Time own'd his Opinion, and wrote for it, yet because he desir'd  
 te the A- to make no Schism of it, he was not disturbed in his communicating  
 postles with the Church. Nor has that Church ever been blam'd for recei-  
 ving him. On the contrary, the Example has been spoken of with  
 Commendation in a very public Way. This shews it to be practica-  
 ble: and if it be so; then;

3dly, There is a great and manifest Advantage in it. For it pre-  
 vents a Schism, which otherwise would be. The Man continuing in  
 Communion, all things will tend to an Accommodation: whereas  
 in a Separation every thing is aggravated to the widening of the Gap,  
 as we see by constant and woful Experience. A separate Party ne-  
 ver thinks it self far enough off from any Terms of Reconciliation.

The second Difficulty, which concerns, as I said, both the Bishop  
 and the Curate is this. By the Order of the Church of *England* no  
 Person is to be admitted to partake of the Holy Communion till he  
 be confirm'd, or be ready and desirous to be confirm'd. And a Qua-  
 lification requir'd of every Person before he be brought to the Bi-  
 shop to be confirm'd, is that he have learned (or, as 'tis express'd in  
 another Place, can answer to the Questions of) the Catechism. Now  
 in that Catechism there happens to be a Mention of Infants being ba-  
 ptized. For after that it has declared that Baptism is to be given  
 upon a Covenant of Faith and Repentance; it follows; *Qu. Why then*  
*are Infants baptized, when by Reason of their tender Age they cannot per-*  
*form them?* *Answ. Because they promise them both by their Sureties:*  
*which Promise, when they come to Age themselves are bound to perform.*  
 Now this Man being ask'd that Question would not make that An-  
 swer: but would say; they ought not to be baptiz'd till they can per-  
 form 'em.

But besides, that one may answer here (much as in the other Case)  
 that the Practice is such, that not half the People that come to the  
 Communion are ask'd whether they have been confirmed, or not:  
 and also, that those who come to be confirmed when they are of the  
 Age of a Man, are seldom or never examin'd in the Questions of the  
 Catechism, provided it does by other Ways sufficiently appear that  
 they do understand the Principles of Religion: the Questions as they  
 stand in the Catechism, being seldom put but only to Children. Be-  
 sides this, I say, It appears to have been the Meaning of the Church  
 in that Question and Answer, not to determin this Point; whether  
 Infants are to be baptiz'd (of which no *Englishman* at that Time made  
 any doubt) but to determin this Point; whether Infants that are ba-  
 ptized, are baptized upon any other Covenant than that upon which  
 grown Persons are baptiz'd, viz. of Repentance and Faith. And it  
 determines that they are not baptiz'd on any other, but the very same:  
 only with this Difference; that an adult Person is baptized into the  
*Hopes* of the Kingdom of Heaven, inasmuch as he *does* believe; and



an Infant is baptized into the same, on Condition that he do, *when* Year after the A-  
*he comes to Age*, believe. And this indeed is a Principle very neces-  
 sary to be rightly understood. For a Mistake herein might hinder  
 those who are baptiz'd in Infancy from understanding the Obligation  
 that lies on 'em to Faith and Obedience, as ever they hope to partake  
 of the Kingdom of Heaven: to prevent which Mistake this Clause of  
 the Catechism seems to have been inserted. So that tho' the Church  
 do here suppose indeed, or take it for granted, that Infants are ge-  
 nerally baptiz'd; yet that is not the thing which she here defines:  
 not *that* they are to be baptiz'd; but *why* (or upon what Terms) they  
 are baptized. And this is a thing which an Antipædobaptist holds  
 as firmly as any Man; that all Baptism is to be upon this Covenant.  
 And he will readily assent to this; that supposing or taking it for gran-  
 ted that Infants were to be baptiz'd, they must be understood to be  
 baptiz'd on that Covenant, *viz.* to enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven, on  
 Condition they do, when they come to Age, perform the Duties of  
 Faith and Repentance.

And since this is the Substance of what the Catechism there teaches,  
 and the Catechism was intended, not to determin Controversies, but  
 to teach fundamental Principles; I believe that the Bishops would  
 not refuse to confirm such a Person (otherwise sound in the Faith and  
 conformable, and desirous of Communion) tho' he should own his Sense  
 in his Answer to that Question of the Catechism. This I think: but  
 I end this Discourse wherein the Authority of the Church is concern-  
 ed, as I began it; *viz.* in submitting my Opinion to theirs, and leav-  
 ing it to themselves to determin whether they would or not, or  
 ought or not.

There are on the Antipædobaptist's Part concerning his Acceptance  
 of Communion with the Church these two Difficulties.

Some Men of that Way do think, that all such as have no other  
 Baptism but what was given in Infancy and by Affusion, are no Chri-  
 stians; and that to bid 'em hold Communion with such, is as much  
 as to bid 'em hold it with Heathens. I hope there are not many such:  
 And Mr. *Stennet* reckons it a Slander on the Antipædobaptists. And  
 I am glad to find by his Discourse that he is cordial in the Abhor-  
 rence of so unchristian a Notion. And therefore I shall say the less  
 of it; having a natural Antipathy against talking with any one whose  
 Principles are so desperately uncharitable, as this comes to. What  
 I said before, §. 6. to shew that this Difference about the Age or Man-  
 ner of receiving Baptism is not a fundamental one, is applicable here.  
 Let a Man that has this Thought first read that, and then let him  
 consider farther, what becomes of the Church of Christ at this Rate.  
 Will he think that Christ has had no Church but in those few Times  
 and Places where this Opinion has prevail'd? *Peter of Clugny* (whom  
 I quoted *Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 5.*) urges the *Petrobrusians* with this dread-

Year after Year a-ful Consequence 500 or 600 Years ago, that if Infant Baptism be not  
 the A- valid; there had been never a Christian in *Europ* for 300 or 500 Years  
 postles before: and that Account is much increased now.

The Sophisters in Logic have a Way by which, if a Man do hold any the least Error in Philosophy, they will by a long Train of Consequences prove that he denies the first Maxims of common Sense. And some would bring that spiteful Art into Religion; whereby they will prove him that is mistaken in any the least Point, to be that Antichrist who denies the Father and the Son. If the Pædobaptist be mistaken, or the Antipædobaptist be mistaken; yet let 'em not make Heathens of one another. The Denial of the Quakers to be Christians, those of 'em I mean that do believe the Scriptures, has such a dreadful Consequence with it; that one would not willingly admit it, (tho' they do deny all Baptism) because they do however profess that which is the chief thing signified and intended by Baptism. But since both the Parties we speak of now, do own the Religion professed in Baptism, and do also both use the outward Sign; supposing that one Side do err in the Mode of it or the Age of receiving it: To conclude thence that they are no Christians, is the Property of one that knows not what Spirit he is of. To receive Baptism one's self in that Way which one thinks the fittest, is one Case: But it is another, and very different Case, to judge all those to Condemnation that have received it another Way. *Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant?* I know that the Antipædobaptists do not admit to the Lord's Supper, when it is administered by themselves, any but what are baptized in their Way. But I speak now of one that is to receive it, not to administer it: he that receives it has no Charge on his Soul of the Way in which those that receive with him, have been baptiz'd. But I have said more than is, I hope, needful on this Head. The *Confession*, which I mention'd before, of 100 Churches of Antipædobaptists, does not say, that only the adult are capable of Baptism: It says but thus; they *are the only proper Subjects of this Ordinance* (a), and they do not say, that Immersion is necessary to the Administration; but that *it is necessary to the due Administration of it*. I mention'd at *CH. V. §. 6.* how the Christians of *Africa* and of *Europ* differ'd as much as this comes to, in their Opinion of the Validity of Baptism given by Schismatics: insomuch that the *Africans* baptiz'd anew any Schismatic that came over to the Church; The *Europeans* did not so. But yet these Churches did not break Communion for this Difference. A Presbyter or Bishop of *Africa*, coming to *Rome*, join'd in Communion: tho' there must needs be, in the Congregations there, several who, according to his Notion of the due Way of baptizing, were not *duty* baptized; and whom he, if he had

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(a) Chap. 29.



had had the admitting of 'em into his own Church in *Africa*, would have baptiz'd anew. But he left this Matter to the Conscience and Determination of the Church of the Place. And by this Means of both Parties continuing Communion, the whole Matter in which they differ'd, was at last amicably adjust'd, as I there shew. And whereas the Conduct of *Stephen of Rome*, who would have made a Breach of this, has bin since blamed by all the Christians, as well of *Rome* as of other Places; The Conduct of *Cyprian of Africa* who gave his Determination of the Question with this additional Clause (14) [neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis, si diversum senserit, amoventes. *Not judging any one, nor refusing Communion with him, tho' he be of the other Opinion*] has been since applauded by all Christians in the World; as a Saying worthy of so excellent a Martyr of *Jesus Christ*, and a Precedent fit to be observ'd in the Determination of all Questions that are not fundamental.

The other Difficulty is, that if such a Man do come to join in the Prayers of the Church of *England*: if there be an Infant brought to be baptiz'd in the Time of the public Service, he cannot join in the Prayers used in that Office: Or, at least, not in all of 'em.

This must be confess'd, while he holds that Opinion. But I shew'd before at §. 4. that this ought not to hinder his joining in the other Prayers: so that Paragraph may serve for Answer to this. He may when the People are kneeling at those Prayers, stand up, or sit and read in his Bible. There were in King *William's* Time some that not being satisfied about his Title, thought they ought not join in, or say *Amen* to some of those Prayers wherein he was named. However they were blamed by the State for not agreeing in those; they were never blamed by the Church for continuing to join in the Rest.

What I have said of the Antipædobaptists, does plainly reach to the Case of several other Dissenters. And that with greater Force of the Argument, because they differ less from the Church in Opinions.

One thing I am perswaded of concerning the Antipædobaptists: and that is, that if they were convinc'd that this joining in the public Service of the Church were lawful and practicable for 'em; they would join at another Rate than some shifting People do now a-days. I take 'em generally to be cordial, open, and franc Expressers of their Sentiments. If they thought that *St. Paul's* Command of *receiving one another* did reach to this Case that I have been speaking of (as I think it does) they would not interpret it trickishly, as some Lawyers do a Statute in which they seek a Flaw and an Evasion: to lurk behind the Words of it, while they defeat the true Meaning. They would conclude that what God commands us to do, he means we should do cordially, sincerely, and *bonâ fide*: and not to deal with his Word as a Jesuit does with an Oath. And therefore that if his Word do bid us receive one another; he means we should do it intirely.

C c c c

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Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

There is one Intreaty that I would use to 'em; which is, that if they be at all moved to consider of such joining, and to deliberate whether it be lawful, or be a Duty, or not; they would make a good and prudent Choice of the Men, whose Advice they ask about it. There are some Men among all Parties (I hope it is not many) that do promote Divisions out of Interest. These, as *St. Paul* says, *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ but their own Belly*. They consider if the Schism should drop, what would become of that Esteem, Credit, Applause, Admiration, Gain, &c. which they get by heading and leading of Parties: they must then be but as common Christians, walking even with the rest in a beaten Road, and all the Glory of setting up new Ways would be lost. These are not fit for any pious and sincere Man to trust with the Direction of his Conscience; nor likely to give a true Verdict. On the contrary, they are the Cause of most of the Divisions which Christ has forbidden. He says that Offences [or Scandals] must come: and *St. Paul* says, there must be Heresies (or Divisions). We may say of both; *Wo be to the Men by whom they come*. The Civil Law has, I think, a Rule that when any great Mischiefe appears to be spread among the People, and it is not known who were the Authors that first set it on Foot, it should be inquir'd; *Cui bono fuit?* Who are the Men that are likely to get any Advantage by it? and to suspect them. These that promote Division for Interest, keep their Consciences, as Beggars do their Sores, raw and open on Purpose, and would not have 'em heal'd for any Money. Let not any honest Man trust 'em with the keeping of his. But apply to a Man who (of which Opinion soever he be) is Cordial, Sincere, and has no Interest in the Advice he gives.

I shall conclude with the Words of *St. Paul*, which I have made as it were the Text of this Sermon, *Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us*. Christ received us, when we were not only silly, mistaken, erroneous, but sinful too. He received us, that he might make us wiser and better. *St. Paul* adds; *to the Glory of God*: meaning, that God is no Way more dishonor'd than by our Divisions, nor any Ways more glorified than by our Unity and receiving one another.

The whole Context is thus, *Rom. 15. 5, 6, 7.*

*Now the God of Patience and Consolation grant you to be like minded [i. e. unanimous] one towards another, according to Christ Jesus: That you may with one Mind and one Mouth [i. e. unanimously] glorifie God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore [or to which Purpose that you may so do] receive ye one another [tho' differing in Opinion] as Christ also received us, to the Glory of God. Amen.*

#### E R R A T A.

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# *'An Alphabetical Table of some few Matters.'*

## *Antipædobaptism.*

**S**T. *Austin* (Year after the Apostles 317) disputing for the Doctrine of original Sin, and *Pelagius* against it, do both agree that no Christian (Catholic, or Sectary) that either of them had read or heard of, was an Antipædobaptist. p. 174. 209. The Opinion of Antipædobaptism not a sufficient Cause of Separation. *CH. ult.*

## *Baptism*

Given by the Jews to Profelytes and their Infant Children. *Introduc't.* Given by the Christians generally by Dipping. p. 462. but by Affusion in Case of Weakness, &c. p. 463. Other Washings beside Dipping, are in Scripture called *Baptism*, or, the Baptizing of a Man. 433.

## *Bishops.*

The Christians of *Irenæus's* Time [*Anno* 180] were able to reckon up those that were placed *Bishops* by the Apostles in the several Churches, and their Successors to that Time. 8. 491. *Valentinian* the Emperor said, It was a thing too great for him to undertake, to nominate a Bishop. 295. 311. They were wont in the Primitive Church to be chosen by the Clergy and People of the Diocese. 463.

## *Councils.*

Infant Baptism not instituted or enacted in any Council: but in all that speak of it, is supposed or taken for granted as a Christian Doctrine known before. 42. 103. One of the earliest Councils since the Apostle's Time speaks of it. 36. The Councils of *Carthage* and *Milevis* [*Anno* 416] and that of *Carthage* [*Anno* 418] do not enact that Infants must be baptiz'd (that being a known thing before) but that Baptism is in them for *Remission of Sin*. 196, &c. 220, &c. 272.

## *Dipping Infants in the Font*

The general Use formerly. 462. When left off in the several Countries of *Europ* 466--473. Still used in all Countries, hot or cold, except such where the Pope's Power do's or did prevail. 473, 477.

## *Godfathers in Baptism*

Used by the Jews at the Circumcision of their Children, and at the Baptism of an Infant Profelyte, or Disciple. *Introduc't.* Mention'd as used by the Christians in the Baptism of Infants within 100 Years after the Apostles, and all along afterward. 21. The Answers that they made in the Name of the Child. 110, &c. 252, 490, &c. The Parents commonly were the Godfathers. 112, 115.

## *Infants,*

Whether baptiz'd or not in the Apostles Time, could not be unknown to the Christians that were ancient Men 100 or 150 Years after the said Time. *Preface.* In what Sense said to be regenerated by the *Holy Spirit*. 118, 120. The Ancients did not think that Infants have

have Faith. 117, 120. Not baptiz'd in Houses, but in Cases of the utmost Extremity. 131. Dying unbaptiz'd, thought by the Ancients to miss of Heaven: but yet to be under no Punishment, or a very mild one. 363---375. Dying after Baptism, and before actual Sin, agreed by all the Christian World to be saved. 378, &c. If offer'd by their Parents or Owners to Baptism, ought to be baptized of whatsoever Parents born. 379, 380, &c.

*John the Baptist.*

He baptized Infants, as St. *Ambrose* concludes. 88. *it. Introduct.*

*Polygamy*, forbidden in the New-Testament. 52.

*Regeneration*, or, *being born again*.

The Word [*Regeneration*, *regenerated*, &c.] never used by the Ancients but when they speak of Baptism. 354, 520.

*Rebellion*

St. *Ambrose* concludes that *Maximus* and *Eugenius* are in Hell, for their *Rebellions* tho' against a tyrannous and heretical Emperor. 295,

*Schism*

The Penance for it to last ten Years. 49.

*Sects.*

No Sect before the Year 1100, that allowed any Baptism at all, denied it to Infants. 235--245.

*Socinians*

Endeavor to bring into Disrepute all the ancient Christians, and their Writings. 336. argue against the Doctrin of the Trinity, not in a serious, but in a mocking Way. 449.

*Some Texts of Scripture explained by the Ancients.*

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